

California State University, San Bernardino

CSUSB ScholarWorks

Theses Digitization Project

John M. Pfau Library

1994

Confucianism in Europe: 1550-1780

Carl James Dominik

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/etd-project>



Part of the [Philosophy Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Dominik, Carl James, "Confucianism in Europe: 1550-1780" (1994). *Theses Digitization Project*. 475.
<https://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/etd-project/475>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the John M. Pfau Library at CSUSB ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses Digitization Project by an authorized administrator of CSUSB ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@csusb.edu.

CONFUCIANISM IN EUROPE: 1550-1780

A Thesis
Presented to the
Faculty of
California State University,
San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
in
Interdisciplinary Studies: History and Philosophy

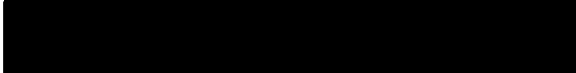
by
Carl James Dominik
September 1994

CONFUCIANISM IN EUROPE: 1550-1780

A Thesis
Presented to the
Faculty of
California State University,
San Bernardino


by
Carl James Dominik
September 1994

Approved by:




Dr. Lanny Fields, Chair, Department of History

6/30/94
Date



Dr. Robert Blackey, Department of History



Dr. Jill Buroker, Department of Philosophy

Copyright 1994 Carl James Dominik

ABSTRACT

Western historians, with few exceptions, have either been unaware of or have ignored the possible influence upon intellectuals that may have derived from the contact that European countries had with China between 1550 and 1780.

This thesis traces the flow of information about Chinese philosophy, government, culture, and history which entered Europe as a result of the presence of Jesuit missionaries in China who served in the Chinese court as scientists, teachers, and advisors for almost one hundred fifty years.

This thesis demonstrates that the intellectuals of Europe exhibited interest in China and had available to them detailed information about the practices and history of that most populous country on the earth. The writings and translations of the Jesuits were contained in the personal libraries of such intellectuals as Montaigne, Locke, Leibniz, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Quesnay, and Smith. These men utilized this information to compare the practices of the rulers of Europe with those of the emperors of China and to support their calls for reform of governments in Europe.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This writer's sincere appreciation to Dr. Lanny B. Fields for his friendship, unceasing support, and the example in conduct he always exhibits befitting a true Confucian gentlemen. Without his intense interest this project would have never been started or completed.

This writer's sincere acknowledgment to Dr. Russell Barber for his always open office and the copious amounts of time he provided in support of this project.

This writer's sincere debt to Dr. Robert Blackey for his awakening me to the study of history in the first course I took at CSUSB in 1988 and for his continued interest in my project.

This writer's sincere thank you to Dr. Julius Kaplan for his always open office and wide-ranging discussions about history and academia.

This writer's sincere gratitude to his wife, Deborah, for her never-ending patience in listening to me as I conceived, thought through, and worked out the ideas for this paper during the past four years.

Finally, this writer's sincere hope that the time lost interacting with his two children, Rebecca and Frank, while he worked on this paper, will not be of critical consequence. To them, citizens of the next century, may they be involved in bringing the people of Asia and the West closer together.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	v
CHAPTER ONE: Confucianism in Europe: 1550-1780.....	1
CHAPTER TWO: Formal writings on Asia before 1600.....	6
CHAPTER THREE: The Jesuits.....	26
CHAPTER FOUR: Louis XIV and K'ang-Hsi.....	58
CHAPTER FIVE: John Locke and Confucianism.....	70
CHAPTER SIX: Gottfried von Leibniz: student of China.....	91
CHAPTER SEVEN: The Philosophes.....	106
CHAPTER EIGHT: The Physiocrats.....	123
CHAPTER NINE: Conclusion.....	135
APPENDIX: The books on China owned by John Locke.....	140
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	145

Confucianism in Europe

Scant acknowledgment is given by Western historians of the Enlightenment to the possibility that the "new" ideas of the movement embraced concepts very similar to those of Chinese Confucian philosophy. Nor is it recognized that many of the intellectual leaders of the Enlightenment had intense interest in Chinese culture and philosophy.

The vast majority of mainstream European and American writers are either ignorant of or choose to ignore the possibility that Europeans possessed detailed information about China and that they looked to the world's most populous country as a model to be studied and emulated. Indeed, despite the growing movement toward a "worldview" of history, most historians boast of the originality of the ideas that Europe seemingly developed independently during the period between 1600-1780.

Popular historical writings, ranging from the massive *"Columbia History of the World"* (1972)¹, to the current California State seventh-grade world history text, *"Across the Centuries"* (1991), make no reference to China and its philosophy in conjunction with the "new" ideas of the European Enlightenment. Even as recently as 1992, *Time* magazine boasted that:

¹ Edited by John A. Garraty and Peter Gay.

The political and philosophical insights of Western thinkers would prove to be as revolutionary as the scientific discoveries. Britain's Glorious Revolution of 1688, which made monarchy accountable to Parliament, embodied John Locke's theory that government depends upon the consent of the governed. Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence took Locke two steps further: people possess certain inalienable rights, including the right to overthrow governments that deny them life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.²

Scholarly historical writings by such esteemed historians as Georges Lefebvre (*The Coming of the French Revolution*) and Leonard Krieger (*Kings and Philosophers*) omit any references to the contact Europe had with China.³

Europeans began to learn about China as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century. Information about China streamed into Europe so that, in just two hundred years, by the end of the seventeenth century, there existed books about Chinese culture, government, and philosophy throughout the libraries of Western Europe. The majority of detailed accounts of China were received from Jesuit missionaries serving at the court of the emperor of China. Jesuit serving as advisors to the king of France were in contact with those Jesuits in China.

Many of Europe's leading intellectuals actively sought information about Chinese rulers, government, customs, and

² *Time*, special issue, Fall, 1992, 21.

³ Lefebvre's book was first published in 1939 in France. The English translation, by R. R. Palmer, was published in Princeton in 1947. Krieger's book was published in New York in 1970.

philosophy. They debated the merits and practices of the Chinese. They drew comparisons between China and Europe and advocated emulating the Chinese in the areas of foreign policy, justice, equality of opportunity, commerce and trade, and religious toleration. Yet, it is unknown the extent to which knowledge about China assisted in the formulation of the new ideas of the European Enlightenment.

What appears to have been overlooked by the majority of western historians is the possibility that some of the ideas and concepts developed during the Enlightenment closely resemble those espoused by Chinese Confucian philosophers for a period of almost two thousand years prior to the European Enlightenment. These include that: the nature of man is not bad (in opposition to the Christian concept of original sin); the people possess the right to overthrow an unjust government; all people are entitled to equality of opportunity; governments should practice religious toleration; people are entitled to happiness in life.⁴ The Enlightenment was the reexamination of the basic principles of government and rulers, the redefinition of right and wrong, the discussion of equality, individual freedom, and the rights of man.⁵

⁴ As the opponents of the Jesuits would argue during the entire eighteenth century, the reality of Chinese life throughout its long history often did not measure up to the ideals of Confucian philosophy.

⁵ Paul Hazard, *European Thought in the Eighteenth Century* (Cleveland, 1963) 446.

Several historians of the 1930's and 1940's investigated the possibility that the European Enlightenment was influenced by the example of China. However, the work of Paul Hazard and Virgile Pinot of France, Lewis Maverick of U.C.L.A., and H.G. Creel at the University of Chicago has not been accepted into mainstream Western history.

Hazard believed that the experiences in these newly discovered lands caused a reappraisal of "all fundamental concepts, such as Property, Freedom, Justice and so on ..."⁶ Europe had much to learn from Asia. Creel stated that Pinot had concluded that knowledge of China, "became a sensation in Europe" and that China was in "more favor than England itself in eighteenth-century France despite the phenomenon of 'Anglomania' which was also occurring in France at the time."⁷ Creel believed that Chinese thought became one influence on the reorientation of Western thought which took place in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁸ So great was this influence that perhaps the "literate Occidentals knew more about China in the eighteenth century than they do in the twentieth."⁹

Yale historian, Jonathan Spence wrote, in 1980, that

⁶ Hazard, 1963, 10.

⁷ H.G. Creel, *Confucius and the Chinese Way* (New York, 1949) 257.

⁸ Creel, 1949, 271.

⁹ Creel, 1949, 257.

there was a wide range of Chinese influence in Europe in the realm of ideas when "theorists like Voltaire and Adam Smith used examples from China to reinforce their criticism of their own societies..." and in fashions when King George III and George Washington wore Manchu pigtails.¹⁰

In our time, many countries have adopted, or are striving to adopt, concepts about the nature of man and the nature of government which developed during the European Enlightenment. However, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries these were radical and dangerous ideas. They evolved at the precise point in time when information about Asian civilizations was available in Europe. Europeans received detailed information about specific Chinese customs and ideas through translations of classical Chinese texts from Chinese to Latin. In their writings, the leading intellectuals of Europe drew comparisons between China and Europe and advocated emulation of the Chinese in specific areas. While we may never know the extent to which the new ideas of the Enlightenment developed independently in Europe or may have been influenced by Chinese philosophy, it is possible to trace the flow of information from China to European intellectuals between 1520 and 1780 and to demonstrate how these men sought to use this information to support their calls for reform.

¹⁰ Jonathan Spence, *To Change China: Western Advisors in China 1620-1960* (New York, 1980) 32.

Formal writings on Asia before 1600

Information about Asia began to reach Europe in the beginning of the sixteenth century via the Portuguese as a result of their voyages of discovery. When the Portuguese entered the Indian Ocean in 1498, there existed no strong naval power to rival them because the Chinese had withdrawn their great fleets almost one hundred years earlier. Within less than two decades, the Portuguese established total dominance over the Indian Ocean. The absolute power of the Portuguese was to last for a hundred years.¹ By 1515, Portugal had established Goa, Malacca, and Hormuz as outposts soon to be developed into strategic trading centers.

Interest in Asia, on the part of European thinkers, followed the patterns of conquest beginning with India, continuing to Japan and, after 1600, focusing on China. Recent scholarship has argued that in the opening decades of the sixteenth century Sir Thomas More, in the writing of his *Utopia*, consulted a Portuguese, Raphael Hythlodæus, who supplied More with information about India.² More believed that this man had been with Amerigo Vespucci on the last three of Vespucci's four voyages and that Raphael had remained in America with companions after the final voyage. Eventually,

¹ C. R. Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion, 1415-1825: A Succinct Survey* (Johannesburg, 1969) 14.

² Donald Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe* (Chicago, 1977) v 2, 531.

he traveled westward by land and then sea to Ceylon and Calicut and then home via a Portuguese ship.³ If this were true, then Raphael had circumnavigated the globe before Magellan's men. Even if this were not the case, More used Raphael to get to Utopia in the east (most likely India) where he remained for five years.

More's book was the first evidence, since Marco Polo's journals of over two hundred years earlier, of ideas from the East having a major influence on the thinking of a Western intellectual. For the next two hundred fifty years, Europe was to look Asia for examples of good moral conduct based upon secular reasons. More's *Utopia* looked to India. The hypothesis has been advanced that the alphabet used by More for his Utopians was derived from Malayan script which the Portuguese had been collecting for eighteen years before the publication of *Utopia*.⁴

At the time he wrote his novel, More was involved in negotiations in Antwerp on behalf of Henry VIII. Apparently he used his leisure time to craft the story.⁵ Flanders and Holland were to develop into major trading centers with the East. This aspect of cultural exchange developed in conjunction with a relatively tolerant political atmosphere in

³ Lach (1977) 364.

⁴ Lach (1977) 531.

⁵ The months of negotiations left More the leisure to write the greater part of *Utopia* states Anthony Kenny in his work, *Thomas More* (Oxford, 1983) 20.

the Netherlands to allow the flourishing of this leading uncensored publishing and intellectual center in Europe for the next two centuries.

The Portuguese rapidly established trade with China. King Manuel of Portugal had Alfonso de Albuquerque establish trading relations with the Chinese junks in Malacca following his conquest of the city in 1511.⁶ Just six years later, the Portuguese sent an official expedition to Canton to open trade with mainland China. Their efforts were brief as the Chinese halted trade after only two years, in 1519, when the Portuguese seized merchandise in acts of piracy.⁷ Thirty years were to pass before official trading was resumed. The Portuguese continued sailing deep into Asian waters. They reached Japan in 1542 and began settling the small island of Macao, off the coast of China, by 1550.

During the second half of the sixteenth century, Portugal acted as intermediary for trade between China and Japan. With India forming the third leg of a trading triangle, the Portuguese were the conduit for the transmission of goods and ideas to Europe. For ninety years, the three-year, round-trip commercial voyage from Goa, in India, to Japan was the most lucrative of any Portuguese trade route.⁸ Along with the

⁶ C. R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550-1770: Fact and Fancy in the History of Macao* (The Hague, 1948) 2.

⁷ Boxer (1948) 2.

⁸ Boxer (1948) 5.

lacquerware, porcelain, curios, spices and silks came new information which was seized upon by Europeans seeking to alter the views of their rulers on government and human nature.

Information about the three major countries in Asia reached Europe in the early sixteenth century, usually in the form of informal oral and written accounts of travelers to the region. In the late 1520's, Europe received the first eyewitness accounts of China written by two Portuguese imprisoned by the Chinese. Members of a tributary mission gone awry, these men sent letters that arrived in Portugal about 1527. The significance of these documents is that they consist of first-hand information on specific aspects of China, including its physical geography, manner of government, operation of the tributary system (the practices of which were not well understood by the Portuguese), and ideas on how China treated foreigners.⁹ At the close of the sixteenth century, there existed many such accounts. In addition, several important books had been produced. These were quickly translated into the major languages of Europe and distributed throughout much of western Europe.

The informal oral and written accounts of travelers to the East, entering Europe in the first half of the century, led to the publication, between 1550 and 1600, of several

⁹ Donald Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe* (Chicago, 1965) v 1, 723-36.

substantial works on Asia by historians and Catholic priests. That these works achieved wide circulation throughout Europe, in numerous translations, is evidence that there existed significant interest by Europeans in Asia.

The first three works originated in Portugal between 1551-1569. In 1551, Fernão Lopes de Castanheda (1500-1559) published the first volume of *Historia do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses*. The author had lived in the East for ten years. Upon his return to Coimbra, Portugal, in 1538, he took the position as archivist and librarian with the Faculty of the Arts and devoted the remainder of his life to compiling his book on Asia.¹⁰ As he had not resided in nor visited China, his first volume contained information about China that had been derived from first-hand accounts of sailors, merchants, and Chinese whom de Castanheda had known while living abroad. The topics covered included Chinese religion, the educated class, and the government. The book discussed Buddhism, the literati, and the organization of the government under the emperor.¹¹

Europeans were fascinated with this traveler-scholar's book for it received rapid dissemination and several immediate translations. Only two years after the original publication in 1551, there appeared in Paris a French translation by

¹⁰ Lach (1965) 187. The author does not state if this position was affiliated with the university in Coimbra.

¹¹ Lach (1965) 738.

Nicholas de Grouchy, a professor in the Faculty of the Arts at Coimbra from 1548-1550. The following year saw editions in French and Spanish published in Antwerp. An Italian translation was published in Rome in 1556, an English edition in London in 1582, while a Spanish translation of de Castanheda's first book reached the Fugger library in Augsburg by the mid 1550's.¹² After being criticized for having portrayed China in too positive a manner, the author published a revised edition and then seven more volumes. Original copies of the books still exist.¹³

Just one year after the publication of de Castanheda's book, there appeared, in Lisbon in 1552, *Décadas da Asia* by João de Barros (c. 1496-1570). Barros had completed the first draft of the text in 1539 (twelve years before the publication of de Castanheda's book). Barros covered the history of the Portuguese in India and Asia and included first-hand information from Portuguese prisoners held by the Chinese after the failed trade mission.¹⁴ The book contained information on China's geography and governmental organization.

Barros was to make a very important observation that many of the great European thinkers would later acknowledge: China did not seek foreign conquests. Barros viewed this foreign

¹² Lach (1965) 189.

¹³ Lach (1965) 188.

¹⁴ Lach (1965) 739.

policy as the mark of a good civilization and of wise rulers.¹⁵ Why Barros' book did not receive a wide readership remains a mystery. Its circulation was confined primarily to the Iberian peninsula and Italy, although it was known to have an indirect influence on the later books of Juan Mendoza and Maffei, which did enjoy popular success.¹⁶ Translated into Italian in 1554, a copy reached the library of an Englishman, John Dee, before 1583.¹⁷

The third book published in Portugal, and the first European book devoted exclusively to China, appeared in 1569. *Tractado em que se cõtam muit por estêso as cousas da China* by the Portuguese Dominican priest Gaspa da Cruz was not widely distributed or translated from its original Portuguese.¹⁸ In 1577, the second book devoted exclusively to China was published in Seville. Bernardino de Escalante published in Spanish his *Discurso de la navegación que los Portugueses hazen á los Reinos y Provincias del Oriente, y de la notica q se tine da las grandezas del Reino de la China*. Escalante drew on the work of other authors, including Cruz and Barros. A translation in English appeared just two years later.¹⁹

¹⁵ Lach (1965) 739-41.

¹⁶ Lach (1965) 741.

¹⁷ Lach (1965) 191. Dee was an important collector of books during the reign of Elizabeth I. His importance is discussed in the chapter on the Jesuits.

¹⁸ Lach (1965) 330, 742.

¹⁹ Lach (1965) 742.

News of Asia spread quickly throughout Europe. In England, George Gascoigne (1542?-1577) was one of the first poets to make references to the East in his works. He served in the military under Sir Humphrey Gilbert in the Netherlands and read a story about the East before Queen Elizabeth I in 1575. Gascoigne published works advocating the discovery of a new passage to Cathay. These writings were influential in supporting voyages to the West which sought such a route to the wealth of Asia.²⁰ As had More before him and as would Locke after him, Gascoigne visited the Netherlands and achieved direct access to a monarch of England.

China received favorable notice from Francois Bérolade de Verville (1556-1629). This writer of poetry and fiction used his popular writings to praise China as a source of wisdom. He stated that the Chinese were the originators of printing and bookmaking. Most significantly, he viewed the Chinese as a positive contrast to "the stuffy learned world of Europe" and its Catholic Church.²¹ By using the example of China to criticize the Catholicism, Verville predated Voltaire by almost 150 years.

At the close of the sixteenth century, two Italian writers published works on China. In 1585, Juan González de Mendoza published, in Rome, *Historia de las cosas mas*

²⁰ Lach (1977) 372-73. All references to Gascoigne are from this source.

²¹ Lach (1977) 291.

notables, ritos y costumbres del gran Reyno de la China. In 1588, Giovanni Botero (1544-11617) published, also in Rome, *The Greatness of Cities*. Mendoza, an Augustinian monk working at the request of Pope Gregory XIII, published his work under the pope's authority.²² The book was a positive account of China and drew on information from primary and secondary Portuguese, Jesuit, and Spanish sources.²³ Topics covered included China's history, geography, physical features, agriculture and fishing industries, religion and rites, and politics, and moral matters.²⁴ Here may be seen the onset of attempts by European writers to draw active comparisons between their institutions and manners of behavior and equivalent Chinese practices. Mendoza contended that Europe did not compare favorably with China.

Mendoza provided detailed information regarding the operation of the Chinese social system which differed greatly from such procedures in Europe. He stated that the Chinese system of public welfare was far ahead of Europe for China did not have beggars or poor people. Such persons were tended to either by their families or in city hospitals maintained at the King's expense.²⁵ Europe had no system whereby the central government supported such institutions.

²² Lach (1965) 743.

²³ Lach (1965) 763 & 745.

²⁴ Lach (1965) 751, 764-67.

²⁵ Lach (1965) 775.

With respect to the operations of government, the example provided by China looked more open and less corrupt. Provincial administrators in China were forbidden by law from serving in their native provinces. These men received good salaries so as not to be tempted by bribery. They were provided with free travel and lodging expenses by the court of the emperor.²⁶ The imperial government attempted to control bribes and maintain good local governmental practices through a censorate system of checks on the local officials by means of secret messages to the court. The role of the central government in China was to oversee and stimulate the various provincial administrators and not to control local officials rigidly.²⁷

Mendoza described China's government-supported educational system, which had no counterpart in Europe. The system was secular in nature. Its purpose was to prepare pupils for official government posts.²⁸ Mendoza offered praise of China's judicial system for its lack of corruption, and he urged that Europe imitate the Chinese system.²⁹

In only fifteen years, Mendoza's book achieved great popularity and circulation throughout Europe. By 1600, there

²⁶ Lach (1965) 759.

²⁷ Lach (1965) 758.

²⁸ Lach (1965) 781.

²⁹ Lach (1965) 760. After reading Mednoza's work, Michel de Montaigne (1533-1592) offered praise of China (page 19 of this chapter).

were forty-six printings in seven languages.³⁰ French and English translations appeared after only three years (1588). Soon followed a German edition in Frankfurt in 1589. Editions in the original Italian had nineteen printings. Translations into Spanish, Dutch, and Latin also appeared before 1600.³¹

By all appearances, the great popularity of the book was due to Europe's thirst for information about Asia. This interest had been heightened by the arrival of an official imperial diplomatic mission from Japan on a European tour just one year before the publication of the book.³²

Mendoza's book was significant in that it was "the most comprehensive book on Ming China to appear in Europe."³³ It was the definitive book on China of its century.³⁴ The work would be studied and cited as a reference by some of the greatest thinkers in Europe during the course of the next 100 years. Montaigne read and quoted it in his praise of China.³⁵ John Locke owned three editions in Italian, Latin, and English.

³⁰ Lach (1965) 743.

³¹ Lach (1965) 537, 743.

³² Lach (1965) 743.

³³ Lach (1965) 330. Concurrence with this appraisal is found in Lewis Maverick's, *China, a Model for Europe: China's Economy and Government admired by Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Europeans* (San Antonio, 1946) 3.

³⁴ Lach (1965) 744.

³⁵ Montaigne's views on China follow shortly.

Botero was the other Italian who published on China. Educated at Jesuit colleges in Palermo and Rome, he later served as a teacher at the Jesuit college of Billom near Clermont, France before being dismissed from the Society in 1580 after twenty-two years of service.³⁶ In his first publication of 1584, in Milan, he called China "the greatest, richest and most populous country that is known."³⁷ In his book of 1588, Botero used the works of Barros, Mendoza, and Jesuit letters to praise the Chinese city of Canton as "greater than Lisbon, which yet is the greatest city in Europe except Constantinople and Paris (while) Peking, Hangchow and Nanking are the greatest that have been in the world."³⁸ China was to be admired because it produced goods superior to those of the West, had a moderate climate, had 300 million hard-working people who followed their fathers' professions, was a self-sufficient country requiring no imports, and possessed laws that forbade wars of foreign conquest.³⁹

Botero's interest in China continued with the *Reason of State*, published in Rome in 1589. The book proclaimed China as the wealthiest nation in the world due to its frugal and industrious people, lack of an empire (as the country had made

³⁶ Lach (1977) 236. Lach does not offer any insight as to the reason for Botero's leaving the Jesuit order.

³⁷ Lach (1977) 236.

³⁸ Lach (1977) 238.

³⁹ Lach (1977) 239.

the decision that empires were too costly to maintain), fertile soil, and excellent balance of payments. China had an able internal administration, because its officials were not of royal descent, were well-paid, were promoted by seniority, and were forbidden to accept gifts.⁴⁰ Botero's writings on China continued with the publication of the first four parts of his *Relazione Universali* between 1591 and 1595.

In this work the author examined the major countries of Asia, including India, China, Siam and Japan. He identified this region as "the most noble, greatest, and vastest part of the world."⁴¹ Botero praised China for its withdrawal from conquest as it had, in previous centuries, enjoyed a much larger sphere of influence that extended to the Indian Ocean. China was a good moral example of a state that profited from being peaceful, hardworking and well-administered, with prosperity the result of these qualities, and it was one of the "greatest Empires that ever was."⁴²

However, Botero voiced criticism of China that he had not in his earlier works. Taking into account the findings of the first Jesuit missionaries into China, he found fault in China's overpopulation, her tyrannical emperor, the inferiority of her printing, painting, guns, and the poor

⁴⁰ Lach (1977) 241-42.

⁴¹ Lach (1977) 244-48.

⁴² Lach (1977) 246, 249.

manners and bad morals of her people.⁴³ Translations of Botero's final book were in Latin and German in 1596, English in 1601, Spanish in 1603 and Polish in 1609.⁴⁴ Botero's book was owned by John Locke. The importance of Botero's positive outlook on China was great, for Botero "was one of Europe's leading commentators on history and on political and economic theory."⁴⁵

Michel de Montaigne (1533-1592) was a writer of French prose, a philosopher, public official and confidant of nobles. An avid reader and student of the world, he possessed, in the tower of his chateau, a library of one thousand books (immense for its time) to which he devoted great amounts of time and study. Said Montaigne, "It is in the library I pass most of my days and most hours of the day."⁴⁶ He said that he liked travel, change, new things and the unknown, and was pleased with foreign things.⁴⁷

Montaigne lived during one of the periods in French history that saw tremendous religious conflicts between Protestants and Catholics as well as serious internal problems of government between the Catholic Guises and the Protestant

⁴³ Lach (1977) 246.

⁴⁴ Lach (1977) 243.

⁴⁵ Lach (1977) 235.

⁴⁶ Michel de Montaigne, *The Autobiography of Michel de Montaigne* (Boston, 1935) 128.

⁴⁷ Montaigne (1935) 308.

Bourbons. In what would become a pattern for many intellectuals of succeeding generations when dismayed with the problems of their respective societies, Montaigne looked beyond the confines of Europe for possible examples of better conduct. In his writings, Montaigne referred to the Indies, Asia, India, the West Indies, China, Peru, Mexico and Brazil.⁴⁸ As early as 1562, he had a house guest who was a native of Brazil and claimed to have been a cannibal chief.⁴⁹ Although Montaigne was interested in and sympathetic to the primitive regions of America and the Indies, he admired the civilization of China.⁵⁰

Montaigne's interest in China was evident in his visit, in 1580-1581, to Florence where he viewed a work on counterfeit Oriental Stones, and to the Vatican Library, in Rome, where he viewed a book with Chinese characters.⁵¹ This interest grew after 1588 as he had discovered numerous Jesuit letterbooks in Paris, saw the Jesuit Maffei's history of the Jesuit mission published in Latin in Lyon in 1588, and read the French translation of Mendoza's book on China.⁵² This translation of Mendoza's book into French by Luc de la Porte

⁴⁸ Montaigne (1935) 58, 224. Montaigne. *The Complete Works of Montaigne* (Stanford, 1958) 48, 150, 302, 260, 431, 693, 820.

⁴⁹ Montaigne (1935) xxxvii, 224.

⁵⁰ Lach (1977) 297.

⁵¹ Lach (1977) 293.

⁵² Lach (1977) 296.

was dedicated to Philippe Herault, the chancellor and chief justice of France since it treated the "most notable and rare matters of nation reputedly wise and prudent."⁵³ This is significant for it demonstrates that the French judicial system was under criticism long before the time of Louis XIV. Montaigne lived during an era of burdensome taxation, relentless tax collectors, and unequal treatment under the law. Intellectuals and critics began looking outside Europe, and specifically to China, for an example of better justice.

After reading Mendoza, Montaigne said that China had developed independently of Europe a form of government and arts that surpassed Europe's in many ways:

In China--a kingdom whose government and arts, without dealings with and knowledge of ours, surpass our examples in many branches of excellence, and whose history teaches me how much ampler and more varied the world is than either the ancients or we ourselves understand. The offices deputed by the prince to inspect the state of his provinces, even as they punish those who are corrupt in their offices, also reward, from pure liberality, those who have conducted themselves better than the average and better than the requirements of their duty. People come before them not merely to defend themselves, but to gain by it, and not simply to be paid, but also to receive presents.⁵⁴

He also acknowledged that China had surpassed Europe in artillery and printing:

We cry "miracle" at the invention of artillery and printing. But other men, at the other end of the world in China, employed them a thousand years

⁵³ Lach (1977) 296.

⁵⁴ Montaigne (1958) 820.

ago.⁵⁵

Perhaps the positive spirit of China was in marked contrast to Montaigne's own convulsing France and led him to say, "Human felicity, in my opinion, consists in living happily rather than in dying happily..."⁵⁶ This comment predates the religious cynicism of Voltaire by over one hundred years.

Montaigne was not an isolated individual. He was in the intimate company of the most powerful men and women in France including Francis II, Catherine de Medici, her son, the boy King Charles IX, and Henry of Navarre, and he acted as mediator between Henry, and the Duke of Guise.⁵⁷ He gave his *Essays* to the future King of France and must have had a very close friendship with Henry, as was evident when he hosted him in 1584 during a visit to Montaigne's home:

For two days my people served him without the aid of any of his servants. He permitted no precautionary trial to be made of the food or the table appointments, and he slept in my own bed.⁵⁸

Henry offered Montaigne a post after becoming King, but the writer declined the offer. However, Montaigne was forthcoming in advice to the new monarch in two letters urging him to govern with "clemency and magnanimity."⁵⁹ Perhaps he sought

⁵⁵ Montaigne (1958) 819-20; Montaigne (1935) 247.

⁵⁶ Montaigne (1935) 372.

⁵⁷ Montaigne (1935) xxv, xxxvi, xxxvii, xlv, 101.

⁵⁸ Montaigne (1935) 112.

⁵⁹ Montaigne (1935) li.

to influence his close friend to rule as the Chinese emperor did.

At the close of the sixteenth century, references to Asia and its people appeared on numerous occasions in popular literature. The dissemination of these works was aided immensely by the rise of printing and the increasing use of vernacular languages (as opposed to Latin). This "travel literature" was very popular and widely available.⁶⁰ There was such a proliferation of travel books, narratives, descriptives, reports, collections and series, that a gentleman could sit at home and read about the pagodas of China.⁶¹

This body of information, which began accumulating in the mid-sixteenth century, became a major resource for many of the leading intellectuals in Europe between 1550 and 1780. These men were to comment favorably about China, cite specific references from the writings of the travelers, historians, and Jesuits, enter into dialogues with each other, and advocate imitation and adoption of Chinese ways in government, morals, and philosophy.

The quick penetration by the Portuguese into Asia was a stimulus for other Europeans to look East for commercial profits. Activity in Lyon, France was an example of how

⁶⁰ Lach (1977) 532.

⁶¹ Paul Hazard, *European Thought in the Eighteenth Century* (Cleveland, 1963) 9.

rapidly cosmopolitan Western Europe became actively engaged in commerce with Asia. The merchants of Lyon moved rapidly to seek trade with China. In 1521, they assisted with financing a voyage across the Atlantic which sought a northwest passage to Cathay.⁶² The result of that activity was that the city was to serve as a conduit for the passage of goods and information from the East into Europe for over 200 years. Along with Paris and Bordeaux, Lyon was one of France's three most cosmopolitan cities. As a result, by the early sixteenth century, it was heavily involved with the Asian trade and attracted artisans, merchants and bankers from Italy and Germany.⁶³

A direct result of the growing commerce with Asia was that Lyon had established eighty printing shops in the early 1500's. From these presses emerged French translations "of Latin classics and Italian travel books and popular literature."⁶⁴ It was to be the art of printing, which the Italian historian Paulus Jovius (1483-1552) may have been the first European to suggest had originated in China⁶⁵, that was to grow rapidly in both the old and new centers of trade in Europe in this century. By 1600, there were available in northern Europe and Italy a "wide range of raw materials" on

⁶² Lach (1977) 254.

⁶³ Lach (1977) 254.

⁶⁴ Lach (1977) 254.

⁶⁵ Lach (1965) 777.

Asia including travel accounts, chronicles, histories, works of natural science, cosmographies and maps. The information on Asia was either in printed form for sale at fairs and bookshops or in private libraries that were open to interested researchers.⁶⁶ Today we know that:

The extant catalogs of royal, papal, and private libraries indicate that substantial numbers of books on the recent discoveries were collected in every European country from Spain to England to Germany.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Lach (1977) 75.

⁶⁷ Lach (1977) 558.

The Jesuits

At the end of the sixteenth century, the acquisition of information about China began to shift away from accounts of travelers and merchants to the systematic reports of the missionaries of the Society of Jesus. In addition, the Jesuits oversaw the dissemination of this information throughout Europe and became strong proponents of the accommodation of the Chinese ethical belief system to Catholicism.

In 1600, two Jesuit fathers reached the Chinese capital of Peking. Although the intensive efforts over the next 150 years by the Jesuit order to convert China to Catholicism were ultimately unsuccessful, Jesuit missionaries did become the leading Europeans in the Chinese court, where they gained positions as confidants and teachers to the Chinese and Manchu emperors. In this role, these learned priests became the leading source in Europe of first-hand information on China. They provided volumes of positive, detailed accounts of Chinese culture and government along with translations of Chinese classical philosophy to a receptive European audience that included leading intellectuals and rulers.

Public relations were used by the Jesuits to promote their work in Asia. Their success in exciting public interest in Asia was evident as early as 1584, when a Japanese embassy of four young men, fourteen to fifteen years of age, arrived

in Lisbon. The embassy was escorted by Jesuit priests on a twenty-month European tour through seventy cities, including Toledo, Madrid, Rome, and Venice.¹ After a sixty-year period that had seen increasing numbers of accounts and books on Asia, at last real Asians had arrived for the "grand tour." Simultaneously, the Vatican commissioned and sanctioned Mendoza's definitive book about China.

After 1600, the Jesuits developed into Europe's leading source of first-hand knowledge about China. The Society of Jesus was the outgrowth of the self-recognized necessity of the Catholic Church to reform in response to the internal corruption of the fifteenth century and the split in Christianity brought about by the emerging Protestant Reformation.² Under a vow of direct obedience to the Pope, who had officially sanctioned the order in 1540, the Jesuits rapidly developed into the leaders for missionary work in Asia.

In comparison to other Catholic orders, such as the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians, who had often been suspect in their morality, the Jesuits set the highest standards of conduct as missionaries and educators.³ By 1600, after only sixty years of existence, the Jesuits had risen to

¹ Lach (1965) 689-705.

² Arnold Rowbotham, *Missionary and Mandarin: The Jesuits at the Court of China* (Berkeley, 1942) 42.

³ Boxer (1969) 66.

be the priests, confessors, and diplomats to the Catholic kings and leaders of Europe and the teachers of the upper classes. They were to occupy this position for one hundred fifty years, until the mid-eighteenth century. They founded colleges in France that became centers for Jesuit research and scholarship, as well as leading institutions for study in the liberal arts, including history, literature, chronology and geography.⁴

The Jesuits also differed from other Catholic orders with respect to their approach to missionizing. Theirs was a pattern of ministry from the top down, with a strong emphasis on education and fervent attempts to assimilate into the culture they worked with. This method was to become their trademark and served them well in China. Between 1600 and 1700, the Jesuit fathers reached the highest levels of service in the Chinese government, where they served as teachers, diplomats, engineers, astronomers and mathematicians to the Imperial Court and the Chinese emperors.

The first Jesuit leader in Asia was Francis Xavier, who had been a student of the Jesuit founder, St. Ignatius de Loyola. The zeal of the Jesuits is evidenced by the fact that Xavier departed from Rome just one year after Pope Paul III had recognized the society. As the first Western missionary to Asia in two hundred years, he set the pattern for the

⁴ Charles E. Ronan and Bonnie B. C. Oh, editors, *East meets West: The Jesuits in China, 1582-1773* (Chicago, 1988) 220-21.

aggressiveness and manner of operating that the Jesuits were to pursue in Asia for almost two centuries.

Xavier literally worked himself to death (as would many of his successors). He died in 1552, off the coast of China, as he waited to enter that country after eleven strenuous years of efforts which saw him missionizing in Mozambique, Malacca, and Japan. Xavier established the practice of learning the languages of the countries in which he sought conversions. As would the Jesuits who followed him, he served as a type of diplomat, retraced his steps and sought new routes into countries when blocked, showed exemplary personal courage and fearlessness, and instituted the policy of cultivating the leadership of the country first in his conversion attempts.⁵ He provided the model for all the Jesuits who would follow him to Asia.

In the 1540's, the Jesuits established in Rome a regular system of communicating with all missionaries and of preserving their records. From this was to come a selection of information, first in manuscript and then later in printed form, that circulated throughout Europe, beginning in 1552, as the Jesuit letterbooks.⁶ Coimbra, Portugal became the first center for the dissemination of the Jesuit correspondence from Asia. Castanheda, author of the first major book on Asia written in 1551, spent the last portion of his life in

⁵ Rowbotham 45.

⁶ Lach (1965) 315-18.

Coimbra. Xavier did his duty by sending to Rome, from Asia, annual letters in multiple copies. His first three letters were from India and arrived in Rome in 1543. Thus he inaugurated the tradition of the Jesuit missionaries writing detailed descriptions of the physical and intellectual aspects of the Eastern countries.⁷

So great was the amount of information arriving in Europe that, after only two years, the authorities were complaining of overwork from copying the material. Permission was granted by Loyola to print the letters.⁸ Circulation of these letters was swift, for they soon reached Padua, Portugal, Valencia, Cologne, Paris by 1545 (in translation to French), and Augsburg in the same year (in translation to German).⁹ The information about Asia was accessible to the highest echelons of European society as printed copies of these missionary letters were presented to the "crowned heads and prelates of Catholic Europe."¹⁰

Xavier had very good initial success in establishing the missionary movement in Japan. With the hope that Japan would eventually provide a balance to the actions of England's King Henry VIII in removing the British Isles from the Roman

⁷ Lach (1965) 315-16.

⁸ Lach (1965) 315-16.

⁹ Lach (1965) 315-16.

¹⁰ Lach (1965) xii.

Catholic faith,¹¹ Xavier founded a missionary movement that was active for a seventy-year period between 1550 and 1620. The Japanese embassy to Europe in the mid-1580's generated high hopes for the Jesuits. They escorted the young Japanese men and had seen their Father Alessandro Valignani return to Japan with the embassy. Evidence of the high level of official contact comes with the fact that the Jesuits presented two Arabian horses as a present to the ruler, Hideyoshi.¹² However, their efforts in Japan were ultimately extinguished, when the Jesuits were expelled early in the next century and their converts were exterminated or were forced to abandon Christianity as the Tokugawa Shogunate closed Japan to the outside world.

Efforts to enter China had begun only a year after Xavier's death. In 1553, the Portuguese Jesuit, Melchior Nunez Barreto, visited Canton twice and described his visit in a short written account. The Dominican, Gaspar da Cruz, visited the mainland of China briefly the following year. He was to publish the first book in Europe on China fifteen years later, in 1569, in Portugal. It remained for Father Valignani, between visits to Japan and Rome, to establish the first mission in China. Arriving in 1577, he set down the plan to have his priests learn the language and customs of China and to seek to penetrate the highly educated ruling

¹¹ Boxer (1969) 41.

¹² Boxer (1948) 23.

mandarin class. In 1578, Father Michael Ruggieri became the first westerner to attempt to learn written Chinese. He was soon joined by Father Matteo Ricci.

The Italian-born Ricci (1552-1610) was the pivotal figure in establishing the relations between the Jesuits and the Chinese Court in Peking that were to bear such intellectual fruit for over 100 years. Educated in law and mathematics, Ricci survived the grueling six-month voyage from Lisbon to Goa and then arrived in Macao, off the coast of China, in 1582. His struggle and incessant efforts to convert the Chinese is an epic story of almost legendary deeds.¹³ It was his eventual success in achieving acceptance and recognition as a scholar by the Imperial Court in Peking that led to Europeans learning first-hand about Chinese customs, government and philosophy.

Beginning in December, 1582, Ricci, often alone and never with more than one or two fellow Jesuits, worked his way into China. After seventeen years of struggle, he was commanded to a formal audience, with the emperor's representatives, in 1600. Ricci's conversion rate was slow. After two and one-half years, he had only twenty converts to show for his efforts, while Xavier had converted one thousand Japanese in the same amount of time. Soon, Ricci and Ruggieri came to the realization that the greater their proficiency in reading,

¹³ Vincent Cronin's, *The Wise Man From the West* (London, 1955), is an excellent introduction to this extraordinary achievements of Ricci.

writing and speaking the Chinese language, the more success they would achieve in conversions. They perceived that both in understanding the ancient teachings of Confucianism and Buddhism--the prominent belief systems of the Chinese people--and in eventually explaining the Christian tenets to the Chinese when seeking converts, command of the Chinese written and spoken language was essential. Continually improving his Chinese, Ricci made every attempt to emulate the Chinese in dress, manners, exchange of presents, offering of business cards, use of the formal language and even in the quotation of Confucian sayings. He sought to prove himself a gentleman of learning as the means to gain access to the upper class of ruling scholars. His was a hard-won success fraught with much disappointment and danger. Ricci's unceasing efforts to literally make himself become Chinese in thinking and living would provide European readers with the most accurate view of China to that time.

Ricci's correspondence with Europeans began less than two years after his entrance into mainland China. His first letter to Europe was written on September 13, 1584, to a Spanish official. Its purpose was to provide information on the major religious sects of China.¹⁴ By 1586, the general public in Europe was aware that the Jesuits had penetrated China. In Rome, the printer, F. Zenith, published several

¹⁴ Paul Rule, *K'ung-tzu or Confucius? The Jesuit Interpretation of Confucianism* (Sydney, 1986) 28.

collections of Jesuit letters that brought to public attention the fact that the Jesuits, Ruggieri and Ricci, had entered China.¹⁵ Father Ruggieri was the first Jesuit from China to return to Rome, where he took up duties as the "resident expert of the Chinese language and printing."¹⁶ On the return trip from Macao he had published the first portion of the Confucian work, *Great Learning*.¹⁷

It appears that the Jesuits sought, even before Ricci's arrival in the Chinese capital in 1600, to attempt the dissemination of works on Chinese philosophy. Ruggieri's return to Rome, in 1590, may have been for the purpose of publishing translations of certain Chinese classics on philosophy which he carried with him.¹⁸

The extent of Ruggieri's collaboration with Ricci on the these translations is unknown. Father Valignano wrote to Rome from China in 1596, an admonition cautioning against the publication of Ruggieri's translation. He believed that Ruggieri did not have a good command of Chinese and that the

¹⁵ Lach (1977) 237.

¹⁶ Lach (1977) 494.

¹⁷ Ronan 255.

¹⁸ These survive today in the Vatican and Roman archives of the Society of Jesus, states Lach (1977) 497. Ruggieri's translation, into Latin, of the Confucian *Four Books*, dated 1591-1592, may be found in the Biblioteca Vittorio Emmanuele in Rome. An early dictionary, in Portuguese, Italian, and Chinese, compiled by Ricci and Ruggieri, dated 1585-1586, is now located in the Jesuit archives in Rome. It appears that all of these materials returned from China with Ruggieri, states Rule (1986) on 7 and 12.

translations were faulty.¹⁹ As a result, the project to publish translations of the *Four Books* and *Mencius* (major Chinese philosophical works) was halted. Yet, the Jesuits were already attempting to synthesize and compare their growing knowledge of Chinese philosophy with European thinking. A year later, Ruggieri was to write his old friend, Lelio Passionei, that he had come to realize that the great Chinese philosophers had lived and produced their great works during the same time period as Plato and Aristotle.²⁰ It is possible that Ricci also made translations of the *Four Books* and *Mencius* circa 1591-1593. Claims were made in 1620 that these copies had reached Europe, but no such documents are extant today.²¹

In 1588, the Jesuit historian, Pietro Maffei, published his history which included information on China. He praised the governmental examination system as honest, its use in identifying and promoting government officials as good, and the absence of a hereditary nobility as desirable. He criticised the absolute and arrogant power of the emperor, the many vices and poor morals he believed existed, and China's superstitious practices.²² Although, for the most part, the Jesuits in China portrayed the country and its cultures in

¹⁹ Lach (1977) 528; Rule 7.

²⁰ Rule 29.

²¹ Ronan 253; Rule 11.

²² Lach (1965) 804-05.

positive terms, they were realistic about its faults.

The seventeenth century began with Ricci's appearance before the Chinese court in Peking in 1601. At the onset of this new century, Europe had established contacts with the major Asian civilizations of India, Japan, and China. Information which had arrived in Europe during the sixteenth century brought to Westerners the realization that Europe could no longer be viewed as the sole center of civilization.²³ Europeans were forced to admit that the high cultures of Asia owed nothing to either Graeco-Roman heritage or to Christian revelation.²⁴ In the late twentieth century, this concept of an independent civilization totally apart from Europe still meets with resistance from some Westerners who view their heritage as superior to all others of the world. Europe's roots in ancient Greece and Rome had experienced drastic interruptions while modern China had its roots in ancient China just as deeply with its history intact and uninterrupted.²⁵ At the close of the sixteenth century Asia was recognized as equal in many respects to European civilization and actually superior in some elements of her culture.²⁶ Europeans were to look eastward and advocate emulation of Asian modes of conduct.

²³ Lach (1977) 565.

²⁴ Lach (1965) xiv.

²⁵ Lach (1977) 565.

²⁶ Lach (1977) 563.

As early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, "no branch of European intellectual activity except Christian theology went unshaken" from the information that arrived about Asia.²⁷ From the middle of the sixteenth through the end of the eighteenth century Europe was fascinated with Asia. A wide range of rulers, humanists, churchmen, government reformers, religious thinkers, geographers, philosophers, collectors of curiosa, artists, craftsman, scientists, scholars, literati and the general public became interested in knowledge about "Asian beliefs, institutions, arts and crafts."²⁸

The impact of this knowledge was not only in objects and ideas but in language. Asian words began to become absorbed into European languages. Sixteenth-century Europe incorporated "thousands of Eastern words...probably more than in any other century before or since."²⁹ Before 1580, Portugal was the primary source of these new words while Spain and the Jesuit letterbooks, which began after 1550, were secondary sources.³⁰

²⁷ Lach (1977) 566.

²⁸ Lach (1965) xx.

²⁹ Lach (1977) 490.

³⁰ Lach (1977) 492, 535. Lach believes that, although Portugal, Spain, and Italy did not have long-term retention of many Asian words, the English language retained about fifty Asian words introduced before 1600. The French language retained about sixty words that were introduced before 1600. Lach states that many more words came from Asia than from Africa or America.

On the eve of the seventeenth century, Western Europe had many written and printed accounts, in different translations, about the countries of Asia, including major books on China. English merchants in Seville had begun translating Spanish materials on the East and China in the late 1570's so that by 1589, there existed translations into English of seven works, including the books of Escalante and Mendoza.³¹

The Englishman, John Dee (1527-1608), a collector of geographic and navigational books, possessed a library of approximately one hundred seventy manuscripts and two thousand five hundred printed books. His collection included books on navigation to Asia, and a sizeable number of Jesuit letterbooks that he endorsed for use by Protestant Englishmen as important navigational tools.³² Such was the importance of Dee's collection that he was visited by Queen Elizabeth I, in 1575, by Sir Francis Drake, in 1581, and repeatedly by Humphrey Gilbert.³³ The Lumley library in England was a private collection numbering about three thousand in 1596.

³¹ Elizabethan England had access in her native language to: Thomas Nichol's translation of *Newes Lately Come from...China* by Castanheda (1577); Richard Wille's revisions of Eastern accounts (1577); John Frampton's translation of Marco Polo (1579); Escalante's discourse on China (1579); Parke's translation of Mendoza (1588); Thomas Hickock's translation of the travels to the East of the Venetian Cesare Federici (1588); Haykluyt's collection *The Principal Navigations* (1589) and the second edition in 1600. This information is from Lach, 1977, 373-75.

³² Lach (1977) 70.

³³ Lach (1977) 70.

Included were five hundred ninety one volumes catalogued under the heading of History, of which fifty four dealt with Asia.

Father Ricci remained in Peking from 1600 until his death in 1610. Although he never held a governmental post, as would some of his successors, he became a focal point for all Catholic activities while never ceasing his tireless efforts to emulate and convert the Chinese officials he had contact with. His information about mathematics, science, and cartography was superior to the knowledge the Chinese possessed. As such, this material was desired by Chinese court officials. Ricci was able to utilize the curiosity exhibited about his information, by the Chinese, to gain access to high, imperial, court officials.

After acquiring information about the work of Chinese astronomers, whose purpose was to prepare the calendar based on their observations, Ricci concluded that their methods were ineffective and their calculations inaccurate. In addition, they did not know how to operate the two hundred fifty year-old instruments that had been constructed for them by the Arabs. Ricci requested that Rome send Jesuits who were learned in the areas the Chinese were not. For the next one hundred years, a steady stream of Jesuit scientists, mathematicians, and astronomers, who had been pupils of or were in direct contact with the leading European astronomers, such as Galileo in Italy, Kepler in Germany, and Cassini, Huygens, and Roemer in France, journeyed to China and entered

into the service of the emperors.

Ricci converted several officials who held high positions in the imperial government. He met regularly with scholars to discuss Confucianism and the similarities he recognized between this ancient belief system and Christianity. With assistance from his converts, he began to translate biblical and mathematical works into the Chinese language. Upon his death from overwork (perhaps a stroke), he was replaced as head of the Chinese missions by Father Longobardi, who had cautioned against using Ruggieri's translations twenty years earlier. Longobardi would later cause the Jesuits a great amount of much trouble, when he emerged as an outspoken opponent of the Jesuit position of the accommodating Confucianism with Catholicism. The controversy caused a fatal split in the Jesuit missionary movement and reached a momentous climax in hearings before the religious faculty at the Sorbonne in 1700.

Ricci sent regular reports and letters to Rome between 1582 and the time of his death. Some were published and circulated, while others were utilized to prepare Jesuit histories. His journal was returned to Europe after his death in 1610. Under orders from Father Longobardi, Father Nicholas Trigault left Macao in February, 1613 to return to Rome, arriving in October, 1614. During his return voyage he

translated Ricci's memoirs from Italian into Latin.³⁴ In what appears to be an effort to portray the Chinese in the most favorable manner, Trigault extensively edited the material (perhaps under Longobardi's authority) so as to remove some of the more controversial items concerning the Chinese rites that Ricci had honestly reported.³⁵ The edition was published in Rome in 1615, under the title *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas suscepta ab Societate Jesu, ex P. Matthaei Ricci ejusdem Societatis Commentariis*.

Ricci's work was the second significant book on China and the most authoritative work yet to appear on the country, its people, customs, laws, and government.³⁶ Having been first published in Latin, the literary language common to all educated Europeans, "it was a resounding success, aroused great interest everywhere in Europe, and brought Ricci's achievements to the attention of the Western world."³⁷ Editions in at least six other languages soon followed.

Until 1615, Europeans had scant knowledge of the Chinese philosophy of Confucianism. Ricci's book included material on the teachings of Confucius and the great sage's successor,

³⁴ George Dunne, *Generation of Giants: The Story of the Jesuits in China in the last Decades of the Ming Dynasty* (London, 1962) 175; Maverick, *China, a Model for Europe* (San Antonio, 1946) 4.

³⁵ Rule, 27; David Mungello, *Leibniz and Confucianism: The Search for Accord* (Honolulu, 1977) 19.

³⁶ Maverick 4; Dunne 175.

³⁷ Dunne 175-176.

Mencius. Ricci concluded that the ideas of these two most revered ancient Chinese philosophers were in conformity with reason and "these books are not inferior to those of any of our philosophers."³⁸ Ricci's journals were the first detailed account of China since Marco Polo's book of the fourteenth century. Ricci confirmed the oft-maligned accounts of Polo.³⁹

After the publication of Ricci's journals, Father Trigault departed for a two-year publicity tour throughout Europe in order to seek support for the Jesuit mission in China.⁴⁰ The goal of the Jesuits was to have every city organize a fund-raising group to support the missionaries.

After less than twenty years of a Jesuit presence in the Chinese capital, Europe was so intrigued with China that Trigault's efforts were successful in reaching to the highest echelons of society. He received from Marie de Medici in France "splendid Flanders tapestries to present to the emperor of China and rich church ornaments and valuable paintings" from Isabel of Spain. He secured promises of financial support for his work in China from William V of Brussels and from his son, Maximilian, in Munich.⁴¹ Trigault recruited "a

³⁸ H. G. Creel, *Confucius and the Chinese Way* (New York, 1949) 261.

³⁹ Jonathan Spence, *To Change China: Western Advisors in China 1620-1960* (New York, 1980) 6.

⁴⁰ Dunne 176.

⁴¹ Dunne 176.

formidable number of young Jesuit volunteers for the mission" from northern Europe. Even several members of his family from Antwerp decided to accompany him on his return trip to China.⁴²

In response to Ricci's request for Jesuit astronomers whose expertise would allow them access to planning the Chinese calendar, included in the returning group were Johann Terrenz Schreck and Adam Schall von Bell, each of whom possessed great knowledge of astronomy and mathematics.⁴³ These men initiated close contact between Jesuit astronomers and the leading astronomers in Europe.

For the Chinese, the study of the stars was the means to determine the influence of the planets on human destiny. The official imperial calendar was used as the basis for all activities in China. Inconceivable to the twentieth-century mind, the astronomical calendar, to the Chinese of the seventeenth century, was the essential means to plan all activities of one's life:

As a document it was without parallel in the history of the printed page. Its influence penetrated to the hut of the lowliest peasant as well as to the palace of the viceroy. Not a birth or marriage took place, not a journey was undertaken, not a building was

⁴² Dunne 176-78.

⁴³ Dunne 178. Trigault landed with his recruits in Goa on October 4, 1618. He died in 1628, at the age of 52, perhaps by suicide. Dunne says that Trigault's activities in Europe have been well documented by Edmond Lamalle, S.J., in "La propagande du P. Nicholas Trigault en faveur des missions de Chine (1616), *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesus*, ix (Rome, 1940) 49-120.

erected without its being consulted. It was the arbiter of the destinies of the people--the time schedule of the nation.⁴⁴

Errors in the imperial calendar could mean disaster for the Chinese on all levels of society and in all areas of activities ranging from planting to harvesting, from festivals to funerals.

In 1629, Ricci's convert, Paul Hsu (Hsu Kung-chi), well aware of the errors Ricci had determined in calculations by Chinese and Arab astronomers, petitioned the emperor to allow the newly-arrived Jesuits, Schreck and Schall, to assist with the astronomical observations and calculations. Both priests held greater expertise in astronomy than had their predecessors. Both had successfully predicted eclipses in 1623 and 1625.

Schreck was one of Europe's outstanding scientists. A native of Switzerland, he had achieved fame throughout Europe as a physician, philosopher, and mathematician.⁴⁵ He was a friend of Galileo (1564-1642) and was elected as the seventh member to the Cesi Academy in Rome following the election of Galileo.⁴⁶ He entered the Society of Jesus at the age of thirty-five. He had access to the latest information about the solar system that he planned to use in the service of the Chinese emperor. After the injunction of 1616 by the Pope to

⁴⁴ Rowbotham 69.

⁴⁵ Dunne 124.

⁴⁶ Dunne 214.

cease defending Copernican theories, Galileo withdrew his assistance to the Jesuit astronomers.⁴⁷ Unable to obtain Galileo's advice in calculating Chinese solar eclipses, Terrentius began a correspondence with Johann Kepler. He explained to Kepler the Chinese method of calculating solar eclipses and obtained enough information to allow the Jesuits in China to surpass the Chinese astronomers in predicting eclipses.⁴⁸

Galileo, Tycho Brahe (1546-1601), and Johann Kepler (1571-1630) were major figures in astronomy at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Kepler corresponded and exchanged books with Galileo and Brahe. In 1597, Kepler sent an unsolicited copy of his book, *Cosmographic Mystery*, to Galileo, who responded immediately with positive comments. In 1610, Galileo had sent to Kepler a copy of his book, *The Starry Messenger*.⁴⁹ Kepler worked under Brahe in 1600, and was his ablest assistant.⁵⁰ As did Galileo, Kepler ran afoul with the authorities of the Counter Reformation. At one time his library was seized, and he had to receive assistance from his close Jesuit friend and fellow mathematician, Paul Guldin,

⁴⁷ Pasquale D'Elia, trans. Rufus Suter, *Galileo in China* (Cambridge, MA., 1960).

⁴⁸ Dunne 214; Spence (1980) 11.

⁴⁹ Angus Armitage, *John Kepler* (London, 1966) 52-56, 59, 116.

⁵⁰ Richard S. Dunn, *The Age of Religious Wars, 1559-1715* (New York, 1979) 203.

in retrieving his books.⁵¹ In his constant efforts to convert the Protestant Kepler, the Jesuit Guldin, in 1624, sent him a copy of an anti-Tycho Brahe work by an Italian astronomer and, in 1627, corresponded with Kepler about theology.⁵² Still, Kepler provided assistance to the Jesuit Terrentius in China.

In 1627, during a brief visit with Jesuits in Dillingen, Kepler learned of a letter from the Jesuit astronomer, Johannes Schreck, in China requesting the newest information in astronomy from Kepler and Galileo. Kepler soon answered with a published reply.⁵³ Schreck had scarcely been appointed to an official post for the Chinese court to calculate the calendar when he died in May, 1630. His work with the calendar for the emperor was continued by the less knowledgeable, but equally zealous, Adam Schall.

Schall's reputation grew through the correct prediction of eclipses in competition with the official court astronomers. In addition, his role within the official Chinese court expanded, as he was engaged in an increasing number of activities while in Peking. He published books on astronomy in Chinese, crafted small telescopes, and cast small

⁵¹ Max Caspar, *Kepler* (London, 1959) 317.

⁵² Armitage 110 & 169.

⁵³ Caspar 331, 350. Mungello states that Gottfried Leibniz knew of this correspondence and said that Terrentius wrote in 1623 and Kepler did not reply until four years later. The Kepler letter was said to have include a set of the Rudolphine Tables jointly compiled by Tycho Brahe and Kepler 35.

cannon (the art of which he claimed ignorance) that were needed by the Ming armies in the fight to save their declining dynasty.

In 1644, Schall was appointed the director of the Bureau of Astronomy and commissioned as an official Chinese bureaucrat. Almost 400 years had passed since the "western barbarian," Marco Polo had held an official government office. Schall's appointment was a tacit acknowledgment by the Chinese that they needed outside information. Schall continued following Ricci's instructions to use science as a means of gaining influence in the top echelons of Chinese society, with the ultimate goal of converting them to Christianity. His appointment was evidence that the Jesuits were gaining in influence and power within the Chinese government.

When the Ming dynasty fell, in 1644, Schall successfully switched allegiances to the new Ch'ing dynasty by becoming an advisor to the young Manchu Emperor, Shun-hih. In doing so, Schall had accomplished a major goal of the Jesuits. In his position, Schall was successful in establishing a personal and informal relationship with the young emperor and appeared to have the confidence of the young man. This was less than fifty years after Ricci's entrance into Peking. Schall also functioned as a father-figure advisor. As such, his position was closer to the ruler of the world's most populous country than would be the position of his later counterparts as confessors to Louis XIV in France. The emperor made frequent

informal visits to Schall's residence during the years 1656-1657 to discuss astronomy, government, and religion.⁵⁴

Schall was the recipient of many awards and titles from the young emperor, who praised the old Jesuit's religion and accorded him the great honor of not having to "kow-tow."

Sadly for Schall, the hoped-for conversion of the emperor to Christianity never occurred. Upon the emperor's premature death, Schall fell out of favor. At the end of his life, Schall was put on trial for charges of false astronomy and treason, contrived by jealous Chinese astronomers. He was found guilty and died in 1666, before he could be executed. The attempt to vindicate him and gain access anew to the circles of power were undertaken by a newly arrived Jesuit, Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688).

The Flemish Jesuit Verbiest continued Schall's work in an unofficial capacity. In 1671, when the young emperor, K'ang-hsi, sought to ascertain the truth behind the events regarding Schall's trial, Verbiest emerged above the rival Chinese astronomers to be named Director of the Bureau of Astronomy. This was the same title Schall had held. Again, the tenacious Jesuits were able to gain the confidence of a young emperor. This time they held power much longer.

For almost thirty years Verbiest served the Emperor K'ang-hsi in a variety of capacities. The Jesuit learned the Manchu language (so as to be better able to converse with the

⁵⁴ Spence (1980) 19.

Manchu emperor), translated six of Euclid's books on geometry into Manchu, taught the emperor astronomy, cast over four hundred war cannon, and constructed astronomical instruments, sundials, water pumps, and even toys. He traveled extensively throughout China as part of the imperial retinue. Although Verbiest had become a friend and advisor to the ruler of the world's most populous country, he, too, ultimately failed in converting the emperor to Christianity. After a fall from his horse, the Jesuit died, literally worn out from his duties. The respect the Chinese emperor held for Verbiest was evident when the priest received a state funeral, complete with imperial honor guard, and was buried with honors in the Jesuit cemetery next to his predecessors, Ricci and Schall, outside the western gate of Peking. It was Verbiest who initiated the direct intervention of the French government in training and funding Jesuit astronomers.

Information via the Jesuit connection continued to enter Europe after the death of the Jesuit astronomer, Terrentius, in 1630 through the height of Verbiest's influence with the Emperor K'ang-hsi in the 1680's. In 1642, Father Samedo published in Spain a book on China that covered primarily the physical features of China.⁵⁵ The Polish Jesuit, Michel Boyrm (1612-1659), traveled from China to Europe in the early 1650's as representative for the pretender to the Ming throne,

⁵⁵ Maverick 5.

Chu Yu-lang (1623-1662), in an attempt to win Western aid to revive the Ming dynasty.⁵⁶ The Jesuit, Mario Martini, left China for Italy in 1652, traveling a portion of the voyage on a Dutch ship. In Rome, he wrote several books on Chinese geography and history which were published in the 1650's in Rome, Antwerp, Amsterdam, and Vienna.⁵⁷ In 1658, he published in Munich, *Sinicae Historiae Decas Prima*, which was a translation of Chinese history sources and included a dozen pages on Mencius and his teachings.⁵⁸ In 1662, a letter from Jacques le Faure, on the state of China and the missions, was published in France.⁵⁹

In 1667, Father Athanasius Kircher published in Amsterdam, *China monumentis*. Although never having journeyed to China, as had most authors of the seventeenth century, this editor saw his book "promptly translated into several languages and widely read."⁶⁰ Between 1662 and 1771, the Confucian *Four Books* on philosophy were published in five editions.⁶¹ In 1651, the first native Chinese entered the Jesuit order in Rome. Cheng Wei-hsin (1633-1673) completed a full course of studies, was ordained at the Jesuit seminary in

⁵⁶ Ronan 216.

⁵⁷ Maverick 8, 312.

⁵⁸ Ronan 73, 99; Maverick 64.

⁵⁹ Maverick 10.

⁶⁰ Maverick 10.

⁶¹ Ronan 252.

1664, and sailed for China in 1668.⁶²

Father Prospero Intorcetta (1625-1696) was a Sicilian who entered China in 1659. He returned to Rome between 1669-1674 as procurator of the Jesuit mission in China. As with many Jesuits, it was his goal to raise funds and recruit missionaries and thus he sought to portray China in a favorable manner.⁶³ He published *Sinarum scientia politico-moralis*, a Latin translation of Chinese classics. It was soon translated into French and published in Paris in the 1670's, as a part of Thevenot's *Relations de divers voyages curieux*. Its significance was that it was the first Chinese work to be published in a translation other than Latin.⁶⁴ It appeared at a time when the use of vernacular languages was on the rise. Thus, it may have been directed at a less-educated and, therefore, a wider audience. The book appeared at a critical juncture in France's interest in Asia, for it was during this period that the French government began attempts to establish a closer relationship with Asia through the Jesuits.

Although the Jesuits were the major source of information on China for Europe in the seventeenth century, there did exist other sources. The Dutch government, having obtained a monopoly on trade with Japan by 1640 and seeking to further dismantle the Portuguese trade in the East, sent a mission to

⁶² Dunne 174.

⁶³ Ronan 259.

⁶⁴ Rule 116.

Peking in 1656, seeking trade. So ill-equipped were the Dutch that they had to ask the Jesuit Schall to serve as translator.⁶⁵ That the mission was unsuccessful may have been largely due to the intervention of Schall who was the close advisor to the young Manchu emperor. The secretary to the mission was John Nieuhof. After his death at sea on a return voyage to the East Indies, his work, *A Well-illustrated description of China*, was published in 1665.⁶⁶ A copy of this book would later be owned by John Locke.

In 1669, John Webb published an essay to the English King, Charles II. Webb was more direct than Montaigne had been, almost one hundred years earlier, to Henry IV of France, for he suggested that Charles II imitate the ancient Chinese emperors.⁶⁷

The Spanish Dominican priest, Fernandez Navarette, published in Madrid (1675) an account of the politics and religions of China which contained about a dozen pages on the teachings of Mencius.⁶⁸ John Locke owned a Spanish edition of this book. An English translation was published in London in 1681. Sweden was the location of two works on China

⁶⁵ Maverick 9.

⁶⁶ Maverick 10. This may be the same book as *An Embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces to the Grand Tartar Kahn, Emperor of China*, translated by John Ogilby, published in London by John Macock, 1669.

⁶⁷ Maverick 11.

⁶⁸ Maverick 12, 64.

published together in 1757. In one, Peter Osbeck praised China's morals and institutions, while in the other, Captain Charles Eeckeberg praised China's agriculture.⁶⁹ In 1762, an anonymous publication in England (ascribed to C.F. Noble) appeared. *A Voyage to the East Indies in 1747 and 1748* lauded China's agriculture and its transportation system of canals and roads.⁷⁰

By the middle of the seventeenth century, Europe had been receiving information on Chinese philosophy, government, culture, and geography for 100 years. The primary source of the information was from Jesuit missionaries in China. By the final decade of the seventeenth century the Jesuits had obtained their greatest influence over the rulers of Europe and of China. However, as a result of the direct connection between China and France established by Louis XIV⁷¹, which had provided more accurate and almost instantaneous information about China, the long-simmering "Rites" controversy reached its peak in the first decade of the next century, as the Jesuits continued to experience both internal dissension over the issue and outside attacks from the Jansenists.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Maverick 38.

⁷⁰ Maverick 38.

⁷¹ This connection will be explored in the next chapter.

⁷¹ This controversy had the Jesuits divided as to whether or not the Chinese ritual of ancestor worship was compatible with Catholic theology. Jesuits in China, as a whole, tended to

A major debate in the form of a formal hearing was convened in August, 1700 by the theological faculty at the Sorbonne. The faculty was shaken by the Jesuits' overt praise of China.⁷² The committee of theologians ruled against the Jesuit policy of the accommodation of Chinese Confucian values with Christian Catholic theology, and the Jesuits heard the recent writings of Le Comte and Le Gobien denounced as betraying the fundamentals of Catholicism. With the books of the Jesuits ordered to be burned, the anti-Jesuit movement, which had originated during the internal conflict within the Jesuits (as Trigault had modified Ricci's diaries eighty-five years earlier), and which had accelerated when the French mission was dispatched fifteen years prior, gained overwhelming momentum. From this time forward, the Jesuits were on the defensive in both Europe and China.

In China, the emperor soon lost patience with the papal envoys, whose mission was to replace the Jesuits in his court, for the new priests lacked knowledge of the language and customs of China. Papal edicts of 1705 and 1715 were ignored by the Jesuits, who finally succumbed to the Papal Bull of 1742, issued by Pope Benedict XIV, which commanded all Catholic missionaries in China to denounce the Chinese Rites.

believe that practices honoring the dead were not true rituals of worship and were, therefore, not against the Catholic belief of worshiping only on God. Jesuits in Europe tended to view the Chinese rites as worship of false idols.

⁷² Rule 134, commenting on what Voltaire said in his book, *Le Siecle de Louis XIV*.

Subsequently, the emperor banished all Catholics from China.

The Jesuit efforts at publication slowed after 1700. Francois Noël (1651-1729), the Jesuit procurator for China in Europe between 1702-1707, published in Prague, at the Charles-Ferdinand University, in 1711, a complete Latin translation of *the works of Mencius*.⁷³ It never was much publicized and is not often found today in collections of seventeenth-century books.⁷⁴ This may have been due to Prague's remote location or the decline in Jesuit fortunes, or both.

Jean-François Fouquet was a former Jesuit who had missionized in China. His library of 4,000 Chinese books was appropriated by the French king, and he spent the latter portion of his life writing on China while residing in Rome.⁷⁵ He published, in 1729, the *Chronological Table of Chinese History*, with little apparent impact.

The last major Jesuit figure to write positively on China was Jean-Baptiste Du Halde (1674-1743). Until the mid-eighteenth century, the Jesuits had continued to publish letters from their missionaries. Du Halde served as the official editor of the French Jesuit missionary material from 1709-1743.⁷⁶ This position gave him a major influence on the writings about China for which he took a strong, positive

⁷³ Maverick 64; Ronan 264.

⁷⁴ Ronan 267.

⁷⁵ Rule 175, 177.

⁷⁶ Rule 185.

position on China.⁷⁷ In 1735, he published his four-volume work, *Description de la Chine*, in the Hague. His book included an extensive condensation of the teaching of Mencius, his opinions of the Confucian principles of good government, and his admiration for the concept of equality as evidenced in the Chinese educational system where any peasant's son could aspire to become a high official.⁷⁸ Two English translations of this work appeared immediately with one prefaced by a positive dedication and praising China's agricultural system with its high status for the farmer whose social rank was above the merchant and the artisan.⁷⁹

No laws or institutions appear in the general so well contrived as the Chinese, to make both king and people happy...The Chinese emperors and ministers issue edicts and speeches that are as noble essay upon liberty and government as every appeared in any country of Europe.⁸⁰

Du Halde's book was to serve as a principal source of information on China for Voltaire, Rousseau, Hume, Montesquieu, the Marquis d'Argens, Goldsmith, Rousselot de Surgy (source for Quesnay) and the Encyclopedists.⁸¹

The influence of the Jesuits declined rapidly, and in 1773, after over two centuries of missionizing and educating

⁷⁷ Maverick 22.

⁷⁸ Creel (1949) 270; Maverick 24-25, 64.

⁷⁹ Maverick 23.

⁸⁰ Maverick 23.

⁸¹ Maverick 26.

throughout the world, the order was disbanded by the monarchs and Pope Clement XIV.⁸²

Were it not for a century of relentless efforts by the Jesuit missionaries in China to become Chinese in speech, manners, and thought, these priests would never had acquired the detailed and accurate information about Chinese philosophy, customs, culture, and governmental operations that they did. This information was Europe's primary source for its knowledge about China. The material was promoted by the Jesuit order in Europe to such a great extent that major thinkers, from Montaigne to Adam Smith, together with rulers, from Louis XIV to Joseph of Austria, were cognizant of, and at times advocated, adoption and emulation of Chinese ideas and practices. As there was no other such highly detailed, reliable source for information about China, without the Jesuit connection, Europe would have had a dearth of accurate information about the world's most populous country.

⁸² Will and Ariel Durant. *The Story of Civilization* (vol. 10): *Rousseau and Revolution* (New York, 1967) 318-319. The Society of Jesus was restored by Pope Pius VII in 1814.

Louis XIV and K'ang-Hsi

In France, In the middle of the seventeenth century, the movement began to critically study China's geography, government, and institutions. This event is significant because the French government took the lead in training Jesuit missionaries as scientists with the express purpose that these selected priests would work within the Chinese court and relay information they learned to waiting French authorities. The contact that evolved was intense. With the Jesuits acting as their intermediaries and close confidants, the rulers of the two most powerful nations on earth were to learn of each others' customs and religions.

The vogue for China began under the Sun King and reached its peak, almost a century later, under Louis XV.¹ French scholars, scientists, statesmen, and clergymen would all become involved in the debate over Chinese ideas. Some accepted the information arriving from China and would advocate imitation of certain Chinese ideas and institutions. Others rejected the information as erroneous. Chinese objects (*chinoiserie*) became very popular. Items such as sedan chairs, porcelain, lacquer-ware, silks, fire crackers, peep shows, tea drinking, and remodelled gardens, and even hair styles after the Japanese (adopted by Mme. de Pompadour)

¹ Maverick 124.

became the fashion.²

In 1658 and 1659, the pope appointed three Frenchmen as bishops to China. These positions were created over the objections of the Portuguese, who had traditionally held the right of patronage in Asia. However, Portuguese power in the East had been on the decline for almost fifty years at the hands of the Spanish and Dutch. In 1663, the first French mission, calling itself "the Society for Foreign Missions," left for Asia. This was the onset of officially sanctioned French governmental interest and support of activity in Asia.

France sought to make itself the center of astronomy in the world. Construction of a major astronomical observatory began in 1667 with the government staffing the enterprise with the leading scientists of Europe.³ From Italy came the Italian astronomer and topographer, Jean-Dominique Cassini (1625-1712), discoverer of four moons of Saturn, who was appointed director in 1671.⁴ He was joined by Christian Huygens (1629-1695), from Holland, who had discovered rings of Saturn and refined, if not invented, the pendulum clock, and Roemer from Denmark, who determined the velocity of solar

² Maverick 124.

³ Ines Murat, *Colbert* (Charlottesville: Univ. Press, 1984) 127, 247. The author contradicts himself concerning the date of completion of the observatory. He gives 1672 as the date. Later in the book he gives 1683 as the date of completion.

⁴ François Marie Arouet de Voltaire, *The Age of Louis XIV* (London, 1961) 354.

rays. Roemer would become a friend of John Locke during Locke's visit to Paris in 1678. The entire project was supported by Jean-Baptiste Colbert, minister to Louis XIV. Colbert's plans were to re-map the world from the Paris observatory and to seek potential commercial advantage by sending French Jesuit astronomers to China.⁵ Although Colbert died in 1683, his successor, Louvois, carried the project forward.

Impetus for sending Jesuit scientists came from a letter written by Ferdinand Verbiest, then at the peak of his influence in the court of the emperor, K'ang-hsi, in August, 1678. Verbiest was the third generation of Jesuit astronomers to serve the Chinese court. Concerned over the minimal numbers of Jesuits entering China (only seven in the previous ten years), Verbiest called for more. The letter reached Europe in 1680 and was subsequently widely disseminated.⁶ France began to assemble and train a contingent of Jesuits to answer the call from China.

The confessor to Louis XIV, the Jesuit, Père de la Chaise, assisted with arrangements for the mission.⁷ As confessor to the Sun King, no one was more intimate with the source of power in France. La Chaise officiated at the secret midnight wedding of Louis to Madame de Maintenon held at

⁵ Ronan 220; Rule 128.

⁶ Ronan 72.

⁷ Rule 128.

Versailles in 1684.⁸ He exchanged letters with Verbiest in China. In March, 1685, La Chaise wrote a letter of introduction for the arriving priests, and Verbiest replied, promising his aid and intervention on their behalf.⁹ Such was the power of the Jesuits to act as counselors to and intermediaries for the two most powerful rulers on the earth. La Chaise also received letters from Père de Premare on the customs and physical layout of Canton with comparisons to life in Paris.¹⁰

The Jesuits brought Chinese citizens to the French court. In 1684, the Jesuit Philippe Couplet, procurator from China to Europe, visited accompanied by a young Chinese Christian and gained an audience with Louis XIV.¹¹ Couplet carried a request from the Emperor K'ang-Hsi for French missionaries. At a meeting with Louis XIV he discussed the project of sending Jesuit scientists to China.¹²

Couplet was the closest friend of Verbiest, Jesuit advisor to the Manchu emperor.¹³ The importance of Couplet's visit from China was such that his European tour, with the

⁸ G. F. Bradby, *The Great Days of Versailles: Studies from Court Life in the later years of Louis XIV* (New York, 1927) 156.

⁹ Rule 128.

¹⁰ Hazard (1963), 360.

¹¹ Ronan 219; Rule 117.

¹² Ronan 72.

¹³ Spence (1980) 26.

Chinese citizen, also included an audience with Pope Alexander VII in Rome. The high profile of Couplet's visit increased fascination for China in Europe by scholars and initiated the "rage for chinoiserie in France."¹⁴

Six Jesuits were in the first French governmental group to China. Four were admitted as "mathematicians du Roy" at the Académie des Sciences, including Jean de Fontaney (1643-1710), a professor of mathematics and physics at the College Louis-le-Grand and head of this first mission. The remaining priest had duties that included the study of Chinese literature and the collection of Chinese books for translation and transportation back to France for placement in the Royal Library.¹⁵ The other Jesuits were Joachim Bouvet (1656-1730), Jean-Francois Gerbillon (1654-1707), Louis Le Comte (1655-1728), Guy Tachard (1648-1712), and Claude de Visdelou (1656-1737). They departed in 1685 and arrived in China two years later.

At the close of the seventeenth century, Paris was the intellectual capital of the world. The direct French governmental mission of 1685, by the Jesuits, to Peking opened connections for "letters, treatises, polemical works and massive compilations on China" to flow directly back to the leaders of France.¹⁶ The ensuing years were to see this

¹⁴ Ronan 262-63.

¹⁵ Ronan 72, 73, 220.

¹⁶ Rule 72.

mission play the major role in presenting China to Europe. Such was the interest generated by these missionaries that correspondence between them and the intellectual leaders of Europe, such as Gottfried Leibniz, took place.¹⁷

The frantic pace of activity in Paris continued in 1687, with the publication of the most important contribution made to date by the Jesuit scholars. *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus*, with Father Couplet as editor, was the first full translation of the great Chinese classics of philosophy, the *Analects*, *The Great Offering*, and the *Doctrine of the Mean*.¹⁸ There had been earlier attempts to translate and publish these major works. In 1662, a folio edition printed in China from woodblocks, 93 pages in length, of translations of the *Great Learning* and the *Analects* plus a two-page biography of Confucius had appeared under the title *Sapientia Sinica* (Wisdom from China).¹⁹ A translation of the *Doctrine of the Mean* was published in two parts in Canton in 1667 and at Goa in 1669.²⁰ All of these Latin editions were subsequently taken to Europe, but their impact appears to have been minimal.

The 1687 printing in Paris was in a folio of 412 pages

¹⁷ H. G. Creel, *Confucius and the Chinese Way* (New York, 1949) 267.

¹⁸ Aiton, *Leibniz* (Bristol, 1985) 328.

¹⁹ Ronan 256.

²⁰ Ronan 259.

and was the work of group of Jesuits including Intorcetta, Herdtricht, Rougemont, and Couplet, who based their edition on the first translation, of almost one hundred years earlier, by the Jesuit pioneer, Ricci.²¹ The Jesuits were seeking to disseminate the original works of Confucius and his successor, Mencius. The publication was the most extensive view of Chinese political ethics to date. It was the impetus for the century-long fascination for chinoiserie in art and literature, "as well as the serious impact of China on the intellectuals of Europe."²²

The book enjoyed wide circulation and almost immediate translation. An abbreviated French translation by Abbe Simon Foucher appeared "along with a testimonial expressing admiration for the Confucian principles,"²³ while an English edition was published in London only four years later under the title, *The Morals of Confucius, a Chinese philosopher*.²⁴ The book is widely located in the twentieth century even in the smaller collections of seventeenth-century books.²⁵

Upon their arrival in the Chinese capital of Peking in February, 1688, the French Jesuits immediately went into the service of Emperor K'ang-hsi. Several were instructed to

²¹ Ronan 262, 269; Maverick 15-16.

²² Rule 73.

²³ Maverick 16.

²⁴ Maverick 307.

²⁵ Ronan 264.

learn the Manchu language (in addition to their studies of Chinese), so they could converse with the emperor in his native tongue, write treatises on mathematics and geometry, and serve K'ang-hsi as his translators and negotiators.²⁶ So highly valued and trusted were the Jesuits that, only a year after their arrival, the priests served as negotiators for the Chinese in discussions with the Russians. The result was a negotiated settlement, The Treaty of Nerchinsk, which ended the war between the two countries. In the early part of the last decade of the seventeenth century, these Jesuits were in regular contact with the emperor. They devoted several hours each day to teaching mathematics and geometry to the emperor.²⁷ They saved his life through the use of quinine²⁸, and mapped most of China.

One of the objectives in establishing the observatory in Paris was to make France the center of the world for studies in cartography. The goal to map the Chinese empire using Western European methods of survey had been set for the Jesuit party that arrived in Peking in 1688.²⁹ Success in this endeavor was achieved when Emperor K'ang-hsi sponsored the production of an atlas of the entire Chinese empire which was

²⁶ Jonathan Spence, *Emperor of China: Self-portrait of K'ang-hsi* (New York, 1974) 72.

²⁷ Spence (1974) 73.

²⁸ Rule 129.

²⁹ Ronan 219.

published in China and Europe.³⁰ The Jesuits were the main source of geographic and cartographic information about China during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The strong connections between the priests and the French scientist-cartographers provided a steady stream of information from Asia to France.³¹ This kept the interest of scholars alive as the Jesuits began returning with firsthand accounts.

Joachim Bouvet, one of the original six in the French mission, returned to Europe in 1697-1698 at the command of the Emperor K'ang-hsi as the leader of an official diplomatic mission. Bouvet was perhaps the Jesuit with the greatest skill in the Chinese language, being well-conversant with Chinese literature and able to undertake "serious study of the Chinese philosophical *Book of Changes*."³² The emperor held him in such high regard that Bouvet was not only commanded to head the mission to Europe, but he "seems to have been the closest of all the Jesuits" to K'ang-hsi for he had served as a tutor to the royal family, helped with public works projects and translated Christian works into Chinese.³³ During his visit to Paris in 1697, Bouvet published his book, *Portrait historique de l'Empereur de la Chine*. A very positive and flattering account of the emperor K'ang-hsi, the book was

³⁰ Ronan 210.

³¹ Ronan 220-22.

³² Spence (1974) 75.

³³ Mungello 37.

dedicated to Louis XIV.³⁴ Bouvet then returned to China.

Another of the original French mission, Louis Le Comte, returned to Paris in 1696 and immediately published his book, *Nouveaux Memoires sur l'Etat present de la Chine* (A report on the present condition of China).³⁵ It was a positive account of the politics, government, and moral principles of China.³⁶ He praised what he believed was the equality in China saying:

Nobility is never hereditary, neither is there any distinction between the qualities of people; saving what the offices which they execute make.³⁷

Le Comte's book became extremely popular. There were several editions published almost immediately and a translation into English in London only a year later.³⁸ Le Comte's book and *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* were utilized by Boisguilbert, Marshall Vauban, Renaudot, Silhouette, Fenelon, the Abbe de St. Pierre, Daniel Defoe, and Matthew Tinday to formulate their opinions on China.³⁹

The Jesuits, certainly without intending to, provided advocates of reform for European institutions a model in China. Seeking to portray the Chinese emperor in the most

³⁴ Mungello 12.

³⁵ It is likely, but not certain that Le Comte was a part of Bouvet's mission. He never returned to China (Ronan 94).

³⁶ Ronan 81.

³⁷ Creel (1949) 269.

³⁸ Maverick 17; Rule 134.

³⁹ Maverick 20.

favorable of terms, in 1698, the Jesuit Charles Gobien (one of the few writers who had not lived in China) published *The History of the edict of China in favor of the Christian religion*.⁴⁰ In 1692, K'ang-hsi had issued the Edict of Toleration for Christians. While not specifically endorsing Christianity, it allowed for official toleration of all religions in China, some of which had existed for hundreds of years. This act was proclaimed only seven years after Louis XIV had revoked the Edict of Nantes, which had allowed for toleration of the Protestants in Catholic France. Unknowingly, and without malicious intent, the Jesuits provided a vivid example of the marked contrast between the tolerance of the Emperor K'ang-hsi and the tyranny of Louis XIV. The French king did not compare favorably with the Chinese emperor, and it was the Jesuits, who were in China under the King's orders, drawing the comparison.

The official French governmental missions by the Jesuits were significant in that they provided the leading eighteenth-century European advocates of reform with detailed, first-hand information about Chinese philosophy, customs, culture, geography, and governmental institutions.

In the eighteenth century, the Philosophes were to advocate ideas that strongly resembled those of the ancient Chinese philosopher, Mencius.⁴¹ Through the Physiocrats,

⁴⁰ Mungello 12.

⁴¹ Maverick 111.

China's example influenced France, Scotland, and Austria in the areas of economics and political thought.⁴² As the Chinese emperor and leading mandarins participated in ceremonial plowings during the springtime, so would the Dauphin and Joseph II respond to urgings from their advisors to emulate the Chinese example. The efforts of the the Jesuits in China provided information that was utilized by the Philosophes and Physiocrats to promote reforms in France.

⁴² Maverick 64.

John Locke and Confucianism

John Locke was a leading formulator of thought in European history in the late seventeenth century. His ideas on human nature and on the right to overthrow a tyrannical ruler have been hailed as original. He utilized the example of China to support his notion that a country could be well-regulated without having a state religion. In some areas, Locke's beliefs closely resemble those of Confucian philosophy. To date, there has been a lack of attention paid to the knowledge Locke had of Chinese philosophy and to the influence this knowledge may have had upon the originality of his writings.

Locke spent two extended periods of his life out of England. On both journeys, he examined library holdings, added considerably to his personal book collection, and made extensive contact with people who had detailed information about China. In his personal library were a majority of the books on China and Chinese philosophy that had been published in Europe since 1561.

From late 1675 until mid-1679, Locke traveled throughout France while keeping a diary of his activities. Shortly after his arrival in France, he visited the new library at the Jesuit College in Lyon. Lyon had been a major trading center for Asian goods for 150 years before Locke's visit. He perused the library on December 22, 1675. We do not know what

he read or what he might have discussed with the Jesuits, but he did approve of the library. In his journal he exclaimed over the library's newness and physical layout. Although it was only "moderately furnished with books, being, made as they told us, not above a year...it is the best that ever I saw, except Oxford."¹ This library would develop into a major source of Jesuit information on China; by 1740, it contained thirty-two manuscript volumes on Chinese history, which were eventually published in the 1780's.²

Locke recorded in his journal that on Monday, March 13, 1679, he visited a collection of books located in Paris. These works were from the library of Jacques Auguste de Thou (1553-1617).³ An extensive collection of over thirteen thousand volumes, the library had been started by de Thou, who had created the largest private library in Renaissance France. By the time of his death, the collection contained over one thousand manuscripts and eight thousand printed books. His descendants had continued to add to the library.⁴ In the collection were ninety printed books on Asia, including Jesuit

¹ Thomas Fowler, *Locke* (New York: Harper, n.d.) 28; Lord Peter King, *The Life and Letters of John Locke* (London, 1884) 49; John Locke, *Locke's Travels in France, 1675-1679*. Ed. John Lough. (Cambridge, 1953) 5.

² Maverick 46.

³ John Locke (1953) 259; King on 83 says the visit was on February 13, 1679.

⁴ Lach (1977) 68.

letterbooks on China.⁵ Unfortunately, we do not know what Locke read in this collection, but he did think enough of it to call it "a great collection of choice, well-bound books."⁶

Although Locke was quite unknown in the literary circles of France (he did not publish his first work until leaving the country), he did have contact with many French doctors, scientists, and theologians, several of whom became close friends.⁷ He also met with intellectuals as evidenced by his meetings with the same men who had recently hosted Leibniz on his visit to Paris.⁸ He became friends with Francois Bernier (1620-1688), a medical doctor, traveler, and philosopher who had visited Asia for thirteen years from 1656-1669. Locke had discussions with him in 1677 and 1678 which covered the topics of India and of diseases in the East Indies.⁹ Locke thought enough of Bernier to purchase his books and make notes in them.¹⁰

Locke's stay in Paris occurred precisely at the time the French government was organizing its scientific Jesuit mission to China. He visited the new French Observatory where he made the acquaintance of many distinguished astronomers, including

⁵ Lach (1977) 68.

⁶ Fowler 31.

⁷ John Locke (1953) xxxvi; John Dunn, *Locke* (Oxford, 1964) 8.

⁸ John Locke (1953) xxxvi, xxxix.

⁹ Locke (1953) xxiii, 177, 200.

¹⁰ Locke (1953) 177.

Picard from France, Cassini from Italy and Roemer from Denmark.¹¹ The latter became a good enough friend that Locke arranged a visit to England for Roemer in 1679.

The difficulty with attempting to ascertain what Locke discussed with these men involved with the French project to send Jesuit scientists to China is that Locke left very few records about his meetings with anyone during his travels on the continent. It is difficult to reconstruct Locke's intellectual contacts and exchange of ideas while abroad. Scant information exists regarding the topics he discussed with his intellectual and scientific friends. This dearth of information is due to the unique character of his journal.

Locke's diary contains writings that focus primarily on his detailed impressions of physical objects. He offers many minute descriptions of the layouts of gardens and fountains, activities such as farming and weaving. In addition, he recorded expenses and tax rates. What is sorely lacking are impressions of events and people.¹²

It would be absurd to claim that the entries in the Journal are of a consistently high interest...Locke's account of the time he spent in Paris is on the whole disappointing. How well an editor could have dispensed with the entries which contain his carefully paced out measurements of the Invalides or the gardens of the Tuileries. How gladly he would exchange the tedious pages in which Locke minutely describes the fountains of Versailles for a detailed account of his impression of the Court of the Roi Soleil! Such laconic entries as: 'Plays E. 3-0-0' infuriate the

¹¹ Locke (1953) xl.

¹² Locke (1953) xxxiv.

historian of seventeenth-century French drama who seeks in vain for a line of comment on the plays, the actors or the audience, or even a bare mention of the titles of the works which Locke saw performed...The Journal is not a carefully composed book on the France which he knew, nor even complete notes for such a book.¹³

Small wonder then that the journal has few references to Louis XIV's minister, Colbert. There is no mention of Locke's friend, the Danish astronomer, Roemer, until the very end of Locke's time in France. These two men were very involved in the Jesuit project. Locke's interest in travel books is not followed with references except to Bernier, and there are only three sentences about de Thou's magnificent collection of books.¹⁴ We know a great deal about what Locke was seeing and very little of what Locke was thinking. Posterity is left with small tidbits of information such as that, while in France, Locke wrote a small treatise on agriculture which included a section on silk production.¹⁵ It is unfortunate that we are limited to only speculating whether Locke knew that China was the originator of silk production and that Lyon was on a major trading route with China.

Locke's second stay abroad began four years after his return from France. He lived in the Dutch cities of Amsterdam, Utrecht, and Rotterdam for a period of almost six years from September, 1683 until early in 1689. Locke had

¹³ Locke (1953) xxiv.

¹⁴ Locke (1953) xlii, xl, xxxix, 259.

¹⁵ Fowler 29.

fled England when many of his friends were imprisoned for activities against King Charles II.¹⁶ He resided with Protestants and utilized his time to make friends with English merchants, Dutch theologians, and refugees who had sought safe haven from Louis XIV.¹⁷ He continued adding to his library by purchasing hundreds of books to supplement his collection in England. During his stay in Holland, Locke wrote his major works for which he gained international fame: *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, *Letters on Toleration*, and *Thoughts Concerning Education*.¹⁸

In Holland, Locke experienced the most tolerant and open atmosphere for the exchange of ideas available in Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁹ Dutch universities attracted students from England, France, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, and Hungary. Interest in Asia was high. There were more students of oriental languages in Holland than anywhere else in the Western world.²⁰ The intellectual freedom and lax censorship made it a publishers' paradise.²¹ After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in

¹⁶ J. Dunn (1964) 10.

¹⁷ J. Dunn (1964) 11.

¹⁸ J. Dunn (1964) 11; John Harison and Peter Laslesth, *The Library of John Locke* (Oxford, 1971) 4.

¹⁹ Hazard (1963) 75.

²⁰ Hazard (1963) 74.

²¹ Murat, *Colbert* 141.

1685, Holland saw the publication of many journals and books in French that could not be published in France.

Locke took advantage of the open intellectual atmosphere to establish life-long friendships with several leading dissidents. He became friends with the refugee, Jean Le Clerc (b. 1657). Both Le Clerc and Locke:

were travelling the same roadway which led from the received tenets of the churches and schools to the arena of free inquiry and impartial investigation.²²

Le Clerc translated an abridgement of Locke's *Essay* in 1687 while both were in Amsterdam. Locke supervised its printing in Le Clerc's periodical, *Bibliothèque Universelle*.²³ Both Le Clerc and the Protestant refugee, Pierre Bayle, reviewed edited and published Locke's works in the Netherlands after his return to England in 1689.²⁴ Locke maintained correspondence with Le Clerc until Locke's death in 1704. Locke became friends with Philip von Limborch, a professor of theology who was an Arminian, or Remonstrant, one of the more liberal theologies in Europe, and he maintained a long and extensive correspondence with Limborch until his (Locke's) death.²⁵

While in Holland, Locke realized that political freedom was directly related to European Protestantism, which Louis

²² Fowler, 50.

²³ J. Dunn 19.

²⁴ J. Dunn 19.

²⁵ Fowler 44, 48.

XIV and Catholicism sought to eradicate.²⁶ Locke's more severe view of religious toleration relaxed and shifted to one that held that the issue should not be a matter of state policy, but rather a matter of human right.²⁷

Locke possessed influence in English politics. This is evidenced by the fact that he was most likely indirectly involved in the secret negotiations that eventually brought the House of Orange to the English Throne. He became friends with the Prince and Princess and returned to England on February 12, 1689, in the same ship with Princess Mary, who was coming to England to receive her crown.²⁸

Locke's book collection remained in storage in England. During his time in Holland, he steadily added to his library. When he returned from his first trip abroad in 1679, he owned over five hundred books. At the time of his exile, the collection had doubled in size. Upon his return to England in 1689, he had added another seven hundred books to his library. At the beginning of the last decade of his life, in the mid-1690's, the collection numbered two thousand volumes.²⁹ Only during this last decade were all of his books together in one location.

His experience in Holland allowed him access to "then

²⁶ J. Dunn 12.

²⁷ J. Dunn 13.

²⁸ Fowler 52; Harrison and Laslett 5.

²⁹ Harrison and Laslett 17-18.

perhaps the most important book center in Europe, where works on all subjects in all languages could be purchased at open-market prices."³⁰ He had friends who loaned him books, and for two years he lived in the household of the English Quaker merchant, Benjamin Furly, a great book collector who had over four-thousand books in his collection when he died in 1714.³¹ Locke purchased books, including second copies of those he already owned, on the recently discovered parts of the world.³²

Upon his return to England, Locke took up the final residence of his life, in early 1691, in Oates, twenty miles from London, at the home of Sir Francis Marsham, Member of Parliament for Essex. Locke was on friendly terms with Marsham's wife. Damaris Marsham, much younger than her husband or Locke, had corresponded with the great philosopher for ten years, as is evident in letters and poetry the two exchanged. After moving to Oates, Locke's careful expense record shows entries for gifts to her until the time of his death.³³ This unique woman was a correspondent of Gottfried Leibniz³⁴ and would play the role as intermediary between these two great thinkers during the closing years of Locke's

³⁰ Harrison and Laslett 4.

³¹ Harrison and Laslett, 4; Fowler, 52.

³² Harrison and Laslett 4.

³³ Harrison and Laslett 6-7.

³⁴ Harrison and Laslett 6-7.

life when she requested that Leibniz edit a portion Locke's works.

It was only during the last years of his life that Locke saw all of his books together, and their numbers were still increasing. The majority of the over three thousand titles he owned in his lifetime were in his home at the time of his death in October, 1704.³⁵ The rest were either loaned, given away, sold, or destroyed. What is fascinating and apparently unknown is that the contents of Locke's library shed new light on Locke's knowledge of China.

Locke owned one hundred ninety-five books that he classified under the heading "Voyages and Travel."³⁶ He owned *Utopia* by Sir Thomas More (the first Western book to discuss Asia) and John Milton's *Paradise Lost*.³⁷ Locke possessed a majority of the major books on China published since 1561.³⁸ Several were in multiple editions and several languages. Some contained lists of pages that perhaps were

³⁵ Harrison and Laslett 1, 11.

³⁶ Of Locke's final library: Theology-23%; Medicine-11%; Politics & Law-10.7%; Greek & Latin Classical Literature-10.1%; Geography & Exploration-7.6%; Philosophy-7.4%; History & biography-5.1%. This information is calculated from the listings by Harrison and Laslett, 18-27.

³⁷ Harrison and Laslett 192.

³⁸ The Harrison and Laslett book is a result of years of study to locate all of Locke's books which are now scattered in various collections throughout the world. All statements concerning the books on Asia are this writer's summation after surveying the complete book listings of Harrison and Laslett.

used as references by Locke. Included were twenty books on Chinese history, eight on Chinese religious rites, and three on Chinese religious orders.³⁹

The majority of the books in Locke's library were written in the languages he was best versed in: English, Latin and French. These books came primarily from Britain, the Netherlands, France and Germany.⁴⁰

It is unfortunate that there is scant documentation about how Locke used his books. We do now know exactly what he read, how much of a work he read, how much he copied out, and when the book was purchased. Yet, it appears that he used his library to assist him in writing his books. He left methodical notes about his books in his diaries and manuscripts. He often made page lists on his books inside the back cover which may indicate that he wished to be able to make a future reference to those particular pages. He utilized his books on travels and geography to assemble notebooks entitled "Ethica" which today might be called social anthropology.⁴¹ However, enough evidence does not exist to state precisely what direct influence these books may have had

³⁹ Please refer to the appendix for a list of the significant books on China that Locke owned.

⁴⁰ Of Locke's final collection: books in English-39%; Latin-36.5%; French-18.3%. Location of publication: Britain-45%; Holland-19.6%; France-16.9%; Germany-9.8%. These figures are calculated from the data found in Harrison and Laslett, 19-20.

⁴¹ Harrison and Laslett, 11, 27, 19, 38. This work appears to be the definitive source on Locke library.

on Locke's writings.

On occasion Locke utilized footnotes in his writings. In the 1690 edition of *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, he cited nine authorities for specific quotations. In the 1705 edition he cited sixteen authorities. Fifteen of these titles came from the categories of comparative anthropology or comparative religion.⁴² Locke looked to the example of China when seeking to justify his notion that a non-primitive society can be well-regulated without a strong religion. Locke cited references from Navarette's book of 1676, and from *Historia Cultus Sinensium* (1700):

These are Instances of nations where uncultivated Nature has been left to it self, without the help of Letters, and Discipline, and the Improvements of Arts and Sciences. But there are others to be found, who have enjoy'd these in a very great measure, who yet, for want of a due application of their thoughts this way, want the Idea, and knowledge of God. 'Twill I doubt not be a Surprise to others, as it was to me, to find the Siamites of this number. But for this, let them consult the King of France's late Envoy thither, who gives no better account of the Chineses themselves. And if we will not believe La Loubere, the Missionaries of China, even the Jesuits themselves, the great Encomiasts of the Chineses, do all to a Man agree and will convince us that the Sect of the Litterati, or Learned, keeping to the old Religion of China, and the ruling Party there, are all of them, Atheist.⁴³

What has not been acknowledged by previous writers is that this is an example of Locke utilizing two major European sources on Chinese philosophy to advance the controversial

⁴² Harrison and Laslett, 28.

⁴³ John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (London, n.d.), 88.

proposition that a major society can effectively without knowledge of God. Locke must have closely studied some of the works on China in his library so as to be able to utilize the above quotation to support one of his notions.

Westerners were to discuss many aspects of Confucianism which dealt with human behavior. Confucius held that "human nature" was pure and perfect, yet always under attack and in danger of being corrupted by an evil society.⁴⁴ Locke took a behaviorist approach to human nature when he said that human nature was as a blank slate with bad influences of society causing man to behave in improper ways. In his *Philosophical Dictionary* (1751-1763), Denis Diderot said that the nature of man was good and at birth he was as a lamb. Through education, the examples of others, and the nature of government would man act in ways either virtuous or evil.⁴⁵ Both the philosophy of Confucius and the ideas of Locke that concern human nature are in opposition to those of the Catholic Church which held that man is born in sin. Both Confucius and Locke deny that the new-born infant is inherently evil in nature.

Mencius (c. 372-289 B.C.) was the thinker who took up the mantle of Confucius (c. 551-470 B.C.). It is likely that Locke was unaware of the differences between the ideas of

⁴⁴ Hazard (1963) 21.

⁴⁵ Andre Maurois, *The Living Thoughts of Voltaire* (New York, 1939) 155.

these two men. In Locke's era, Confucian philosophy was considered to be a combination of the notions of both these major thinkers. Mencius placed the blame for poor conduct on the influences of one's external environment. Daily life destroyed one's innate goodness because it assaulted one's natural feelings of kindness and compassion.⁴⁶ People learned how to behave badly in response to the intrusion of negative external forces.⁴⁷ Only by incessant practice could a man maintain his good moral abilities:

If a virtuous man is not careful, if he does not cherish his moral excellence, if he is not faithful to the feelings he has developed in himself over the years of his education, he will lose his excellence.⁴⁸

Mencius believed that the innate nature of humans was positive and good. Man was born with a natural "good" feeling which carried the potential capacity for positive actions and knowledge.⁴⁹ The natural goodness of man was without question, believed Mencius: just as all water naturally flowed downhill and none uphill, so the nature of man was good and no man was born with a bad nature.⁵⁰ All people possessed innately the four capacities of pity, shame, respect, and

⁴⁶ A. Waley, *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China* (Stanford, 1982), 84.

⁴⁷ Mencius, *Mencius*, W.A.C.H. Dobson, trans. (Toronto: Univ. Press, 1963) 109-110.

⁴⁸ Verwilghen (1967) 37.

⁴⁹ Waley (1982) 83.

⁵⁰ Dobson 109-110.

knowledge of right and wrong.

Locke believed that people were born without any innate principles or notions "stamped upon the mind of man."⁵¹ While this differs from Confucianism, Locke did share the belief of the Chinese that people are corrupted by a poor environment, thereby causing undesirable behavior.

Contained in the books owned by Locke were the Confucian concepts that said environment shaped the behavior of people. The Confucian gentleman sought to imitate good men and observed from bad men how not to act. Good behavior was learned by example with incessant efforts at self improvement:

The Master said, in the presence of a good man, think all the time how you may learn to equal him. In the presence of a bad man, turn your gaze within. There will be good qualities that I can select for imitation and bad ones that will teach me what requires correction in myself.⁵²

The contribution of Mencius was that the environment shapes behavior, and that to improve such behavior, conditions of society must improve and the individual must be properly educated. The beliefs about human nature held by Locke and by Confucianism were in contrast to the Christian view of man as a natural sinner.

The ideas of Confucius and Mencius regarding human nature, conduct, and good government had arrived in France, via the Jesuits, at the precise time of Locke's visits to

⁵¹ Locke, *An Essay*.. 12.

⁵² Arthur Waley, trans., *The Analects of Confucius* (New York, rpt., n.d.), 105 & 127.

Paris and Holland. We know that Locke owned the books containing these ideas.

Locke advocated the right of the people to rebel against a ruler who threatens or destroys their rights. The contract between ruler and subjects offered by Locke espoused a reciprocal arrangement between these two parties: the people must be rational and responsible, while the ruler, in turn, must not infringe upon the people's rights.⁵³ Locke's notion resembles Confucianism.

In the *Analects*, Confucius cautioned that a suffering people would rebel. Poverty would lead to attempts against the government with lawlessness the result:

One who is by nature daring and is suffering from poverty will not long be law abiding. Indeed, any men, save those that are truly Good, if their sufferings are very great, will be likely to rebel.⁵⁴

The ideal government must not lose the confidence of the common people, for if it does, it will lose the ability to rule.⁵⁵ At the helm of a good government must be a good ruler. Confucius believed that the good ruler must act as the good gentleman did in seeking to lead by example and govern by moral force.⁵⁶ He must seek to raise up the good upon the bad and thereby gain support and respect of the people:

⁵³ Robert Blackey, Professor of History, California State University, San Bernardino, lecture, 11/30/89.

⁵⁴ Waley, *The Analects of Confucius* 134.

⁵⁵ Waley, *The Analects* 164.

⁵⁶ Waley, *The Analects* 92.

In order to get the support of the common people (the ruler) must raise up the straight and set them on top of the crooked...but if you raise the crooked and set them on top of the straight, the commoners will not support you.⁵⁷

The good ruler is honest in keeping his word with the common people; he fulfills all his promises and works hard at his duties to provided for the common man.⁵⁸ Chinese history provides examples of rulers who would cancel taxes and distribute food to the peasants during times of hardship and famine. By putting the needs of the people first, the good ruler retained the power and right to rule.

Confucius cautioned that the ideal government must not lose the confidence of the common people. If it did, it would lose the ability to rule. Mencius believed that good government consisted of a reciprocal relationship between a good ruler and good subjects. The right to rule was held only as long as the ruler had virtue and ruled well, for a bad ruler and his government would eventually fall through the withdrawal of the "Mandate of Heaven." The ideals of good government expressed by Confucius and Mencius stood in stark contrast to those of Niccolo Machiavelli,⁵⁹ for they advocated the right to rebel and overthrow an oppressive government. These ideas are "implicit in the *Analects* and

⁵⁷ Waley, *The Analects* 92.

⁵⁸ Waley, *The Analects* 84, 232.

⁵⁹ Maverick 63.

explicit in the *Mencius*."⁶⁰

This right to rebel against a tyrannical government was "completely at variance with the political theory of medieval Europe..."⁶¹ In 1961, the historian, C. Chai offered that the ideas of the ancient Chinese Confucian philosopher, Hsun Tzu (died c. 238 B.C.), "are in perfect accord with the modern theory that governments are instituted by the consent of the people, who have every right to alter or abolish government if it becomes destructful or harmful."⁶²

Hsun Tzu believed that a good sovereign must nourish the people, govern skillfully, employ the people, and protect the people. Hsun Tzu was in agreement with his predecessor, Mencius, that the people have the right to rebel against a sovereign who rules "not under a special commission from Heaven but under the general will of the people...for Heaven has no fixed will but sees with the people's eyes and hears with the people's ears."⁶³ C. Chai asserts that:

Thus, the opinion of the people is of supreme significance, and the people have the right to depose a wicked King. It is worth remarking that this antedates John Locke's theories about the consent of the governed and the right of revolution by about 2,000 years.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Creel (1949) 269.

⁶¹ Creel (1949) 269.

⁶² Ch'u Chai, *The Story of Chinese Philosophy* (New York, 1961) 186.

⁶³ Chai 62, 185-86.

⁶⁴ Chai 62.

As explained by Mencius, the right to rebel against a bad ruler was inherent in the "Mandate of Heaven." Mencius believed that the "right to rule" was not hereditary. Any man, including a commoner, by basis of his virtue, could be elevated by Heaven to become the emperor.⁶⁵ Although an emperor could recommend a son to succeed him, he could not compel Heaven to accept his choice. The mandate was conferred upon one designated by Heaven who would serve as the viceroy of the deity upon earth.⁶⁶ As the choice by Heaven was expressed in the actions and services of others and not in a direct dialogue, Chinese history saw many men attempting to appear to be the selection of Heaven through actions they hoped would bring them to the emperor's throne. Many of the great heroes of Mencius were from common origin and were propelled upward by Heaven on the basis of their virtue, abilities and courage.

Mencius believed that good government consisted of a reciprocal relationship between a good ruler and good subjects. The prince had the obligation to adequately provide for his subjects and rule them in a just manner, while they had the responsibility to obey the just ruler.⁷³ The right to rule was not permanent. The monarch possessed that right only as long as he had virtue and ruled well. A bad ruler and

⁶⁵ Dobson 63.

⁶⁶ Dobson xiv.

⁷³ Dobson, 27.

his government would eventually fall as they would lose the "Mandate of Heaven" through the "punishment of Heaven."⁷⁴ For Mencius, the "Mandate of heaven" was synonymous with the will and desire of the "people" over whom the emperor ruled. The people had the right to rebel against and were justified in overthrowing a bad government, because heaven would withdraw the mandate from a bad ruler and allow the killing of the old ruler by a new prince.

Locke's right to rebellion most likely originated in his English background. The Magna Carta of 1215 is the example most readily acknowledged. As stated earlier, Locke may also have been involved in the negotiations that brought a constitutional monarch to the throne of England during the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Yet, we know that Locke owned and read the books of Chinese philosophy which held similar notions. There are three possibilities concerning how Locke might have utilized the concepts of Confucianism.

Locke may have arrived at his ideas independently without having read his books on Confucianism. Later, these books may have confirmed and solidified these notions for him. Or, perhaps, Locke conceived of these ideas and developed them in conjunction with his reading of Chinese philosophy. Or, Locke adapted the Chinese notions to his ideas and failed to give credit to his Chinese sources.

The first possibility is the most likely. Locke did not

⁷⁴ Dobson, xiv

acquire the majority his books on Confucianism until precisely the time he was writing his great works. Certainly, his thoughts would have been years in the conceptual stage. He would have formulated his ideas during his travels and his experiences on the wrong side of the fence in English politics. As he became aware of the ideas of Confucianism, they might have reinforced his own notions. Thus, he might have come to the realization that the world's most populous country held age-old beliefs similar to his newly-formulated ones.

Gottfried von Leibniz: student of China

Locke's contemporary, Gottfried Von Leibniz (1646-1716), was perhaps the most outstanding and multi-faceted genius of Europe between the time of Montaigne and that of Adam Smith. Trained as a lawyer, his prolific writings covered a wider spectrum than did those of his later French counterpart, Voltaire. Leibniz wrote on geometry, statistics, calculus, biology, geology, theology, law, metaphysics, philosophy, history, and diplomacy. He acted as advisor to heads of state.

Leibniz was ever on the move about Europe seeking to learn as much as possible about the past and present. A substantial portion of his time and travels was devoted to learning about China and its culture. He met and corresponded with Jesuit missionaries from China, wrote on the possible accommodation of Chinese and Christian ideas, and advocated more study of China to Europe's leaders. His intense interest in the Chinese was for a longer duration and in more depth than any other European thinker. The energy and interest that Leibniz exhibited towards Chinese culture and ideas is significant. He was a leading intellectual, widely traveled, and respected throughout Western Europe--not an unknown amateur. Leibniz predated Voltaire and the later physiocrats in advocating study and emulation of China.

The writings of Leibniz were extensive. Denis Diderot

commented, in the eighteenth century, of how little of the more than 100,000 items, authored by Leibniz, had actually been published.¹ As late as the mid 1980's, only ten percent of Leibniz's existing manuscripts on mathematics and science had been published.²

Leibniz owned more than fifty books on China and Asia, including a copy of *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus*, the monumental one-hundred-year project of the Jesuits to translate the great Chinese philosophical classics by Confucius and Mencius into Latin. It is likely that Leibniz read the book for his copy contains a few margin notes.³ It is unclear as to whether he read the book in the year it was published (1687).

Leibniz had direct contact with many of the leaders of Europe. In 1672, he made his first trip to Paris as an emissary from the Elector of Mainz to Louis XIV.⁴ The youthful Leibniz never actually met Louis XIV, but some historians believe that Leibniz did suggest to the French King's minister, Colbert, that France send a mission to China whose purposes would include study about the country.⁵ The

¹ Ronald Calinger, *Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz* (New York, 1976) 56.

² E. J. Aiton, *Leibniz* (Bristol, 1985) 353.

³ Mungello (1977) 6-7.

⁴ Calinger 9.

⁵ Maverick 13.

French government did begin its sponsorship of the major Jesuit scientific project soon after Leibniz's visit, but there is no evidence that the advice of Leibniz played a role in the venture.

Leibniz studied geometry under the Dutch physicist, Christian Huygens (1629-1695), who was the dominant figure at the newly founded Paris Academy of Sciences,⁶ met with the scientists working at the new observatory⁷, and traveled to England where he purchased a large number of books.⁸ In 1700, the Elector of Brandenburg named Leibniz to head the newly-established Observatory and Society of Sciences in Berlin.⁹ In 1711, Leibniz talked with the Czar of Russia, Peter the Great, about initiating communications with China to learn sciences and arts from the Chinese.¹⁰ In 1713, Leibniz had discussions in Vienna with Prince Eugene of Savoy regarding the Jesuits' accommodist position which Leibniz approved of and the Prince did not.¹¹ At the close of his career, Leibniz was the official historian-librarian for the Elector of Hanover.

⁶ Calinger 12.

⁷ Calinger 11; Ines Murat, *Colbert* (Charlottesville, Va., 1984), 247.

⁸ Calinger 15.

⁹ Aiton 251.

¹⁰ Aiton 310.

¹¹ Aiton 313.

Leibniz corresponded avidly with more than one thousand people in his lifetime.¹² For many years he exchanged letters with Princess Elizabeth Charlotte (1652-1722), the second wife of the brother of Louis XIV. She lived at the French court from the age of nineteen, owned a considerable library and held Leibniz in high esteem.¹³ He corresponded for over twenty years with Lady Damaris Marsham in England, until her death in 1708.¹⁴ This relationship saw a series of letters pass between them concerning the works of Bayle, Leibniz's views, and ultimately, his corrections of Locke's *Essay* in 1704. Locke was too ill to make the corrections. Leibniz believed that Locke may have been involved in Marsham's correspondence.¹⁵ In 1678, Leibniz began correspondence with Andreas Muller, provost of the Nicolai Church in Berlin and advisor on Chinese Affairs to the Frederick Wilhelm, Elector of Brandenburg.¹⁶ In 1687, Leibniz made a repeat visit to the orientalist, Hiob Ludolf, in Frankfurt, with whom he discussed a recently published edition of Confucius which had just arrived from Paris.¹⁷

¹² Calinger 27.

¹³ G. F. Bradby, *The Great Days of Versailles* (New York, 1927) 270, 290.

¹⁴ Aiton 279.

¹⁵ Aiton 238.

¹⁶ Aiton 93; Mungello 6.

¹⁷ Aiton 142.

In 1704, Leibniz met the younger mathematician-philosopher, Christian Wolff (1679-1754), during a visit to Berlin and then began a correspondence with him.¹⁸ Wolff later in his life, took up the mantle of his mentor in advocating study of China. This position would cause him to forfeit his professorship when he advocated emulation of China. Leibniz had extensive meetings and correspondence for almost forty years with various Jesuits as he constantly sought information about China.

In the mid 1660's, scarcely over the age of twenty, Leibniz became interested in China--an interest that would last his lifetime. He became familiar with two books on China, *De re literaria Sinensium* (Leiden, 1660) by G. Spizel and *China monumentis qua sacris qua profundis illustrata* (1667) by the Jesuit, A. Kircher, and he made the acquaintance of the latter author.¹⁹ In 1670, at the age of twenty four, he initiated what developed into a twenty-eight year correspondence with the Jesuit Adam Kochanski, court mathematician to King John Sobieski of Poland and a correspondent of Ferdinand Verbiest, Jesuit advisor to the Emperor of China, K'ang-hsi.²⁰ In the late 1690's, Leibniz advocated to Kochanski that the King of Poland should obtain permission for missionaries to traverse Russia on their way to

¹⁸ Calinger 27, 267.

¹⁹ Mungello 5.

²⁰ Mungello 5.

China and study the languages of the countries they passed through.²¹

In October, 1689, Leibniz made a month-long visit to Rome, where he met with the Jesuit Philip Grimaldi. Leibniz knew that Grimaldi had worked closely with Ferdinand Verbiest, the Jesuit advisor to the Chinese emperor, and that Grimaldi was Verbiest's designated successor.²² Grimaldi was on a leave of absence from his duties in China as President of the Chinese Bureau of Mathematics.²³ In China he had close contact with Emperor K'ang-hsi in such activities as tutoring in geometry, astronomy, philosophy, religion, and music.²⁴ Leibniz asked Grimaldi about possible cultural exchanges with China, and he made a list of questions about language, ethnic groups, and technology. The notes Leibniz took at these meetings still exist.²⁵ The fact that Leibniz prepared questions in advance of his meeting and retained notes on the response of the Jesuit may indicate the thoroughness with which Leibniz approached all his endeavours. Or, it may be indicative of the seriousness of his journey to Rome to seek first-hand information about China from a leading Jesuit recently returned from the emperor's court.

²¹ Aiton 214.

²² Mungello 32.

²³ Mungello 159.

²⁴ Mungello 33.

²⁵ Mungello 32.

While in Rome, Leibniz made several visits to the Vatican Library, where he viewed "many diplomatic papers and chronicles."²⁶ So great was the reputation of forty-three-year-old German, that he was actually offered the post of Chief Librarian of the Vatican Library.²⁷ The Protestant German declined the offer. To accept the position most likely would have required Leibniz's conversion to Catholicism. He was not an ardent Protestant with rigid anti-Catholic beliefs. On the contrary, he advocated accommodation between the Catholicism and Protestantism and sought to reconcile Christianity with the Chinese belief system.

After the visit with Grimaldi, Leibniz continued an exchange of letters. In 1692, he wrote to the Jesuit that he was aware of the specific circumstances concerning the correspondence between the Jesuit astronomer, Johann Schreck and Johannes Kepler.²⁸ In the same year Leibniz received a present, via a Paris diplomat, from the Jesuit Father, Antoine Verjus, who was head of the China mission.²⁹ Only four years later, another Jesuit was to seek contact with Leibniz.

In 1697, Leibniz published a positive account of China called *Novissima Sinica* (*Latest News from China*). This work was a collection of letters and essays by Jesuits in China to

²⁶ Aiton 159.

²⁷ Calinger 22.

²⁸ Mungello 35.

²⁹ Aiton 213.

which Leibniz added what he had learned in his interviews of the Jesuit Grimaldi at Rome in 1689. In October of 1697, Leibniz received a letter from the Jesuit Bouvet that expressed the priest's approval of the work. Bouvet, one of the original six French missionaries dispatched to China in 1685, by Louis XIV, had returned to Europe as head of the mission from the Chinese emperor. Along with the letter to Leibniz, he sent recent reports from China and a copy of his just-published book which praised Emperor K'ang-hsi.³⁰

The correspondence the two men exchanged in 1697-1698 shows them agreeing with Ricci's position of accommodation as the only option offering any promise of successfully converting the Chinese to Christianity.³¹ Bouvet hoped that the prestige Leibniz enjoyed in Europe would influence the Jesuit confessor of Louis XIV, Francois la Chaise, to seek support for this position among the French.³² The controversy between the Jesuits and Jansenists over this matter was to peak only two years later with major hearings at the Sorbonne which condemned the Jesuit position.

The reputation of Leibniz was so great that in November, 1698, he was offered the position of Royal Librarian in Paris by the same Father Verjus, head of the China mission, who had

³⁰ Aiton 214.

³¹ Aiton 327.

³² Mungello 42.

sent him a gift the year earlier.³³ Once again, the Protestant German declined the offer to direct a major Catholic Library. In 1699, the second edition of *Novissima Sinica* included Bouvet's 1697 book in a translation to Latin.³⁴ In 1700, Leibniz wrote to Verjus in Paris that, in his opinion, the accommodist position must present the Chinese beliefs in as much of a Christian interpretation as possible.³⁵ The Protestant Leibniz was at the height of his influence in Europe with the Jesuits enlisting his assistance and offering him a position in Catholic France.

The correspondence with Bouvet in China continued in 1701-1703, with letters moving between Peking and Berlin via London. The topics of these letters concerned the binary arithmetic and hexagrams found in the Chinese Classic book, *I ching*.³⁶ In April, 1703, only a week after hearing from Bouvet in Peking, Leibniz wrote to his friend, Carlo Maurito Vota, Confessor to the King of Poland, and to Abbe Bignon at the Paris Academy, about Bouvet's response to Leibniz's questions about the *I ching*.³⁷ The Leibniz-Bouvet letters

³³ Aiton 219.

³⁴ Aiton 214. Bouvet's book, *Portrait historique de l'Empereur de la Chine*, was a very positive and flattering account of the emperor K'ang-hsi. The book was dedicated to Louis XIV.

³⁵ Aiton 219.

³⁶ Aiton 245.

³⁷ Aiton 247.

were to conclude after a ten-year period, in 1707.³⁸

The high esteem in which the Jesuits held Leibniz continued when, in 1706, the Jesuit teacher of mathematics, philosophy and theology, Bartolomaeus Des Bosses, initiated a correspondence with the great German.³⁹ Letters passed between the two men, including one sent by Leibniz in November, 1710, which states that Leibniz knew of the inept presentation the papal legate, Charles de Tounon, had given the emperor of China, after which the monarch realized that the legate was attempting to replace the Jesuits at his court. That such detailed information of the intrigue and politics occurring in the Chinese court, half-way around the globe, would reach Leibniz appears to indicate either how accurate the sources available to Leibniz were, or how this information was public knowledge in Europe.

The emperor was alienated enough "so that he would only tolerate missionaries who promised to abide by the practices of Matteo Ricci, who had respected Chinese traditions."⁴⁰ In 1707, the missionary, Nicolas Agostino Cima, recently having returned from China, met with Leibniz at which time they discussed the possibilities of spreading knowledge of Chinese culture to Europe.⁴¹ At the time of his death in 1716,

³⁸ Mungello, 40, says that fifteen letters were exchanged.

³⁹ Aiton 267.

⁴⁰ Aiton 287.

⁴¹ Aiton 273.

Leibniz was completing a reply to the French Platonist and head of the Councils of the Duke of Orleans, Nicholas de Remond.

Remond had sent Leibniz two works on Chinese religion. One was by the Jesuit missionary, Nicholas Longobardi (1565-1655), who had succeeded Ricci as the head of the Jesuit mission in Peking and who had instigated the conflict of accommodation which by now was over one hundred years old. The second work was by the Franciscan missionary, Antoine de Sainte-Marie (1602-1669). The Franciscan order had never achieved success in China and was always opposed to the Jesuits.

In his 14,000-word letter, Leibniz professed an open admiration for Chinese culture and government. He stated that criticism of China was unfounded, because China had surpassed Europe in population and orderly government. Europeans should not condemn the 3,000 year-old Chinese moral system due to an initial impression that it did not agree with their scholastic notions. Catholics who were critical of the ancient Chinese philosophers were incorrect, because they judged the Chinese system by their own medieval European scholastic standards:

China has a admirable public morality conjoined to a philosophical doctrine, or rather a doctrine of natural theology, venerable by its antiquity, established and authorized for about 3,000 years...It would be highly foolish and presumptuous on our part, having newly arrived compared with them, and scarcely out of barbarism, to condemn such an ancient doctrine because it does not appear to agree at first glance

with our ordinary scholastic notions.⁴²

Furthermore, Leibniz believed that it would not be possible to come into direct conflict with the Chinese system of philosophy without causing great upheaval: the forced conversions which had taken place in the Americas would not work in China. Instead, China should be closely studied to determine if its belief system were compatible with Christianity. In his appraisal of the two documents, Leibniz concluded that the two belief systems had much in common, and he defended the accommodist position that the ancient Chinese ethical and moral system of Confucianism was compatible with the tenets of the Christian Church.

Although this letter to Remond was never completed or sent, it does indicate that Leibniz had devoted a great amount of thought to the difficulty of reconciling the Chinese and Christian systems. Throughout his life Leibniz sought to reunite Protestants and Catholics and to bring a unity to the entire world.⁴³ By serving the Protestant rulers, the Elector of Brandenburg and the Elector Hanover, through his extensive contacts with the Catholic Jesuits by which he enjoyed great respect from these men, and his immense correspondence with over one thousand people interested in science, languages, philosophy, politics and religion, Leibniz

⁴² Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Discourse on the Natural Theology of the Chinese* (Honolulu, 1977).

⁴³ Hazard 219, 230.

was in a superior position from where he could advocate the study of China. Such was his passion for knowledge that he even advocated study of Asian languages with the goal of determining the origin of the original language of the world.⁴⁴

Leibniz suggested that China send missionaries to Europe as instructors in matters on civil relationships.⁴⁵ He praised the Chinese for their "rules of ethics and politics which have been devised for the conduct and benefit of human life," saying that the Chinese had surpassed the Europeans in such practical philosophy.⁴⁶ As one of the founders of the Academies of Berlin and of St. Petersburg, he advocated exchange of information and culture with the Far East.⁴⁷ His viewpoint was continued by his protege, Christian Wolff.

Following the death of Leibniz in 1716, Wolff (1679-1754) became the leading philosopher in Germany.⁴⁸ He dedicated his doctorate in calculus, which he received from the University of Leipzig, to Leibniz, who had successfully recommended Wolff for a professorship in mathematics at the

⁴⁴ Aiton 214.

⁴⁵ Lach (1975) xii.

⁴⁶ Creel (1949) 256.

⁴⁷ Maverick 13.

⁴⁸ Calinger 58; Paul Hazard, *The European Mind, 1680-1715* (Cleveland, 1963) 38.

University of Halle in 1706.⁴⁹ Upon Leibniz's recommendation, Wolff gained admittance, in 1711, to the Society of Sciences in Berlin, which Leibniz directed.⁵⁰ Wolff's first important work on philosophy appeared in 1712. It was one of seventy-six works written between 1703 and 1753, many of which were translated and honored in France, England, Italy, and Russia.⁵¹ Thus, the philosopher enjoyed a wide readership.

Both Wolff and Leibniz recognized that Confucian ideas were similar to the concept of natural law.⁵² However, whereas Leibniz was never publicly censured for his positive outlook on China, Wolff was. In July, 1721, Wolff lectured on the morals of the Chinese. He stated that the Confucian teaching of ethics and acting properly was not a revelation from God but rather the use of human wisdom based on reason.⁵³ So controversial were his statements that his praise of Chinese values caused an instantaneous uproar.

Wolff was a popular professor, having "a thousand pupils of all nations." The attack was led by an envious professor of theology who accused Wolff of being an atheist because he

⁴⁹ Aiton 295-96.

⁵⁰ Aiton 305.

⁵¹ Hazard, *The European Mind* 38, 40-41.

⁵² Creel (1949) 268.

⁵³ Hazard, *The European Mind* 40.

praised China.⁵⁴ Wolff was ordered to immediately resign his post at the University of Halle and to exit the town "within twenty four hours under the pain of immediate death."⁵⁵

Wolff's controversial lecture was read with enthusiasm as far away as England.⁵⁶ The China issue made him both a hero and a martyr across Europe. That this one speech received such attention may indicate not only how widely known Wolff was, but also the great extent to which the ideas of China were being compared by intellectuals to the practices of Europe, at a time before the era of the French philosophes and physiocrats who would draw open and blatant comparisons. Almost twenty years after Wolff's speech, Frederick the Great, upon succeeding to power in Prussia, attempted to make amends, in 1740, by restoring Wolff to his university position and unsuccessfully inviting him to join the Berlin Academy.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Voltaire, *A Philosophical Dictionary* (New York, 1932) v.1 268.

⁵⁵ Calinger 59; Creel (1949) 256.

⁵⁶ Calinger 59; Creel (1949) 256.

⁵⁷ Calinger 59.

The Philosophes

France confronted many difficulties in the early eighteenth century. These included a large national debt, declining birth rate, rising mortality rate, religious intolerance, falling agricultural production, flight to the cities, non-taxation of nobility and clergy, high taxes on common people and land, and outright famine. So great was the burden of taxation that a person could be taxed beginning as early as the age of eight years.¹ These difficulties continued after the death of Louis XIV in 1715. Critics of the French government called for change. Often, they used specific policies of China (as best they understood these) as examples to be considered in the attempted reform of France.

The transformation in French thought that occurred between 1680-1715, was also the precise time period when the ideas of Confucianism were introduced to the French public.² Many of the positive aspects of the newfound lands and riches overseas were compiled on instructions of Louis XIV (as a result of the project which sent Jesuit scientists to China), who never suspected that they would lead to ideas that would challenge royal authority in the next century.³ Due to the poor performance of the French government at the end of the

¹ Higgs 5-7.

² Creel (1949) 266-67.

³ Hazard (1963) 8.

seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, when Louis nearly bankrupted his country, the French were receptive to information about China.⁴

They learned of a prosperous country much larger and more populous than their own, where any man might rise based on his talents, whose ruler was benevolent and had the welfare of his people at heart, that was not the aggressor in foreign wars, and that was tolerant of all religions. The fact that China operated with such rulers and ideals for 3,000 years under a non-religious belief system must have appeared amazing to the French.

Early critics of the ancien régime were Marshall Vauban, sieur de Boisguillebert, and Archbishop Fenelon. Vauban had been the leading general for Louis XIV in many campaigns. In 1707, he published an anonymous pamphlet critical of Louis XIV.⁵ Boisguillebert (1646-1714), was a Jesuit-educated lawyer and historian.⁶ Fenelon (1651-1715) had direct contact with the Jesuits in China.⁷ Although he portrayed Confucius as the loser in an imaginary debate with Socrates in his *Dialogues des morts*, the work still showed Fenelon's knowledge of "China's contributions in the area of mathematics,

⁴ Maverick 20.

⁵ Henry Higgs, *The Physiocrats: Six Lectures on French Economists of the 18th Century* (Hamden, Conn., 1963) 11-12.

⁶ M. Beer, *An Inquiry into Physiocracy* (London, 1939) 84.

⁷ James H. Davis Jr. *Fenelon* (Boston, 1979) 70.

astronomy, printing, porcelain-making, architecture and painting."⁸ Fenelon's decision to have Socrates best Confucius may have indicated that he had lost his early "idealized image of the Orient and did not agree with the veneration of certain Jesuit missionaries for Chinese mores and thoughts."⁹ Yet, Fenelon had attacked the autocratic power of Louis in his book *Telemaque*. Today, he and Boisguillebert are regarded as precursors of the School of Physiocracy.¹⁰ Subsequent critics of the monarchy included Montesquieu, the Encyclopedists, Diderot and D'Alembert, the philosophes led by Voltaire, and the Physiocrats who included Silhouette, Turgot and Quesnay.¹¹

In 1736, J.F. Melon published the second edition of his *Essai politique sur le commerce*. Using the works of Du Halde and Silhouette as resources, Melon praised Chinese mandarins for overseeing the harvest and advancing needed funds to the farmers which were repaid in the fall without interest.¹² Melon approved of the Chinese leaders allowing the people to comment on and criticize the government.¹³ He found it remarkable that in 4,000 years, despite excessive population,

⁸ Davis 70.

⁹ Davis 70.

¹⁰ Beer 17.

¹¹ Creel (1949) 270; Higgs 15.

¹² Maverick 33.

¹³ Maverick 33.

China had not developed colonies, which would have been easy to do.¹⁴

Montesquieu also continued the tradition that Montaigne had initiated, almost 150 years earlier, of utilizing an Asian country, as a model for France. His *Persian Letters* was an account of Western life as viewed through the eyes of foreigners. Although China was not the subject of the book, perhaps Montesquieu's work served as a model for Oliver Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World* (1762). Both works mocked European institutions and ideas while exposing its vices, defects and prejudices.¹⁵ Both were a means to criticize European institutions and conditions while avoiding royal censors.¹⁶ Whereas Montesquieu used Persians to write letters home commenting on France, Goldsmith used Chinese to do the same about England.

The Goldsmith work attacked the hereditary aristocracy of Great Britain and contrasted it most unfavorably with the Chinese idea of equality of opportunity.¹⁷ China was portrayed as more civilized than England; a goal of a strong country was to possess great internal power and peace. In contrast, weak countries, such as England, had colonies that

¹⁴ Maverick 34. China did have periods in its history when it sought to conquer outlying areas.

¹⁵ Hazard, *The European Mind* 44.

¹⁶ Maverick 26.

¹⁷ Creel (1949) 270.

caused power to be drained away while being open to attack from jealous neighbors.¹⁸

Goldsmith's Chinese men were appalled at the lack of respect for the dead in England. They saw that the period of mourning was too short, too simple and too frivolous. Even the death of a king was immediately followed by rejoicing for the new monarch.¹⁹ The English were scorned for their lack of respect for religion. In the novel, the Chinese characters observed that during church services people were inattentive, priests recited as if asleep, men talked to their mistresses, and even took snuff.²⁰

English morals were found sorely lacking. Hypocrisy abounded, for whereas the Chinese might openly take several wives, the English were sometimes secret and sometimes open about disregarding the law and taking mistresses.²¹ The Chinese characters observed that in Westminster Abbey monuments had been raised without good reason to undeserving people while poets might not receive such recognition due to censors and conspiracy by critics.²² They were shocked to learn that admission was charged to view the tombs of past

¹⁸ Oliver Goldsmith, *Citizen of the World* (New York, 1901) 318.

¹⁹ Goldsmith 390-91.

²⁰ Goldsmith 331.

²¹ Goldsmith 296.

²² Goldsmith 301-02.

kings.²³ Even the symbols of victory in battle that hung in the churches were looked upon by the Chinese as such pitiful reminders of past successes:

There are, however, a few rags hung round the walls, which have, at a vast expenses, been taken from the enemy in the present war. The silks of which they are composed, when new, might be valued at half a string of copper money in China...and are scarcely capable of being patched up into a handkerchief.²⁴

So haughty were the English that even though they did not know the customs and etiquette of the Chinese they presumed to act and believe as if they did. They told the Chinese how they should act according to Chinese customs, even though the English could not differentiate between authentic and fake Chinese artifacts.²⁵ Goldsmith's novel exhibits a good knowledge of Chinese culture, which itself is evidence that the author had enough information available to discern major differences between the two civilizations.

The main work by Montesquieu that makes use of references to desirable qualities that China possessed is *The Spirit of the Laws*. To write this book the author drew from extensive notes he had taken from conversations with a Chinese visitor in 1710.²⁶ He also cited, as references, *Utopia* by Thomas More, *La Chine illustree* (1670) by Kircher and Du Halde's

²³ Goldsmith 301-02.

²⁴ Goldsmith 329.

²⁵ Goldsmith 319.

²⁶ Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws* (Cambridge, 1989) xiv.

Description géographique (1735). Sixty two of the seven hundred twenty two pages in the work concern China. Some pages contain only a one-line reference while others cover the entire page.

Montesquieu cited the strong social order of China as promoting domestic tranquility.²⁷ This order was based upon filial piety which demanded respect for fathers, elders, teachers, magistrates, and the emperor.²⁸ Fixed principles of order and behavior in society led to good morals and manners.²⁹

Montesquieu stated that the teachings of Confucius emphasized conduct. The conduct of both the gentleman and the ruler must be altruistic in nature. Both must seek to serve according to their stations in society. The good ruler and the gentleman sought by their actions to set the example for others by putting their talents and learned ways of action to good use for society and their fellow man.

The Chinese were practical in the application of the laws and lived for the present, not the future. This attitude resulted in a strong order which regulated conduct in the present and allowed the Chinese to develop into "the people in the world which most have tranquility as their purpose."³⁰

²⁷ Montesquieu 317.

²⁸ Montesquieu 320.

²⁹ Montesquieu 315.

³⁰ Montesquieu 236, 617.

This desire for internal stability is the reason why, as opposed to Rome, China never expanded outward.³¹ This ideal had been praised by the early authors on China, Barros and Botero over 150 years earlier.³²

Internal stability was also derived from the custom of the example of the good emperor whose moderate and non-tyrannical actions have allowed a country to prosper. Good laws resulted from wise people--not from a despot.³³ The conduct of the emperor was to serve as an example for his subjects.

Montesquieu's work stated that the ideal ruler of Mencius sought to show justice and humanity and act in moderation. He did not profit from his position of power nor seek to enrich his family by means of his position. He sought to minimize the burdens of the people by reducing taxes, especially in lean times, so as to alleviate the suffering of his subjects and to lighten penalties for criminal offenses.³⁴ The good ruler showed an active interest in and encouragement for cultivation and farming by the people. During spring plantings and fall harvesting, he would seek to be aware of shortfalls in seed and yield so as to be able to remedy these

³¹ Montesquieu 156.

³² As discussed earlier on pages 11 & 17.

³³ Montesquieu 288.

³⁴ Mencius 25, 36.

deficiencies so that no person went hungry.³⁵ He was frugal in his expenditures when traveling throughout the countryside so as to not impose unduly on his people which would cause resentment.³⁶

Mencius asked for a government with minimal burdens on the people through no excessive taxes. He advocated minimal restrictions on the people with the easing of the requirement by the government that the peasants leave their farming for military or public works service because this often resulted in their farms suffering from neglect and they from hunger.³⁷ Through example, a moderate lifestyle, and attending to the needs of the people, the ruler of Mencius would enjoy great support.

Montesquieu praised the Chinese custom that saw the emperor participate in a yearly, ceremonial plowing to mark the beginning of the cultivation season.³⁸ The best plowman was rewarded with the honor of becoming a mandarin of the 8th order.³⁹ The ideal ruler of Confucius placed great emphasis on agriculture and the peasants' essential role in producing a good crop. The ruler understood the necessity of allowing the peasants freedom from unnecessary interference so that

³⁵ Mencius 6, 25, 36.

³⁶ Mencius 6.

³⁷ Waley (1982) 110.

³⁸ Montesquieu 237.

³⁹ Montesquieu 238.

they may raise a good crop. The ruler made judicious use of peasant labor for non-agricultural purposes.⁴⁰ Just as Confucius specified the qualities of a good ruler which would enable the society to maintain its order and thereby prosper, so did he caution against bad rulers and identified their defects.

The emperor knew that he must be moderate in punishment or risk social disorder and must be fair in justice, or he would risk losing his empire and his life.⁴¹ According to Mencius, the bad ruler exhibited excesses in his life. He had gained and would maintain his position through force and expansion of territory. The bad ruler was ridden with excessive desires and appetites which caused him to be unable to maintain the delicate balance in activities and desires which would lead him to make undue demands upon his subjects. The bad ruler only took from the people and gave nothing in return; he despised and demeaned his subjects; he feared disobedience.⁴²

The bad leader was inconsistent and unreasonable. He condemned men to death without having taught them the right way.⁴³ He expected too much work and was unable to set

⁴⁰ Waley (1930) 84.

⁴¹ Montesquieu 82; Creel (1949), talking of Montesquieu's writings, 269.

⁴² Mencius 128.

⁴³ Waley (1930) 233.

reasonable limits on his requests.⁴⁴ He gave lax orders but demanded prompt obedience. He made promises he could not or would not deliver on.⁴⁵ He sought to govern through regulations and punishments, and even then, his orders were often not obeyed.⁴⁶ He acted on impulse, without planning, thereby becoming bogged down in minor details and rushing decision and actions:

Do not try to hurry things. Ignore minor considerations. If you hurry things, your personality will not come into play. If you let yourself be distracted by minor considerations, nothing important will ever get finished.⁴⁷

Montesquieu believed that the Chinese had evolved an unique character. He lauded the industriousness of the Chinese peasant with his life of hard work and the absence of luxuries. Yet, Montesquieu cautioned that the difficulty of life in China has resulted in the formation of the Chinese character so as to "make them so prodigiously active and so excessively desirous of gain that no commercial nation can trust them."⁴⁸ He stated that to maintain strict order punishments are very severe whether against robbers or officials who commit minor errors.⁴⁹ There may have been too

⁴⁴ Waley (1930) 233.

⁴⁵ Waley (1930) 233.

⁴⁶ Waley (1930) 88, 173.

⁴⁷ Waley (1930) 175.

⁴⁸ Montesquieu 313.

⁴⁹ Montesquieu 91, 194.

much punishment in an attempt to make men honorable, for a person may be executed even if he has told the truth, if this was judged to be disrespectful to the emperor.⁵⁰

It is evident that Montesquieu had detailed knowledge about many facets of China and enough command of that information to incorporate it into his work. The *Spirit of the Laws* was praised by David Hume and Adam Smith who made use of the ideas in their works and thoughts. Along with Voltaire, Montesquieu kept up pressure on the ancien regime and used examples from Chinese culture in doing so.

François Marie Arouet de Voltaire (1694-1778) is perhaps the best-known European intellectual of the Enlightenment period who lauded Chinese philosophy, government, and culture. Throughout his works as playwright, novelist, historian, and philosopher are found references to the wisdom of the Chinese. Born in Paris and educated at the Jesuit College, Louis Le Grand, he spent time in England (1726-1729), as a guest and confidant to Frederick the Great in Germany (1751-1753), and he lived thereafter on Lake Geneva so as to facilitate quick escapes to Switzerland when he ran afoul of French censors.

As a playwright, his *Orphan of China* was based upon a story in Du Halde's *Description of China*.⁵¹ His novel *Candide* contains descriptions of the customs of the mythical land, "Eldorado" that appear to have Chinese origins. The

⁵⁰ Montesquieu 127, 194.

⁵¹ Maverick 35.

people of this land are very polite, don't ask many questions of strangers, provide the hospitality of government-supported hotels to visitors, without charge, and worship only one God without the aid of any clergy with "The King and all the heads of families solemnly singing praises each morning."⁵² This absence of monks is desirable for there are "No monks to teach, to dispute, to govern, to intrigue and to burn people who do not agree with them."⁵³ Strangers are housed and entertained by the king and invited to remain in "Eldorado". When they ask to leave, they are told that citizens may not leave but they may and are sent on their way with provisions and expensive gifts.⁵⁴

As a historian, Voltaire lauded China in his *A Philosophical Dictionary*. Under the heading "China" are found six full pages of information.⁵⁵ Further references are located under the headings "Ancients & Moderns" (63), "Annals" (66), "Antiquity" (68), "Babel" (80), "'Beauty" (85), "Books" (90-91), "Equality" (112), "Glory" (128-130), "Government" (131), and "Tolerance" (135).

Voltaire stated that China followed the most widespread religion of the world, which is theism. This religion is

⁵² Voltaire, *The Portable Voltaire*, ed. Ben Redman (New York, 1968) 274-277.

⁵³ Voltaire (1968) 277.

⁵⁴ Voltaire (1969) 279-80.

⁵⁵ Voltaire, *A Philosophical Dictionary* (New York, 1932), v. 1, 264-69.

simple, not superstitious and has existed for forty centuries with government edicts issued by the emperors continually speaking of a Supreme Being.⁵⁶ Both Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson admired Voltaire's ideas. Perhaps their strong belief in Deism originated with Voltaire who had found support for his beliefs in Confucianism.

Voltaire acknowledged that many of the learned men of China are atheists. He stated that it would be better to live in Peking amongst these learned atheists "enjoying the mildness of their manners and their laws, than to be at Goa (India), liable to groan in irons, in the prisons of the inquisition ...and to perish in the flames."⁵⁷

Voltaire said that he had studied Confucius in detail and admired him for he taught virtue six hundred years before Christianity was founded⁵⁸:

I have read his books with attention; I have made extracts from them; I have found in them nothing but the purest morality, without the slightest tinge of charlatanism...without assumption he explored the mind, unveiled the light of reason to mankind; Spoke as a sage, never as a seer, Yet, strange to say, his country held him dear.⁵⁹

In the *Essay on the Manners and Spirit of Nations*, Voltaire cited the positive examples of religious tolerance in Asia, the lack of a nobility in Asia and China, the lack of a

⁵⁶ Voltaire (1932) 166, 171, 269.

⁵⁷ Voltaire (1932) 170.

⁵⁸ Voltaire (1961) 453.

⁵⁹ Voltaire (1932) 265.

warlike spirit in the Chinese, the ability of anyone to own property in China, the limits on the power of the Chinese emperor, and the character of the common Chinese man.⁶⁰

As a philosopher, Voltaire advocated emulating the practices of the Chinese. He believed that they had surpassed Europeans "in morality, in political economy, in agriculture, in the necessary arts of life," and he suggested that Europeans "might well submit to become their disciples."⁶¹

In his troubles with the French government and the Roman Catholic hierarchy, Voltaire used the example of the religious tolerance of the Chinese emperor, K'ang-hsi (as had the Jesuits of the previous century), which stood in stark contrast to the Catholic position. Voltaire stated that only Westerners have a "mania for proselytizing (which) is a disorder confined exclusively to our climes..."⁶² While Europeans take their opinions and commerce all over the world, Asia had never sent missionaries to Europe (a possibility Leibniz had entertained). The philosophe's sarcasm was such that he inquired as to whether Europeans would have tolerated Chinese coming to Europe to inform Westerners that their religion was wrong.⁶³

Voltaire had access to political leaders in France,

⁶⁰ Voltaire (1968) 551-55.

⁶¹ Voltaire (1932) 265.

⁶² Voltaire (1961) 460.

⁶³ Voltaire (1961) 459.

Germany, and China. Although he was often on the outs with the French government, the frontpiece to *A Philosophical Dictionary* shows Voltaire entertaining Mme. Pompadour.⁶⁴ His letters to Frederick the Great have references to China. From that ruler he received a book about the philosopher, Christian Wolff. Voltaire replied by letter with thanks and praise for Wolff's ideas concerning China.⁶⁵

Voltaire praised the Emperor Yung-cheng (son of K'ang-hsi) for his tolerance, good sense of justice, value of human life, encouragement of agriculture, and his concern for the well-being of his subjects.⁶⁶ He recommended that European rulers emulate the emperor Ch'ien-Lung (son of Yung-cheng) by "studying and patronizing philosophy and the arts."⁶⁷ This is exactly what the "enlightened" rulers Frederick of Prussia, Catherine of Russia and Joseph of Austria would do in the years to follow. Upon receiving poems translated from Chinese into French, supposedly written by this emperor, Voltaire replied by poem calling the emperor a "fellow artist" and was rewarded with a piece of porcelain in reply.⁶⁸

Criticism of French government, which had begun at the onset of the eighteenth century with works by Vauban and

⁶⁴ Voltaire (1932)

⁶⁵ Voltaire (1932) 441-64.

⁶⁶ Voltaire (1961) 456-59.

⁶⁷ Lach (1965) xii.

⁶⁸ Maverick 35.

Fenelon, had accelerated with works of Montesquieu, Goldsmith, and Voltaire. These writers used specific examples from China to draw unfavorable comparisons between life in China and in France. Soon they were joined by the Physiocrats, adherents of the last major movement to attempt reform in France before the Revolution of 1789.

The Physiocrats

François Quesnay (1694-1774) and the Physiocrats sought to halt the rapid decline of France. The movement grew out of the ruinous condition France was in after the death of Louis XIV--a situation not improved by either of his successors, the Regent Philip, Duke of Orleans or Louis XV. With the country in such a sorry state, the Physiocrats believed that only a major calamity could change the course of France. China had experienced such disasters when a dynasty fell or a great internal upheaval had occurred.¹ The Revolution of 1789 proved the Physiocrats to be correct.

The Physiocrats believed that land was the primary means for producing wealth. Their concern was for that wealth, its production and distribution amongst the different classes and its circulation within and without the country.² The movement began with the meeting between Quesnay and the Marquis of Mirabeau in July, 1757.³

Quesnay was born near Paris and trained as a surgeon. He later received a medical degree in 1744, and in 1748, became physician to Mme. de Pompadour, mistress of Louis XV.⁴ Having

¹ Ronald Meek, *The Economics of Physiocracy* (Cambridge, 1963), 31.

² Higgs 17.

³ Higgs 25.

⁴ Mme. Pompadour was a contributor of articles to the *Encyclopedia* of Denis Diderot.

residences in Versailles and Paris, he was in close proximity to the royal family.⁵ Quesnay served Louis XV and saved the Dauphin from smallpox in 1752.⁶

The Marquis of Mirabeau (1715-1789) was born the year Louis XIV died, and he died the day before the storming of the Bastille. He authored *L'Ami des Hommes* (1756), which instigated the rise of the Physiocratic movement in the public eye. Forty editions were published in many translations.⁷ Even the Dauphin boasted of knowing this work by heart.⁸

The Physiocrats published journals in the 1760's and 1770's with contributions by Quesnay, Mirabeau, Du Pont, Turgot and Benjamin Franklin. These writings were available in France, Sweden, Denmark, Austria, Baden, Tuscany, and eastern Europe.⁹

Pierre S. Du Pont de Nemours (1739-1817) edited the journals and became a friend of Franklin during the American's time in France.¹⁰ Robert Jacques Turgot, while not formally a member of the Physiocratic group, was a friend of Quesnay

⁵ Maverick 117.

⁶ Maverick 117.

⁷ Higgs 19.

⁸ Higgs 89.

⁹ Higgs 82.

¹⁰ Du Pont later emigrated to the United States, settling in New Jersey. He was befriended by Thomas Jefferson and correspondence between the two men exists. His descendants are the millionaire Du Pont family. Beer (1939) 185-86.

and a correspondent of David Hume.¹¹ The only active civil servant of the group, Turgot had a strong interest in China and was influential with two Chinese missionaries visiting France in 1764. He provided the opportunity for them to study French science, agriculture, and industry so that they might be prepared to send back information on these topics from China. For use by the missionaries, Turgot prepared fifty-two questions on agriculture, distribution of wealth, government office holders, weights and measures, and distribution of food.¹²

Turgot was successful with innovations and reforms during his period as Intendant of Limoges (1761-1764) and received acclaim for this.¹³ Turgot served for two years as Controller-General of France under Louis XVI. His interest in China led him to attempt reforms in emulation of the Chinese and to suggest to the King that his royal master modify the monarchy.¹⁴ Pierre Du Pont was Turgot's assistant during this period from 1774-1776.¹⁵ Unable to influence the weak Louis XVI, or exert enough power over the entrenched aristocrats, Turgot failed in his attempted reforms.¹⁶

¹¹ Maverick 44.

¹² Maverick 45-47.

¹³ Maverick 44.

¹⁴ Creel (1949) 268.

¹⁵ Beer 185.

¹⁶ Maverick 44.

Quesnay wrote two books that advocated the ideas of the Physiocrats. In *Tableau Economique* (1757) called for the abolishment of all taxes and the establishment of a single, moderate tax on land to be based on the annual yield of that land.¹⁷ Quesnay had read Vauban, who had advocated early in the eighteenth century that the principal tax of France be one-tenth of the agricultural harvest and industrial production.¹⁸ This was the practice in China. Perhaps Quesnay derived his ideas on taxes from having read Vauban's book written fifty years earlier. It was like Quesnay to borrow heavily from lesser-known authors, for he was to extensively plagiarize in his most famous work.

Le Despotisme de la Chine (1767) was the apex of the movement of admiration for China.¹⁹ Quesnay was less objective about his subject than other writers (such as Leibniz) had been. In this work, Quesnay exaggerated the good qualities of China.²⁰ His treatise drew heavily on a twelve-volume work of the geographer Jacques Rousselot de Surgy. Speculation is that Quesnay engaged in wholesale plagiarism of

¹⁷ G. P. Gooch, *Louis XV: The Monarchy in Decline* (London, 1956) 274.

¹⁸ Maverick 120.

¹⁹ Maverick 113.

²⁰ Maverick 113.

the majority of the de Surgy's work.²¹ Quesnay sought to paint a positive picture of China and may have altered the more impartial material of de Surgy to do so. Topics examined in this work include the physical geography of China, its ordering and administration of the society with particular emphasis on the educational system, and its implications for the laws and customs of China. Quesnay sought to refute criticisms by Montesquieu of China, and to compare Chinese laws with natural law.

Quesnay stated that the Chinese excelled at the operation of government and in their morality because of their intense study of Confucian philosophy with its emphasis on order. In contrast, Europeans lagged in these areas due to their interest in profit. He believed that the stability of the vast Chinese empire, its peaceful relations with neighboring countries--indeed its lack of aggression towards these smaller nations, its minimal sea-going navy (which demonstrated its lack of imperial designs), was due to an inward contentment brought about by a government founded on the principle of natural order.²²

Quesnay was the last writer to use the example of the

²¹ Lewis Maverick believed that seven of the eight chapters were "lifted bodily from de Surgy." ²² Quesnay's other source was Du Halde (1735).

²² Yet, the Manchu dynasty, which was in power during Quesnay's lifetime, had conducted a massive expansionist campaign into neighboring Mongolia, Tibet and Sinkiang. Confucianism in theory and in practice were often not consistent.

Chinese "Mandate of Heaven" to point out the injustice of the French monarchy. The Chinese emperor was an absolute monarch who ruled through edicts which were based upon a reciprocal arrangement founded in natural law and confirmed by the scholars. He was to rule with the best interests of people at heart. Just as the emperor looked at his people as a loving father does his children, so would the people obey the emperor as children obey their father. History had shown China that when a bad emperor attempted to rule by force in contempt of established laws and customs, he would lose the obedience of the people.

Quesnay also had effusive praise for Confucius.²³ He said that Confucius believed human nature was "very pure, very perfect" and corrupted by ignorance, passions and bad examples.²⁴ Confucius had sought to reform, by exhortation and example, the morals of the human race.²⁵ For a reason unknown, the section on Confucius did not appear in the published version of Quesnay's work.²⁶

The Physiocrats sought to influence the rulers of Europe in order to change their policies. Quesnay's goal was the

²³ Here Quesnay's rather limited understanding has him give credit to Confucius when, in actuality, the debt is to Mencius.

²⁴ Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *The Origins of Physiocracy: Economic Revolution and Social Order in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithica, 1976) 75.

²⁵ Fox-Genovese 75.

²⁶ Fox-Genovese 74.

reformation of the entire economic system of France. Yet, he sought this drastic reform without causing France to lapse into anarchy. He believed that the reform must emphasize agriculture because it constituted the source of all wealth in France.²⁷ Economic reform must also include reforms in the area of political and social concerns. It is no wonder that Quesnay, called "The Confucius of Europe" by his disciples,²⁸ advocated emulation of the Chinese concern for agriculture as the basis for uplifting the people of France out of their misery and thereby creating more wealth.

The continual decline of France in the 1760's was evident for she had just lost Canada and much of India. Her policy of mercantilism and its accompanying colonies was a failure. The direct access Quesnay had to Louis XV allowed him the opportunity to tell the monarch how miserable his country's people were:

I have seen a tax-gathering bailiff cut off the wrist of a poor woman who clung to her saucepan, the last utensil of her household, which she was defending from distraint.²⁹

France was in grave trouble. Perhaps China could serve as an superior example.

The Marquis de Mirabeau would tell Louis XV that "the cultivators of the soil were the most useful of his subjects

²⁷ Fox-Genovese 10-11.

²⁸ Fox-Genovese 75; Higgs 47.

²⁹ Higgs 24.

and asked nothing from him except peace and protection."³⁰ This was exactly what Confucius and Mencius had said that a good monarch did for his peasants: he recognized their extreme usefulness by giving them social status above the artisans and merchants while encouraging their production of the soil. The emperor demonstrated his concern for the spring planting by participating in a ceremonial plowing of the ground. Mirabeau's book of 1764, *Philosophie rurale*, had as its frontpiece "a picture of the Chinese Emperor in a spring ceremony, plowing a small area of ground, to set an example to his subjects and to show his fellow-feelings with them."³¹ This is exactly what the Dauphin did in the spring of 1768, when he imitated the Chinese by convening a public ceremony at Versailles to promote agriculture, at which time he held a toy plough covered with ribbons.³² Joseph II of Austria exhibited a more active approach when he drove an actual plough in a peasant's field in Moravia a year later on August 19, 1769.³³ Such was the influence ideas from China had on a Europe in political decay.

Physiocracy was embraced by Joseph II, his brother Leopold of Tuscany, Karl Friedrich, Margrave of Baden, Thomas Jefferson and "numerous intellectuals and enlightened

³⁰ Gooch 273.

³¹ Maverick 125.

³² Higgs 89; Maverick 125.

³³ Higgs 89.

administrators throughout Europe, the United States and Lower Austria."³⁴ Joseph was a follower of Turgot and Adam Smith.³⁵ Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany and Emperor of Austria after the death of his brother, Joseph, was the dedicatory of Mirabeau's book, *Les Economiques* (1769-1772) and based his reforms upon recommendations by Mirabeau. Leopold also corresponded with Du Pont.³⁶ Stanislaus of Poland, Charles III of Spain, and Ferdinand of Naples were all influenced by Mirabeau and Du Pont.³⁷

Admiration for Quesnay and the Physiocrats came from Adam Smith. The initial information about both the Philosophes and the Physiocrats that Smith gained was via his good friend David Hume. After the conclusion of the Seven Years' War, Smith visited Quesnay in France.³⁸ As Hume was with the British ambassador to the French court, it is likely that Smith received his introduction to Turgot through Hume. Smith thought highly enough of Quesnay that he would have dedicated the *Wealth of Nations* to him had he been alive in 1776.³⁹

The admiration of this whole sect (the Physiocrats) for their master, who was himself a man of greatest modesty and simplicity, is not inferior to that of the

³⁴ Fox-Genovese 11.

³⁵ Higgs 90, attributed to Du Pont.

³⁶ Higgs, 89.

³⁷ Higgs 89.

³⁸ Maverick 121.

³⁹ Gooch 274.

ancient philosophers for the founders of their respective systems.⁴⁰

In the *Wealth of Nations*, Smith praised the Chinese in words so similar in words that they might have come from Quesnay himself.

China has long been one of the richest, that is, one of the most fertile, best cultivated, most industrious, and most populous countries in the world.⁴¹

Smith concurred with Quesnay in attributing this prosperity to the emphasis that the Chinese placed on agricultural production above all other employments.⁴² In contrast with Europe, which placed the uncouth peasant at the bottom of the social order with townsmen and merchants higher, China placed the "country labourers" above most craftsmen and artisans.⁴³ Smith stated that tax revenue in China was derived from what the land produced and was not in proportion to rent. In theory, the rate was ten percent while in fact it might be as low as three to four percent.⁴⁴

Smith knew that China had a great deal of internal trade and commerce which the government encouraged and assisted. In contrast to France, where most roads were entirely neglected

⁴⁰ Higgs 47 (quoting Adam Smith).

⁴¹ Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (Oxford, 1976) 89.

⁴² Smith 679.

⁴³ Smith 144, 679.

⁴⁴ Smith 838.

and often impassable, the governmental policy of China mandated that roads and canals were maintained in good repair so as to assist commerce and transportation.⁴⁵ This had allowed China great prosperity without having to trade with outsiders.⁴⁶

Smith stated that the three most wealthy countries in history were Egypt, India, and present-day China. This was due to their superiority in agriculture and manufacturing, in combination with the lack of a strong reliance on foreign trade.⁴⁷ Because China was surrounded by poor neighbors, it had been forced to become rich through internal efforts.⁴⁸

Smith represented the culmination of the Physiocratic movement. He expanded and elaborated on French ideas in the area of the relationship of wealth and land. His writings show that he was cognizant of China's accomplishments in economic areas. However, Smith did not hesitate to criticise China.

Quite prophetically, he cautioned, that although China was much richer than any European country (in part due to the lower price of labor), it appeared that the China of his time was very similar to the China described by Marco Polo five

⁴⁵ Smith 729.

⁴⁶ Smith 35, 838.

⁴⁷ Smith 367.

⁴⁸ Smith 495.

hundred years earlier.⁴⁹ Smith believed that this economic and cultural stagnation meant that China would not grow any richer and would be forced to begin trading with outside countries.⁵⁰ Only sixty years later, the British Empire forced the Chinese into trade they did not desire.

⁴⁹ Smith 89, 208.

⁵⁰ Smith 111.

Conclusion

The European Enlightenment occurred because of many factors that worked, within Europe, devoid of outside influence. However, little acknowledgment has been forthcoming that the explorations of foreign lands, made during the sixteenth century, presented Europeans with knowledge of other peoples and cultures that might have influenced European thought. Just as the Chinese had not realized, until the Jesuit, Ricci, had shown them a world map that did not place their kingdom in the center, so too, the Europeans had begun to understand that they were not at the center of the world.

For a period of over two hundred years, intellectuals from Montaigne in late sixteenth-century France through Smith in late eighteenth-century Scotland, had access to detailed information about China's government, culture, and philosophy. Montaigne, Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Smith, made direct references to positive aspects about China which they believed European thinkers, rulers, and governments should emulate. Locke owned books on China and had direct personal contact with men who possessed knowledge about that empire. Leibniz devoted years of study to Chinese culture and philosophy including meetings and correspondence with Jesuit missionaries sent to China by Louis XIV.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Europeans

developed the realization that their lands were not at the center of the world. This new relativism included the necessity to acknowledge the existence of an independent and equal civilization possessing a continuous history back to Antiquity:

The most fundamental and universal of the changes effected in Europe's view of itself and the world was to be found in the growth of a new form of cultural relativism.¹

Contact with the overseas countries caused Europeans to become more relative in the manner of viewing customs, ideas, and even religion.²

Scholarship has acknowledged Chinese contributions in the field of inventions prior to 1600. However, academics have not been so forthcoming in suggesting that China may have contributed to European concepts and ideas. Evidence to support the notion that China provided models for behavior and governance is limited as has been interest in such a concept. Historians omit the fact that detailed knowledge of China was available to Europeans by the close of the sixteenth century. Even Will and Ariel Durant's massive work, *The Story of Civilization: Rousseau and Revolution*, contains only two brief references to the Jesuits in China. Only once is Confucius mentioned.

Western Europe has dominated the world stage since the

¹ Lach (1977) 565.

² Hazard (1963) 11.

Enlightenment period. Indeed, it utilized China as a colony for the second half of the nineteenth century, and the West still bemoans the fact that it "lost" China to Mao in 1949.

Creel believed that the influence of China continued into the nineteenth century. The French critic and social philosopher, Ferdinand Brunetiere (1849-1906), put much of the blame for the French educational system on the Chinese. He stated that after the French Revolution, philosophers sought to emulate the Chinese system by using "competitive examinations and nothing to favor, but above all nothing to heredity."³ Maverick believed that the Jesuit Du Halde's praise of the Chinese educational system was to have an effect upon the Western schools in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁴

Creel commented that Lefebvre's *The Coming of the French Revolution* omitted any reference of China. Yet Lefebvre was aware that a new doctrine had arisen to oppose the church. He did not realize, or may have chosen not to acknowledge, that this doctrine had many ideas in common with Confucianism and that this "fact was recognized and widely proclaimed by leading figures of the Enlightenment."⁵

Creel stated that Alan F. Hattersley's book, *A Short History of Democracy*, did contend that new ideas from Asia's

³ Creel (1949) 255.

⁴ Maverick 24.

⁵ Creel (1949) 256.

ancient civilizations "played a role in the development of the ideals of 'equality, charity and fraternity.'"⁶ In 1940, a Chinese scholar published, in Chinese, "an impressively documented volume on, *The Influence of Chinese Thought on European Culture*." The author declared that "Chinese philosophy was without a doubt the basic cause of the French Revolution."⁷

There are many points of agreement between the Chinese philosophy of Confucianism and the ideals of the Enlightenment. H. G. Creel asked that we consider the possibility that the ideas might have come from the study of China for the philosophy of the Enlightenment developed precisely at the period when Europe was learning of Confucianism.⁸ He asked, if the ideas were an indigenous development, why then do the characteristics of the positive nature of man, the right of the people to overthrow a tyrannical ruler, the belief that all men deserve equality of opportunity, and the concept that governments should allow religious toleration all sound Confucian?

While the writings of Confucius and Mencius appear to include a great amount of common sense, and their precise impact on European thought may not be obvious, the evidence is overwhelming that many of the leading European intellectuals

⁶ Creel (1949) 263.

⁷ Creel (1949) 254-55.

⁸ Creel (1949) 254.

possessed detailed knowledge of Chinese philosophy and culture and sought to use that knowledge to change European thought.

APPENDIX

The books on China owned by John Locke:

1) Barros, João de. *L' Asia: de' fatti de' Portoghesi nello scoprimento, & conquista de' mari, & Venetia*. Venetia: 1561. This was the second major book published on Asia. Barros had completed the first draft of the text in 1539, only 24 years after *Utopia* by Thomas More. Locke's copy had a 5-entry page list in pencil.¹

2) Mendoza, Juan Gonzalez de. *Historia della China*. Rome: 1586. This book, commissioned by the Vatican, achieved great popularity before 1600. Locke's first copy had a 4-entry page list.

3) Mendoza. *The History of China*. Translated from Spanish by R. Parke. London: 1588.

4) Mendoza. Antwerp, 1655. Translated from Spanish into Latin.

5) Alfaro, Pedro de. *Voyage into China*. London: 1588. This is a portion of the Parke translation into English of Mendoza's work.

¹ According to Harrison and Laslett, an entry list was Locke's notation in the back of a book of pages he may have believed to be important. It is an indication that he had read that portion of the book.

6) Herrade, Martin de. *Voyage into China*. London: 1588. This is a portion of the Parke translation into English of Mendoza.

7) Ignacio, Martin. *Voyage round the world*. London: 1588. This is a portion of the Parke translation into English of Mendoza. The Mendoza book was the definitive book on China written before 1600. Locke owned six different editions in three languages. This may indicate that he had a significant interest in China.

8) Trigault, Nicolas. *De Christina expeditione apud Sinas, suscepta ab Societate Iesu, ex. P.M. Ricci...* Augustae Vind, 1615. This book is the edited journals of Matteo Ricci, the first significant Jesuit missionary to China. Ricci's first-hand account (edited by Trigault) was the second definitive book on China and the most authoritative work at the time of its publication to yet appear on that country, its people, customs, laws, philosophy and government. Locke owned two editions in two languages.

9) Trigault, Nicolas. *Historie de l'expedition chrestienne au royaume de la China...* Lyon: 1616.

10) Martini, Martino. *Sinicae historiae decas prima*. Monochii: 1658. Written by a Jesuit missionary to China.

11) Martini, Martino. *Sinicae historiae decas prima*. Amsterdam: 1659. Locke's copy had a 5-line page list in pencil.

12) Spizelius, Theophilus. *De re literaria Sinensium*. Amsterdam: 1660.

13) Martinus, M. *Regni Sinensis a Tartaris devastati Enarratio*. Amsterdam, 1661.

14) Faure, Jacques le. *Letter sur l'estat present de la Chine*. Paris: 1662.

15) Nieuhof, Johan. *L'ambassade de la Compagnie Orientale des Provinces Vnies vers l'empereur de la Chine...* Leyde: 1665.

16) Bourgess, Jacques de. *Relation du Voyage de Mons*. Paris: 1666. (with a 3-line page list in pencil)

17) Philippus, De la St. *Voyage d' Orient*. Lyon: 1669. (with a 2-line page list in ink)

18) Kircher, Anthanasius. *China monumentis qua sacris qua profanis...* Amsterdam: 1667.

19) Fernandez Navarette, Domingo. *Tratados historicos, politicos, ethicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China*. Madrid: 1676. This book contains approximately a dozen pages on the teachings of Mencius.

20) Palafox y Mendoza, Juan de. *The history of the Tartas*. London: 1679.

21) Stanley, Thomas. *The history of philosophy*. London: 1687.

22) Brune, J. de la. *La Morale de Confucius philosophe de la Chine*. Amsterdam: 1688. This translation of Confucius' *Sinarum Philosophus* was edited by Couplet and published in

Paris in 1687. It was the first full translation of the great Chinese classics of philosophy. Included were the *Analects*, *The Great Offering*, and the *Doctrine of the Mean*.

23) Clericus, J. *Historia philosophie Orientalis...ex Anglica lingua in Latinan transtulit...* 1690.

24) Bouvet, Joachim. *Portrait historique de L'Empereur de la Chine*. Paris, 1697. This work praised the tolerant rule of the Chinese emperor K'ang-hsi, and was dedicated to his direct contemporary, Louis XIV.

25) Comte, Louis le. *Nouveaux memoires sur l'etat present de la China*. Vol 1 & vol 2, third edition. Paris: 1697. This was a positive account of China's politics, government, and moral principles written by the six French Jesuits to China in 1685.

26) Gobien, C. le. *Nouveaux Memoires sur l-etat present de la Chine*. Vol 3. Paris: 1698.

27) Brand, Adam. *A Journal of an Embassy from their majesties: John & Peter Alexowits Emperors of Muscovy into China 1693*. London: 1698. (extensive margin notes, 10-entry page list in pencil)

28) Leibnitz, Gottfried Wilhelm von. *Novissima Sinica*. Second edition. Hanover(?): 1699.

29) Alexander, N. *Apologie des Dominicans missionaries de la Chine, Ou Response au line de P: le Tellier intitule Defense des Nouveaux Chretires*. 1699.

30) *Historia Cultus Sinensium*. 1700. (with a 12-line page list in pencil)

31) Gobien, C. le(?). *Remarques d'un Dr.: en Theologie sur la protestation des Jesuites & c.* Paris(?): c. 1700.

32) Gobien, Charles le. *Dissertatio apologetica Sinensium vitibu politics*. Leod: 1700.

33) Alexander N. *Conformite de ceremonies Chinoises avec l'Idolatrie Grecque ed Romaine*. 1700.²

34) *Lettre de Mess: des Missions stranges aua Pape, sur les Idolatries et supersitions Chinoises*. c. 1700.

35) *Lettre d'un Dr.: de L'Ordre de St. Dominique (i.e. N. Alexandre) sur les ceremonies de la Chine au R. P le Comte*. 1700.

36) Comte, Louis le. *Lettre au Duc de Mayne sur les ceremonies de la Chine*. Leig: 1700. (with a 3-line page list in pencil)

37) *Lettre d'un Dr. de l'ordre de St. Dominique (i.e. N. Alexandre) au P: le Comte sur son Systeme de l ancienne religion de la Chine*. 1700.

38) N. Alexander. *Lettre d'une personne de Piete sur un Ecrit des Jesuites intitule la censure refute touchant la religion et le culte des Chinois*. 1701.

39) Fernandez Navarette, Domingo. *Response a l'Apologie des Jesuites de la Chine composee par le P. Diego Moralez*. Cologne: 1701.

² The publisher is unknown.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Bayle, Pierre. *The Great Contest of Faith and Reason*. Selected, trans. and ed. with intro. by Karl C. Sandberg. New York: Frederick Unger Publishing Co., 1963.
- Confucius. Legge, James, trans. *The Four Books: The Great Learning; The Doctrine of the Mean; Confucian Analects; The Works of Mencius*. Hong Kong: Wei Tung Book Store, n.d.
- Confucius. *The Analects of Confucius*. Trans. Arthur Waley. 1938. New York: Random House, n.d.
- Goldsmith, Oliver. *The Citizen of the World (Chinese Letters)*. New York: M. Walter Dunne, 1901.
- Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm. *Discourse on the Natural Theology of the Chinese*. Trans., intro, notes and commentary by Henry Rosemont Jr. and Daniel J. Cook. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1977.
- Locke, John. *Locke's Travels in France, 1675-1679*. Ed. & trans. John Lough. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953.
- . *The Correspondence of John Locke*. Ed. E. S. De Beer. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.
- . *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. London: George Rutledge & Sons.
- Mencius. *Mencius*. Trans. W.A.C.H. Dobson. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963.
- Montaigne, Michel de. *The Autobiography of Michel de Montaigne*. Selected, edited and translated by Marvin Lowenthal. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935.
- . *The Complete Works of Montaigne*. Trans. Donald M. Frame. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958.
- Montesquieu. *The Spirit of the Laws*. Trans. & ed. Anne M. Cohler, Basia C. Miller and Harold S. Stone. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Polo, Marco. *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*. Ed. with intro. by George B. Parks. New York: The Book League of America, 1929.

Quesnay, Francois. *Despotism in China*. Trans. Lewis Maverick. San Antonio, Texas: Paul Anderson Company, 1946.

Ricci, Matthew. *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci, 1583-1610*. Trans. Louis J. Gallagher, New York: Random House, 1942.

Smith, Adam. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. Ed. R.H. Cambell and A.S. Skinner. 2 vol. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.

Voltaire, François Marie Arouet de. *The Age of Louis XIV*. Trans. Martyn P. Pollack. London: Dent & Sons Ltd., 1961.

---. *Candide and other Writings*. Ed. w/ intro. by Haskell M. Block. New York: Random House, 1984.

---. *A Philosophical Dictionary*. 2 vol. New York: Coventry House, 1932.

---. *The Portable Voltaire*. Ed. with intro. by Ben Ray Redman. New York: Penguin Books, 1968.

Secondary Sources

- Aiton, E. J. *Leibniz*. Bristol: Adam Hilger Ltd., 1985.
- Armitage, Angus. *John Kepler*. London: Farber & Farber, 1966.
- Ashley, Maurice. *Louis XIV and the Greatness of France*. London: The English Universities Press, 1946.
- Beer, M. *An Inquiry into Physiocracy*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1939.
- Boxer, C. R. *Fidalgos in the Near East, 1550-1770*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1948.
- . *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion, 1415-1825: A Succinct Survey*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1969.
- . *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825*. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1969.
- Bradby, G. F. *The Great Days of Versailles: Studies from Court Life in the later years of Louis XIV*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927.
- Broome, J.H. *Pascal*. London: Edward Arnold Ltd., 1965.
- Calinger, Ronald. *Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz*. Troy, New York: Edwin B. Allen Mathematics Memorial, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, 1976.
- Capser, Max. *Kepler*. Trans. & ed. by C. Doris Hellman. London: Abelard-Schuman, 1959.
- Chai, Ch'u. *The Story of Chinese Philosophy*. New York: Washington Square Press, Inc., 1961.
- Creel, H.G. *Chinese Thought from Confucius to Mao Tse Tung*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.
- . *Confucius and the Chinese Way*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1949.
- Cronin, Vincent. *The Wise Man From the West*. London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1955.
- Davis, James H. Jr. *Fenelon*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979.

- Dawson, Miles M. *The Basic Thoughts of Confucius-The Conduct of Life*. New York: Garden City Publishing Co., Inc., 1939.
- Dunn, John. *Locke*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Dunn, Richard S. *The Age of Religious Wars: 1559-1715*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1979.
- Dunne, George H. *Generation of Giants: The Story of the Jesuits in China in the last Decades of the Ming Dynasty*. London: Burns and Oates, 1962.
- Durant, Will and Ariel. *The Story of Civilization (vol. 10) Rousseau and Revolution*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967.
- Eliot, Charles W., editor. *French and English Philosophers*. New York: P.F. Collier & Son, 1910.
- Fowler, Thomas. *Locke*. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers.
- Fox-Genovese, Elizabeth. *The Origins of Physiocracy: Economic Revolution and Social Order in Eighteenth-Century France*. Ithica, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1976.
- Gooch, G. P. *Louis XV: The Monarchy in Decline*. London: Longman's Green and Co., Ltd., 1956.
- Grieg, John Young Thompson. *David Hume*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1983; original, New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1931.
- Harrison, John and Peter Laslett. *The Library of John Locke*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.
- Hart, Henry H. *Marco Polo: Venetian Adventurer*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967.
- Hazard, Paul. *European Thought in the Eighteenth Century*. Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1963.
- . *The European Mind, 1680-1715*. Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1963. (original publication in France, 1946).
- Higgs, Henry. *The Physiocrats: Six Lectures on the French Economists of the 18th Century*. Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1963; reprint of Macmillan & Co., Ltd, 1897.

- Kenny, Anthony. *Thomas More*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Kerner, Robert Joseph. *Bohemia in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1932.
- King, Lord Peter. *The Life and Letters of John Locke*. Reprint of the original published in London, George Bell & Sons, 1884.
- Komroff, Manuel, ed. *Contemporaries of Marco Polo*. New York: 1928.
- Lach, Donald. *Asia in the Making of Europe*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, vol 1, 1965; vol 2, 1977.
- Lyall, Leonard, trans. *The Sayings of Confucius*. 4 New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1909.
- Maurois, Andre. *The Living Thoughts of Voltaire*. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1939.
- Maverick, Lewis. *China, a Model for Europe: China's Economy and Government admired by Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Europeans*. San Antonio, Texas: Paul Anderson Company, 1946.
- Meek, Ronald L. *The Economics of Physiocracy*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963
- Mungello, David E. *Leibniz and Confucianism: The Search for Accord*. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1977.
- Murat, Ines. *Colbert*. Trans. by Robert Cook & Jeannie Van Aselt. Charlottesville, VA.: University Press of Virginia, 1984.
- Price, John Vladimir. *David Hume*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1968.
- Ronan, Charles E., S.J. and Bonnie B. C. Oh., eds. *East meets West: The Jesuits in China, 1582-1773*. Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1988.
- Rowbotham, Arnold H. *Missionary and Mandarin: The Jesuits at the Court of China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942.
- Rule, Paul. *K'ung-tzu or Confucius? The Jesuit Interpretation of Confucianism*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1986.

Spence, Jonathan. *To Change China: Western Advisors in China, 1620-1960*. New York: Penguin Books, 1980.

---. *Emperor of China: Self-portrait of K'ang-hsi*. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1974.

Verwilghen, Albert Felix. *Mencius: The Man and his Ideas*. New York: St. John's University Press, 1967.

Waley, Arthur. *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China*. 1939. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982.

---. *The Analects of Confucius*. 1930. New York: Random House, reprint, n.d.

Webb, Clement C. J. *Pascal's Philosophy of Religion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929; Kraus reprint, N.Y., 1970.