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THE OTHER HALF. PORTUGUESE VOICES FROM THE CHINA MISSION

Isabel Murta Pina*

Attention has long been drawn to the fact that the once predominant national group among Catholic missionaries in China, the Portuguese, has been largely neglected by scholarship. Authors such as Charles Boxer in the mid-twentieth century¹ and more recently Nicolas Standaert, but, above all, Liam Brockey, noted the lack of studies on the Portuguese Jesuits from the China mission.

As Standaert showed us, based on the work of Joseph Dehergne,² these Jesuits were indeed the largest national contingent between 1582 and 1731, as was to be expected of a mission that was part of the Portuguese Assistancy.³ According to Pascale Girard, who revised the numbers provided by Dehergne, among the 288 European Jesuits in China from 1582 to 1723, a total of 129 were Portuguese, i.e., 45% of the group.⁴

Despite its size, the Portuguese continued to have little visibility and are even discriminated against. Brockey pointed this out in two articles, one from 2000⁵ and another from 2012,⁶ reflecting extensively on the question of nationality and how this affected the Portuguese Jesuits in China, a group singled out for criticism. The author noted that the “Black Legend” of Iberian fanaticism and obscurantism fell on this

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¹ Charles Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East: 1550-1770* (Hagul: Martinus Nijhoff, 1948), 158.

² *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800* (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I.; Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1973).

³ It is only after 1731 that we see the French Jesuits start to outnumber the Portuguese on a regular basis. Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 310; Id., “The Jesuit Presence in China (1580-1773): A statistical approach,” *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* 12 (1991). See also Jean-Pierre Duteil, *Le Mandat du Ciel: Le rôle des Jésuites en Chine* (Paris: Éditions Arguments, 1994), 34-35.

⁴ Pascale Girard, *Os religiosos ocidentais na China na época moderna* (Macau: CTMCDP, Fundação Macau, Instituto Politécnico de Macau, 1999), 171-4.

⁵ Liam Brockey, “A Vinha do Senhor: The Portuguese Jesuits in China,” *Portuguese Studies* 16 (2000): 125-47.

⁶ Liam Brockey, “Root and Branch: The Place of the Portuguese Jesuits in the Early Modern China Mission,” in *In The Light and Shadow of an Emperor: Tomás Pereira, S.J. (1645-1708), the Kangxi Emperor and the Jesuit Mission in China*, ed. Artur K. Wardega, S.J. and António Vasconcelos de Saldanha (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 6-37.

group of missionaries, who were considered retrograde and culturally inflexible, often accused of stopping the visionary and tolerant drive of their non-Portuguese confreres in what concerns cultural accommodation. On the other hand, the significant focus on science also contributed to the negative vision of Portuguese missionaries since their achievements in that field were, in general, of little impact.⁷ In his two articles, Brockey dismissed this negative image of the Portuguese Jesuits in China held by their own contemporaries, and showed us that a number of them were thought to have the right profile and skills to exercise governing duties. Indeed, they were often promoted to positions of leadership in the China mission.⁸

This influential and biased narrative that was enshrined in George Dunne's *Generation of Giants*,⁹ led to a lack of interest in Portuguese Jesuits, and to a clear tendency for scholars to focus their attention on the group of non-Portuguese missionaries from the China mission. Only they were worthy of interest and, consequently, of studies. The extensive bibliography on figures such as Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), Nicolas Trigault (1577-1628), Giulio Aleni (1582-1649), Martino Martini (1614-1661), Michele Boym (1612-1659), Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1592-1666), Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688), Philippe Couplet (1622-1693), Jean-François Gerbillon (1654-1707), Antoine Thomas (1644-1709), Giuseppe Castiglione (1688-1766), among many others, serve as proof of this.¹⁰ Even names that previously were in the background, such as Michele Ruggieri (1543-1607), Diego Pantoja (1571-1618), or Ferdinando Bonaventura Moggi (1684-1761), to name but a few, have received a growing interest recently.

In stark contrast, we find that the many Portuguese missionaries were largely forgotten, since historiography did not pay equal attention to them. Nevertheless, some contributions on Portuguese missionaries have come to light in Portugal over the last twenty years.¹¹ These include the publication of some of António de

⁷ Id., "A Vinha do Senhor," 125-9; Id., "Root and Branch," 10-11.

⁸ Id., "A Vinha do Senhor," 131-7; Id., "Root and Branch," 18-28.

⁹ George Dunne, *The Generation of Giants: The story of the Jesuits in China in the last decades of the Ming Dynasty* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1962). However, the origin of the unflattering image can be partly attributed to the French Jesuits, who arrived in China in the 1680s under the patronage of Louis XIV in defiance of the Portuguese royal patronage, and which set up a separate mission to that of the Portuguese from 1701. The power of their propaganda was decisive in building this skewed perspective, so difficult to erase. Ines Županov believed that the *Lettres édifiantes*, published by the French Jesuits in Paris from 1703, allowed the history of the Jesuit missions, namely that of China, to be "reinvented" as a French project whose contribution was glorified, while the legacy and history of the Portuguese patronage was devalued and even eclipsed. "Against Rites: Jesuit Accommodation as Pietist Preparatio Evangelica in Eighteenth Century South India," in *The Rites Controversy in the Early Modern World*, ed. Ines Županov & Pierre-Antoine Fabre (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 369.

¹⁰ In Italy, institutions like Centro Studi Martino Martini (Trento), Fondazione Civiltà Bresciana-Centro Giulio Aleni (Brescia), and Fondazione Prospero Intorcetta (Sicily), widely promote the study of the namesake missionaries.

¹¹ Before this period, we should mention Irène Pih's work on Gabriel de Magalhães: *Le Père Gabriel de Magalhães. Un Jésuite Portugais en Chine au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian-Centre Culturel Portugais, 1979). See also the two chapters on Álvaro Semedo and Gabriel de Magalhães

Gouveia's works by Horácio de Araújo.¹² Mention should also be made of the edition of Tomás Pereira's (1646-1708) documentary corpus by the Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau (Lisbon), and also of two books of collective authorship with articles on Pereira resulting from the colloquia on him held in 2008, in Lisbon and Macau.¹³ No other Portuguese Jesuit from the China mission has ever received similar scientific attention.¹⁴

Some years earlier, in 2004, a project coordinated by João Paulo Oliveira e Costa at CHAM (School of Social Sciences and Humanities, NOVA University of Lisbon), entitled "Portuguese Jesuits in East Asia in the 16th and 17th centuries" (POCTI/HAR/55684/2004), collected documentation and made a first analysis of a small group of Portuguese missionaries active in China and, above all, in Japan. Although the results were more modest than initial expectations due to lack of funds, this was eventually published in the *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*.¹⁵ Moreover, we are looking forward to Henrique Leitão and Rui Magone's translation and annotated edition of Manuel Dias Júnior's (1574-1659) *Tianwenlüe* [Epitome of Questions on the Heavens], first published in Beijing, in 1615.¹⁶

in D. E. Mungello, *Curious Land. Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1985); and João de Deus Ramos, *História das Relações Diplomáticas entre Portugal e a China. O Padre António de Magalhães, S.J., e a Embaixada de Kangxi a D. João V (1721-1725)* (Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1991). Besides, it is also worth mentioning Francisco Rodrigues' *Jesuítas Portugueses. Astrónomos na China, 1583-1805*, a "classic" from the time of its first edition (Porto: Tipografia Porto Medico, 1925).

¹² António de Gouveia, *Ásia Extrema*, Edition, Introduction and notes by Horácio P. Araújo, 4 vols. (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 1995-2018); and António de Gouveia, *Cartas Anuas da China*. Edition, Introduction and notes by Horácio P. Araújo (Macau: Instituto Português do Oriente; Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, 1998).

¹³ Luís Filipe Barreto, ed., *Tomás Pereira, S.J. (1646-1708). Life, Work and World* (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, 2010); and Wardega, S.J. and Saldanha, eds., *In the Light and Shadow of an Emperor: Tomás Pereira*. Mention should also be made to another book that includes a set of texts on Pereira: Luís Saraiva, ed., *History of Mathematical Sciences: Portugal and East Asia IV – Europe and China: Science and the Arts in 17th and 18th Centuries* (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co., 2013). Furthermore, back in 2008, Pereira was also the subject of an exhibition that took place at Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau. See the catalogue *Tomás Pereira (1646-1708), Um Jesuíta na China de Kangxi* (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, 2009).

¹⁴ This clear contrasts with the number of conferences held on non-Portuguese missionaries from the China mission.

¹⁵ *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies* 15 (2007).

¹⁶ These authors published three articles on the subject: Henrique Leitão, "The contents and context of *Tianwenlüe*" and Rui Magone, "The textual tradition of Manuel Dias's *Tianwenlüe* 天問略," in *The Jesuits, The Padroado and East Asian Science (1552-1773)*, ed. Luís Saraiva and Catherine Jami (Singapore: World Scientific, 2008), 99-121, 123-38; further see Rui Magone, "'God is in the Details': Manuel Dias' *Tianwenlüe* [Epitome of Questions on the Heavens] and the Scientific Strategies of the Jesuit Mission to China in the early Seventeenth century," in *Empires en marche. Rencontres entre la Chine et l'Occident à l'âge moderne (XVI^e-XIX^e siècles)*, ed. Dejanirah Couto and François Lachaud (Paris: EFEO, 2017), 227-45.

Other studies are currently underway, including one I am carrying on Álvaro Semedo's (1585-1658) life and work;¹⁷ and another coordinated by Arnaldo do Espírito Santo and Cristina Costa Gomes, entitled *Res Sinicae. A database of Latin and Portuguese sources on China (16th-18th centuries). Survey, Edition, Translation and Studies* (PTDC/LLT-OUT /31941/2017), at the Centre for Classical Studies (School of Arts and Humanities, University of Lisbon). This project contemplates the study of names such as Manuel Dias Júnior, Francisco Furtado (1589-1653), Inácio da Costa (1603-1666) and José Monteiro (1646-1738), besides the missionaries that will be the subject of analysis later in this monographic number of *Orientis Aura*. Reference should also be made to *The Conimbricenses.org Project. A digital platform for the History of Philosophy and Theology in Coimbra (1542-1772)*, directed by Mário Santiago de Carvalho, at the University of Coimbra. This project has a part devoted to China, entitled "Coimbra in Early Modern China," which is coordinated by two prominent authors, Elisabetta Corsi and Thierry Meynard. Here is included Francisco Furtado, one of the missionaries who participated in the Chinese translation of the *Cursus Conimbricenses* (<http://www.conimbricenses.org/contents/>).

Moreover, studies on a handful of Portuguese Jesuits' contribution have also been emerging in recent years in China. Scholars such as Dong Shaoxin 董少新, from the Fudan University;¹⁸ Yu Sanle 余三乐, from the Beijing Administrative College;¹⁹ Wang Bing 王冰 from the Institute for the History of Science;²⁰ Zhang Minfen

¹⁷ This includes a critical edition of *Imperio de la China*, as well as the edition of Semedo's letters and reports. Besides, this also comprises a study on the author's life and work.

¹⁸ "Putaoya yesu hui shi He Dahua zai Zhongguo" 葡萄牙耶稣会士何大化在中国 [*António de Gouveia, A Portuguese Jesuit in China*], 社会科学文献出版社 (Beijing : Social Sciences Academic Press, 2017); and "He Dahua yu Ming Qing ding ge zhi ji de Fuzhou Tianzhu jiao" 何大化与明清鼎革之际的福州天主教 ["António de Gouveia and the Catholics in Fuzhou during Ming-Qing transition"], 文化雜誌 *Review of Culture*, Chinese edition 76 (2010): 151-160.

¹⁹ "Xu Risheng, Zhang Cheng yu Zhong E Nibuchu tiao yue de qianding" 徐日升, 张诚与中俄<尼布楚条约>的签订 [Tomás Pereira, Jean-François Gerbillon and the signature of the Treaty of Nerchinsk], 北京行政学院学报 *Journal of Beijing Administrative College* 5 (2000); and "Ji Putaoya Yesu hui shi Xu Risheng" 记葡萄牙耶稣会士徐日升 [Remember the Portuguese Jesuit Tomás Pereira], 北京社会科学 *Beijing Social Sciences* 4 (2009).

²⁰ "Xu Risheng he xifang yinyue zhishi zai Zhongguo de chuanbo" 徐日升和西方音乐知识在中国的传播 ["Tomás Pereira and the diffusion of Western music in China"], 文化雜誌 *Review of Culture* 47, Chinese edition (2003): 71-90; and "Xu Risheng mubei beiwen yu Kangxi Huangdi 'Rongjiao Yuzhi'" 徐日升墓碑碑文與康熙皇帝'容教諭旨' [Tomás Pereira's tombstone inscription and emperor Kangxi's 'Rongjiao decree'], 文化雜誌 *Review of Culture*, Chinese edition 77 (2010): 116-26. On Tomás Pereira, we can also mention Wu Yanling 吴艳玲 and his study "Qing chu gongting chuanjiao shi Xu Risheng" 清初宫廷传教士徐日升 [The Missionary Tomás Pereira in the early Qing court], 湖北社会科学 *Hubei Social Sciences* 5 (2008).

张敏芬 from the Shanghai International Studies University;²¹ Song Jialu 宋佳璐,²² from the Beijing Foreign Studies University; or Guo Shirong 郭世荣 and Li Di 李迪,²³ both from the Inner Mongolia Normal University, have focused more or less extensively on missionaries like António de Gouveia, Tomás Pereira, Álvaro Semedo, João Monteiro (1602-1648), Félix da Rocha (1713-1781), and José de Espinha (1722-1788). Notwithstanding, the interest of Chinese scholars in Portuguese Jesuits is residual and clearly contrasts with their focus on non-Portuguese missionaries.

Orientis Aura is a journal published in Macau, the city that was a mandatory stop for all Jesuits who, under the Portuguese *Padroado*, were sent to the East Asian missions, whether or not they were Portuguese.

This monographic number of *Orientis Aura* focuses on the contribution of some Portuguese Jesuits from the China mission. It aims to insist on the importance of broadening knowledge about this group that has generated little scholarship so far. Indeed, how to get the whole picture when half of the group of missionaries is ignored, mainly due to preconceived ideas and stereotypical assumptions? We believe that only by promoting their study (not inspired by any national pride) will we be able to assess their action and contribution to the missionary activity in China correctly; and eventually gleaning a deeper understanding of the missionaries from China as a whole (Portuguese and non-Portuguese, including Asians).

This was the challenge set to the five authors who participated in this monographic number and who are, in order of entry of their texts: Cristina Costa Gomes, from the Centre for Classical Studies (School of Arts and Humanities, University of

²¹ "Ming Qing shiqi Putaoya ren yanzhong de Zhongguo keju zhidu" 明清时期葡萄牙人眼中的中国科举制度 ["Chinese examination system in the eyes of the Portuguese in the Ming and Qing dynasties"], 中西文化研究 *Chinese-Western Cultural Studies*, Macau, June 2008; "Putaoya hanxue de xianqu Zeng Dezhao shenfu" 葡萄牙汉学的先驱-曾德昭神父 ["The pioneer of Portuguese Synology – Father Álvaro Semedo"], 文化杂志 *Review of Culture*, Chinese edition 71 (June 2010): 115-120; "Xu Risheng de Zhongguo fojiao guan" 徐日昇的中国佛教观 ["Tomás Pereira's vision on Chinese Buddhism"], *International Sinology*, forthcoming.

²² João Monteiro was the subject of a master's thesis, by Song Jialu 宋佳璐, entitled "Meng Ruwang (Tian xue bian jing lu) yanjiu" 孟儒望《天学辨敬录》研究 [The Study of João Monteiro's Tianxue Bian Jianglu] (Beijing Foreign Studies University, December 2018).

²³ Guo Shirong and Li Di published on Félix da Rocha, André Espinha and André Pereira. See, for instance, their articles: "Lue lun Fu Zuolin zai hua zhi gong zuo" 略论傅作霖在华之工作 [A survey of Félix da Rocha's works in China], 故宫博物院 *Palace Museum Journal* 4 (2013): 35-44; "Qing Qiantianjian xiayang jian zheng gao shensi" 清钦天监西洋监正高慎思, 内蒙古师范大学学报 (哲学社会科学版) *Journal of Inner Mongolia Normal University (Philosophy & Social Science)* 34, no. 2 (March 2005); "Putaoya chuanjiao shi Xu Maode zai Qiantianjian de tianwen gongzuo" 葡萄牙传教士徐懋德在钦天监的天文工作 ["The portuguese missionary André Pereira's Astronomical Work in the Imperial Astronomical Bureau"], 山东科技大學學報 *Journal of Shandong University of Science and Technology* 13, no. 2 (2011): 18-24.

Lisbon); Noël Golvers, from the Ferdinand Verbiest Institute, KU Leuven; Davor Antonucci, from Sapienza Università di Roma; Elisa Frei, from the Institute for Advanced Jesuit Studies (Boston College, MA); and, finally, Maria João Pereira Coutinho, from the Institute of Art History, NOVA University of Lisbon.

Cristina Costa Gomes, historian and palaeographer, co-author of *Tomás Pereira, S.J. (1646-1708). Obras*²⁴ is carrying relevant research and analysis on António de Gouveia, the author of some annual letters from the China mission and two extensive works left unpublished in his lifetime, *Asia Extrema* (1644) and *Monarchia da China dividida em seis idades* (1654). Gomes is working precisely on the latter, which is less well known, despite being Gouveia's most original work. Indeed, it is one of the first histories of China written by a European, in a European language, based on Chinese sources. Here Gomes presents us with an article about this work entitled "Writing on Chinese History: António de Gouveia and the *Monarchia da China* (1654)."

Gouveia is undoubtedly an extremely interesting missionary worthy of in-depth study. This is what Gomes is doing under the aegis of the *Res Sinicae* project, with the aim of reconstructing Gouveia's biography and publishing the autograph manuscript of the *Monarchia da China*, identified by her in the Jesuit archive of Alcalá de Henares. In her text, which provides the first update on the progress in the study of *Monarchia da China*, Gomes points out the affinities with similar works by Nicolas Trigault and Martino Martini; and she highlights their common agenda, that is, to bring the Chinese chronology in line with that of the Bible. The annotated edition of this manuscript will assuredly allow new insights on the appearance around the same time of the first histories of China composed by Jesuits. Furthermore, it will enable us a better understanding of the dynamics and logic presiding the writing of such works, as well as their circulation and impact in Europe.

This is followed by a text by Noël Golvers, author of a stimulating and comprehensive study about the circulation of European books in the China mission, as well as of an extensive work on Ferdinand Verbiest. In addition, special emphasis goes to his work on François de Rougemont (1624-1678), Philippe Couplet, and, more recently, on Johann Terrenz Schreck (1576-1630). In his essay, also articulated with the above-mentioned *Res Sinicae* project, Golvers focuses on three China Jesuits whom he believes represent a "new style" of Portuguese missionaries. Under the title "Three 18th-century Jesuits in China revisited," the author reflects on the impetus given to the study of mathematics in the Portuguese colleges at the recommendation of superior generals Charles Noyelle (g. 1682-1686) and Tirso González (g. 1686-1705), and its consequences for those three missionaries sent to Beijing and who worked there between 1717 and 1781. Through an analysis of the training, curricula, and positions they held in Beijing, Golvers concludes that there was no linear correlation between the training and the positions they held, notably in the Astro-

²⁴ L.F. Barreto, Arnaldo do Espírito Santo, Cristina Costa Gomes, Isabel Murta Pina and Pedro Correia, *Tomás Pereira (1646-1708). Obras*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, 2011).

nomical Bureau/*Qintianjian*: Pereira never assumed leadership of the institution despite his competence; Pinheiro, the most talented of the three in mathematics, never even served in the Bureau; while Rocha, with no clearly proven mathematical profile and criticised for a lack of competence in this domain by other missionaries, rose to the top to become the director of the Bureau and was assigned to cartographic missions by Qianlong emperor. Moreover, Golvers shows us that these three missionaries played a leading role, which is clearly visible from contemporary sources. At the same time, many lines of research are opened up through the inventory of the correspondence and other manuscripts produced by these missionaries in European languages.

This monographic number continues with an essay by Davor Antonucci, an author who has conducted an important study on the activity of missionaries in Tartary during the Qing period, as well as an analysis of a group of Jesuits which includes Martino Martini, Antoine Thomas and even the Portuguese Tomás Pereira. In his text, "In the service of the emperor: Félix da Rocha, S.J. (1731-1781), and Qianlong's Ten Great Campaigns," Antonucci makes an in-depth analysis of Rocha's contribution in the emperor's service in the field of cartography and in ballistics and cannon casting, which took place in the context of the military campaigns launched by Qianlong in the mid-eighteenth century in the peripheral regions of Xinjiang and Sichuan-Tibet. Rocha and also José de Espinha (1722-1788) were members of the teams constituted by imperial order to carry out the cartographic survey of Zungaria, in 1755 and 1759. Antonucci also analyses Rocha's contribution to the second campaign of the Jinchuan War when, on the battlefield in 1774, he melted cannons that helped bring about the final victory for Qianlong. Particularly interesting, as the author points out, is that the episode was concealed in the Jesuit sources (not to empower the detractors of the Society of Jesus), but revealed by Chinese sources.

Elisa Frei, author of a vast and well-known work on the *indipetae* letters and involved in the critical edition of Daniello Bartoli's eight volumes on Asia, undersigns the article "To go to China or Japan...not to stay in these colleges.' Jesuit Procurators of China and Petitioners for the Indies." The *indipetae* letters and the procurators sent by the Vice-Province of China to Europe are clearly at the heart of the essay. Frei focuses on two specific procurators, separated by an interval of fifty years: the Portuguese Álvaro Semedo, who returned to Lisbon in 1640, and the Italian Filippo Grimaldi (1638-1712), who arrived in Rome in 1689. Frei explores and compares the case of these two procurators; and also briefly addresses that of two others, the Portuguese Miguel do Amaral (1657-1730), and the German Kaspar Castner (1665-1709). She does so to illustrate how a procurator's arrival in Europe, with his exotic costumes, stories and news, and the opportunities it represented, could prompt wishes and vocations and then petitions (or the renewal of old requests) to the respective mission. Frei analyses *indipetae* letters from Portuguese and Italians that reveal how these two procurators, Semedo and Grimaldi, influenced the applicants by inspiring their missionary vocation on the one hand, and participating in their selection on the other. However, following previous studies, the author stresses the lack of petition letters signed by Portuguese Jesuits. Apparently, they did not need

to write to the superior general as the approval of the Portuguese superiors usually sufficed. It is concluded that while procurators did not play a key role in the lives of all candidates, many of them were strongly influenced even to the point of altering their initial intention thanks to the procurators' intervention.

We close this *Orientis Aura* monographic number with the article by Maria João Pereira Coutinho, an art historian, who presents one of his new lines of research conducted under the *Res Sinicae* project. Coutinho, who is in the process of editing the documents of the general procurators (*Procuradores Gerais*) from the Vice-Province of China and the Province of Japan in the eighteenth century, features an article entitled "'So many things I wanted from Guangzhou.' The orders of two Jesuit Procurators: Francisco de Cordes (1689-1768) and José Rosado (1714-1797)." Though largely unknown, but with innumerable documentation to explore, Cordes and Rosado serve as case studies and the starting point for Coutinho to analyse the role of the Chinese and Japanese procurators responsible for managing financial matters (which remains less known than that of procurators elected to go to Europe on behalf of a particular mission). Coutinho also examines the role those general procurators played in the circulation of material culture, both within the Jesuit missions of East and Southeast Asia, and between Europe and China (both ways).

Thus, the time has come to hand over to the authors. We take this opportunity to reiterate our sincere appreciation for their having agreed to take part in this challenge of giving voice to the group of Portuguese Jesuits who, despite being in large number, remain the most invisible and neglected of the missionaries working in China during the late Ming-early Qing period.