CHAPTER VIII

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PROPAGANDA TO GREGORY XVI

THE BULL INSCRUTABILI DIVINAE AND THE INGOLI REPORTS

The idea of a Congregation of Propaganda seems first to have occurred to John of Vendeville, a jurist who had taken orders. In 1567, he sent his first memorandum to Rome. It urged the need to establish special seminaries for the formation of "good workers". St Francis Borgia, the General of the Jesuits, had also suggested the founding of an organization especially to deal with the missions. Hence Pius V appointed a commission composed of four cardinals (1568). Gregory XIII increased its numbers and founded many missionary seminaries and colleges. A further memorandum from Vendeville caused Clement VIII to decide that the initial commission should be developed, and it became the *Congregation for matters concerning the Catholic faith and religion* (1592). Vendeville died in the same year. The next step towards the final organization was not possible until the arrival on the scene of another zealous supporter of the missions, the Carmelite Thomas of Jesus. A book which he published in 1613 dealt with "all the works that are of use

to a religious and apostolic man". He suggested that on a given date a commission composed of eminent men should meet to study the problems raised by the apostolate to non-Christians. With its five secretaries covering the whole of the known world, it was the future Congregation in embryo. Yet it only came into existence on January 6th, 1622. It was given the name *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*. The Bull *Inscrutabili divinae* of June 22nd in the same year gave it its official character. Six years later, a Bull of Urban VIII created the College of Propaganda, which was to undertake the "choice of qualified ministers who were to go to those peoples in the bondage of spiritual blindness and to shine with the brightness of an upright and well-ordered life, inflamed with an ardent zeal for souls, standing on the mountains like lamps glowing with the light of the Gospel teaching, dissolving and scattering, as far as lay in their power, the darkness of infidelity and heresy".

The new organization was fortunate to have as its first secretary a learned jurist, Mgr Ingoli. His priestly life was above reproach, and he was so insensitive to honours that he never wore the insignia of his prelacy. In addition, he was a tireless worker. It is not surprising that with a character such as this, he should have been a dyed in the wool authoritarian. He immediately inaugurated a general inquiry among the nuncios and the mission institutes and heads. It gave him more complete information concerning abuses and disorders which were already known in a broad sort of way. Missionaries were too few in number and their intellectual and moral quality was sometimes inadequate. Some engaged in trade, many did not know the native languages and showed little zeal in conferring Orders on native Christians whom they considered to be inferior beings. Divisions were rampant everywhere, regulars against seculars, Portuguese against Spaniards in the Far East, regulars against other regulars. The choice of agents by the Councils of the Indies left much to be desired and the less worthy among them often found the ecclesiastical authorities very accommodating. But the men from whom the reports

came in—and this was a good sign—expressed their wish that the newly constituted authority would speedily elaborate and impose reforms.

Mgr Ingoli laid the foundations of this reform in three reports, three documents of basic importance. In order to remedy the discord existing between missionaries and to put a stop to their trading activities, the 1625 report called for greater discrimination in the choice of subjects, advised against the intermingling of religious from different Orders or nations in the same diocese, and recommended that the bishops should preferably be chosen from among the seculars and that apostolic delegates should be appointed to supervise the missions.

The report of 1628 attacked the widespread prejudice against the natives as incapable of receiving the fullness of the priesthood. It not only recommended that they should be raised to the priesthood, but also that they should not be kept on principle in subordinate posts. As soon as it became possible, episcopal sees, whose number should be increased, ought to be entrusted to them. This was the policy of Pius XI in embryo.

Finally, the 1644 report denounced the inroads of the system of *patronato* and in particular the interference of royal officials of the Crown in the choice of bishops and the running of the missions.

These three reports, inspired by the desire of the Holy See to claim for itself as an inalienable right the spiritual direction of the missions, were to give rise to serious conflicts with the *patronato* system, especially in Asia.

FIRST MISSIONS SENT BY FRANCE TO CANADA, THE ORIENT AND MADAGASCAR

A departure from the stipulations in the Bulls of Alexander VI appeared in the treaty of Vervins (1589) and made it possible for France to send her ships to the north of a line passing through the Canaries and for France's first missions to come into being in North America.

We can hardly give the name of missions to the outposts

established in Nova Scotia by a few isolated persons—one of these was Lescarbot, a layman, who was followed by two Jesuits. In any case, a Welsh adventurer arrived as early as 1613 and made havoc of these settlements before their founders had time to organize them properly.

On the other hand, Champlain, a pioneer who was convinced of "the need to propagate the faith among the infidels by bringing among them some good religious" laid the foundations of genuine missions when in 1615 he put ashore at Quebec four Recollects who, as early as the second half of June, erected a chapel dedicated to the Immaculate Conception.

Their first investigations showed them that, apart from the Hurons, who were relatively stable—some of them knew how to cultivate the soil—the peoples in these territories led completely nomadic lives. If they were to be evangelized, they had therefore to be made to settle down, to be prevented from wandering from place to place. Such a result might be achieved by giving Frenchmen, who were good agriculturists, the task of teaching them to turn the land to better account. In other words, a settlement had to be made. Champlain launched an appeal for volunteers but it was hardly heeded to begin with except by Louis Hébert. Yet surely no one was better qualified for this work than this apostle who, on his deathbed, offered his life for the conversion of the Indians. He had been driven out of Nova Scotia in 1613. He returned to the St Lawrence with his wife and children, married his daughter to a Norman, and the untold numbers of magistrates, officers, merchants and ecclesiastics who were the descendants of this marriage rightly earned for Hébert the title of "the father of believers", "the colony's Abraham".

Meanwhile, at Tadoussac and Three Rivers, the first settlements founded by the Recollects, the Indians proved superstitious, inveterate polygamists and dominated by the spirit of revenge. All this was the very antithesis of Christianity. And their language, so lacking in abstract terms, was inadequate to convey to them the attributes of the Godhead. In these

depressing circumstances the Recollects decided to call on the Jesuits for help.

The first Jesuit mission, led by Fr Charles Lalemant, landed at Quebec in 1625. Two years later, Richelieu founded the Company of the Hundred Associates, who guaranteed to send to Canada from 1628 onwards two or three hundred Frenchmen and four thousand more during the next fifteen years, all of them Catholics. In Canada, the Edict of Nantes was no longer in force. The colonial settlement Champlain and the Recollects wished to see could now be founded. But, in the summer of 1628, England had no difficulty in taking possession of a Canada entirely without means of defence. The missionaries put to sea again and only the members of the nascent Hébert tribe remained.

Since Champlain was able to prove that the capture of Quebec took place after the signing of the treaty of Suse, which had ended hostilities between England and France, a new mission, consisting entirely of Jesuits, arrived in Canada in 1632, under the direction of Fr Le Jeune. He tried to keep the children at the mission station, with the parents' consent, so as to teach them the catechism. The restraint imposed on them by a regular life seemed intolerable to these children of nature and they were soon back with their tribes. Fr Le Jeune tried the scheme again, this time with a better organization on the material side, at Notre-Dame des Anges, in a Quebec suburb. He also drew up a more liberal set of regulations. The little savages again found it too oppressive. Several of them died, one escaped. The only thing to be done was to close this embryo seminary.

Fr de Brébeuf, who had been received among the Hurons during his first stay in the country, returned to them in 1633 with two other Fathers. They went from hut to hut and undertook the task of catechizing children and adults. But the Indians' sorcerers persuaded them that the presence among them of the Fathers was the cause of bad weather, drought, epidemics and every kind of calamity. It was decided that they

should be put to death. The Fathers showed remarkable pluck by inviting their judges to a farewell banquet, as was the custom. The massacre was cancelled.

The meagre results of these first contacts were a few children at Notre-Dame des Anges, a few dying people baptized and the apostasy of all the catechumens "except one or two families who scarcely dared to hold up their heads".

The Jesuits then decided to protect the catechumens against the immense power of sorcery by isolating them in Christian villages. Sillery, the first of these, grew up four miles from Quebec. It had a fort, a chapel, houses, a hospital, and a house for the Jesuit fathers.

In fact, for some years previously, the missionary reports of Lescarbot, Frs Biard and Massé, and especially after 1632, the annual publication by the Jesuits of *Relations* with a wide circulation, had inaugurated a new attitude of mind. Canada ceased to be thought of as the counterpart of More's *Utopia.* Men with the spirit of adventure, who were good Catholics too, were now arriving to colonize and build up New France. At the same time volunteers—one might almost say crusaders—came forward to work for the conversion of the Indians. Such were Mother Marie de L'Incarnation, an Ursuline from Tours, who with two of her nuns founded a boarding-school at Quebec for the education of Indian children; Madame de la Pelterie who, with some nursing Sisters from Dieppe, started a hospital, also at Quebec; the members of the Society of Notre Dame of Montreal who, with the support of M. Olier and the Company of the Blessed Sacrament, and in a spirit of complete disinterestedness, built Ville Marie which was to become Montreal.

While this apostolic emigration was arriving in Canada, the village of Sillery was well on the way to becoming, as the *Relation* for 1656–7 pointed out, "the one matrix of Christianity in the new world". Members of various tribes, after living there and receiving instruction and baptism, returned as apostles to their native territories. So other villages modelled

on Sillery grew up: Tadoussac, Three Rivers, Sainte-Marie de la Wye.

On the other hand, the Iroquois proved hostile and unyielding. In 1642, Fr Jogues had been horribly mutilated by them when, nobly sacrificing himself for his Huron converts, he had refused to leave them when they were carried off as captives into Iroquois territory. After living among them, he no longer doubted that they planned to exterminate the Huron race. Yet, when he was asked in 1646 to found a mission in Iroquois territory, he obeyed knowing well the fate that awaited him. He wrote to a brother Jesuit: *Ibo et non redibo*, "I shall go but I shall not return." And the Iroquois put him to death on October 18th, 1649. In the years that followed, they relentlessly continued their war against the Hurons and the missions. In March 1649, they captured the villages of Saint-Ignace and Saint-Louis and martyred Frs de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant. Sainte-Marie had to be abandoned. A new attack in December brought about the martyrdom of Frs Charles Garnier and Noël Chabanel. What remained of the missions took refuge in Quebec. The situation was only restored in 1665 after the Carignan regiment had intervened. But the Huron people had been decimated and, as far as the Iroquois were concerned, the missionaries had completely failed.

However, the Society of Jesus did not abandon Canada, although it never recovered the enthusiasm it had shown in the middle of the seventeenth century. Only apostles of the heroic kind, who were not afraid to spend the winter in tents, were to be found during the eighteenth century in the areas to the north-west of the first mission stations. The mission to the Iroquois was undertaken again. Its results were meagre. The only mission station that was firmly established, Michilimakinac, served as a base for the attempts at extending the work to the west and south-west, and in particular for that of Frs Marquette and Jolliet, the first white men to go down the Mississippi.

Until the suppression of the Society, the Jesuits held first

place in the North American missions, although the latter received valuable help from other quarters. The Sulpicians, who were given permission to set out in 1667, catechized Indians whom the slave trade had brought to Montreal. They also founded Christian villages on the shores of Two Mountain Lake and at La Présentation, where M. Picquet became so well known. The Paris Foreign Missions took over, for a time, the running of the Quebec seminary, which was entrusted in 1732 to the priests of the seminary of the Holy Ghost. Some of the latter, including Fr Le Loutre, took part in the Nova Scotia and Ile Royale missions.

The statistics and the moral quality of the converts are indicated in the census of 1737 which shows that there were 1660 Christians in residence and a few hundred children. Their lively and very simple faith was revealed in highly emotional scenes of repentance after bouts of drunkenness, violence or lechery, and by a keen taste for great ceremonies. Some were exemplary, for instance, the Huron Chihwatenhawa, author of a prayer published in the *Relation* for 1640–1, a kind of primitive poem in which submission to God's will is expressed with overwhelming sincerity.

The zeal aroused by the Canadian missions had not turned France's attention away from the Levant to which she was drawn by the memory of the Crusades and the Capitulations régime which had made her the protectress of all the Christian subjects of Turkey, including the heretics and schismatics. The aim of the missions there was not so much the conversion of individuals as to bring back to union with Rome Christians who were under the authority of patriarchs not in obedience to the Holy See. This was the case with the Patriarchs of Jerusalem and of Constantinople at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the Jesuits arrived. In spite of their hostility, the Fathers succeeded in founding a school at Constantinople and so laid the first stone of the great school which in the nineteenth century was to have an almost complete educa-

tional monopoly in the Levant and in Egypt. French Capuchins established a mission post at Aleppo (1627), and the Jesuits opened a school of their own there in 1651. In the same town, the French consul, François Picquet, did useful work in the cause of the return to unity. He was a skilled diplomat and fervent missionary (he eventually took holy Orders) and he succeeded in obtaining the appointment to the archbishopric of Aleppo of a prelate subject to Rome and also, in 1663, in procuring from the Syrian Patriarch Andrew Akidjian, and from the Armenian Patriarch Kachadour, a declaration of their submission to the Holy See. Their return, however, was an entirely personal affair and gave no guarantee that their successors would be faithful to Rome.

Further East, Fr Pacifique of Provins, obtained permission from the Shah Abbas to found a mission at Baghdad and another at Isapahan. The friendly disposition of the sovereign made it possible for other Capuchins to settle at Tabriz. This small Christian community numbered twenty faithful when Mgr Pallu arrived in 1662. Another founded at Djoulfa by a Jesuit was composed of six families. In both places, the Latin missions encountered bitter opposition from the Vertabiets, or Armenian monks.

The Capuchins, who went further East, came up against the intransigence of the *Padroado*. Ephrem of Nevers, although imprisoned and later released, established at Madras a mission comprising a hospital and a school, whose excellent organization was admired by Mgr Pallu. The missions in the Orient were maintained with difficulty during the eighteenth century, but from 1850 onwards were able to receive more help from the Holy See.

The first sons of St Vincent de Paul to be attracted to the foreign missions devoted themselves to the welfare of the slaves in the convict prisons of North Africa. Two Vincentians arrived in Tunis in 1645 and two years later, a third, Jean Le Vacher. Other priests and lay-brothers came to Algiers. A

benefactress, the Duchess of Aiguillon, a niece of Richelieu's, bought the right to nominate the French consul in these two cities and so the Vincentians were able, at various times, to exercise interim consular functions, which made it possible for them to bring spiritual help to the slaves. But whether as consuls or as missionaries, they were always badly treated by the Turkish authorities. Jean Le Vacher was martyred in 1683 by being tied to the mouth of a canon.

The Congregation of Propaganda also entrusted the Vincentians with the evangelization of Madagascar, which proved a terrible ordeal for them. Charles Nacquart and Nicolas Gondrée, who set out in 1648, both died as a result of the climate a few months after their arrival at Fort Dauphin. A new team made up of MM. Mousnier, Bourdaise and Forest suffered the same fate between 1655 and 1657. The Catholic community around the mission, in all twenty-three French and twelve native families, remained without spiritual aid. A third party composed of three missionaries was wiped out in the same way. Yet M. Vincent's successor did not want to abandon the island of death. He sent three expeditions—a total of eleven priests and seven brothers. In 1674, when the missionary staff had been reduced to half its strength, the colonists decided to abandon Fort Dauphin and the island itself and to repatriate the survivors.

FR DE NOBILI AT MADURA

In India, the caste system kept individuals enclosed in what we may call social prisons. To leave them was to become an "outcaste", to be dead as far as civil society was concerned. This system seemed incomprehensible to the Portuguese and so contrary to Christianity that they took no account of it in their relations with the native population. They had therefore invited all men to become Catholics, but because of an insufficient acquaintance with the language they couched their invitation in unsuitable terms. The question: "Do you want to be a Christian?" became "Do you want to joint the Prangui

cast?" But *Prangui* was a word of contempt applied by the Moslems to all Christians since the time of the Crusades.

This procedure might perhaps form Christian communities (though of doubtful quality) in the few areas where Portuguese rule was effectively exercised. Beyond these, that is in almost the whole of India, the caste system continued in all its rigour. Christians, who to all intents and purposes became Portuguese, were despised and looked on as renegades, and the missionaries ensured their own fall into disrepute by entering into contact with all the castes in a society in which the mere fact of accepting a drop of water from a member of an inferior caste was considered to involve grave impurity.

This had been the state of affairs at Madura previous to the arrival of an Italian Jesuit, Robert de Nobili. In 1607 he wrote to one of his relatives: "In spite of twelve years of work, our Fathers have not been able to make a single convert. At the most, they have baptized in *articulo mortis* three or four sick people." He took careful note of this failure but did not give way to despair. He was looking for a different method of approach. It seemed to him that the secrets of Hinduism could only be penetrated from within. As he was descended from an illustrious Tuscan family, he protested that he was neither a Prangui nor a Portuguese. He introduced himself as a "Roman rajah" and so was able to put himself on the same level as the Sannyassi, upper class penitents who were respected by everyone. He built a church and presbytery on a site granted to him by a cousin of the king of Madura. All his servants were Brahmins, and he lived and dressed like the Sannyassi. A Brahmin had taught him Sanskrit and he was thus able to discover the secrets of Hinduism. Hence his expository work and his controversies with the distinguished visitors admitted to his company could, for the greater good of Christianity, be orientated towards the spiritual needs common to the faithful of both religions. At the same time, he had become convinced that the caste customs were not all to be condemned. Certain of these, whose character was purely civil and social,

might be tolerated. But some of his brethren were of the contrary opinion and they denounced him to Rome as causing scandal. This was the greatest trial of his life. A Bull of Gregory XV (1623) put an end to it by authorizing the Brahmins and other "Gentiles" to wear cordons and koudounis, the caste insignia, on condition that they were handed to them by a Catholic priest who would bless them by reciting prayers approved by the ordinary of the district.

The new method of adaptation thus allowed Indians to enter the Mystical Body without renouncing all their titles and traditions, in a word without incurring the shameful name of renegade. Nevertheless, Gregory XV's decision was to give rise later to very serious controversy.

FR DE RHODES AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF VICARS APOSTOLIC IN THE FAR EAST

At the same time, Fr Alexander de Rhodes, also a Jesuit, born at Avignon in 1591, was conducting in Vietnam an experiment of great interest and whose results were to have considerable influence on the missions in the Far East.

One of a party sent to Cochin-China in 1623, he showed that he was able to adapt himself with amazing facility. He laid the foundations of Quoc-Ngu, a transcription of the Annamite characters into the Latin alphabet which generations of missionaries were to use. But in 1626, he was withdrawn from Cochin-China, apparently because of his excessive petulance in the face of the thousand and one difficulties put in the way of the Christians by the sovereign.

In the following year, he was sent to Tonkin. There he found out how popular was a certain piece of buffoonery which represented a Portuguese European with an enormous paunch, into which there entered and then re-emerged a tiny Vietnamese who had become Portuguese in the process. This parody of baptism, reduced to the status of a conjuring trick in which the Vietnamese was transformed into a Portuguese, showed well enough the need for the apostolate to be given a new form.

Fr de Rhodes took care to make sure of the good will of the *chua* by initiating him into the secret of the chiming clock and offering him a treatise on mathematics, and so was able to open a church at Hanoi and to preach there as frequently as six times a day. He appealed to the upper classes, in the hope that they would set an example to the others. His enormous success caused his downfall. The concubines or second wives, fearing that their convert husbands would repudiate them, spread calumnies about him and accused him of complicity with the rebels. They enlisted the help of sorcerers and witches and so succeeded in having him expelled. But 6,700 persons had been baptized before he left.

At Macao, whither he had returned, his provincial kept him more or less in disgrace. This provincial died in 1640 and his successor sent Fr de Rhodes to Cochin-China where the events in Tonkin were enacted all over again. He was opposed, and for the same reason, by the king's wives, the eunuchs and some of the courtiers. Although he was under sentence of expulsion, he succeeded on several occasions in returning among his converts. Then a new edict was issued banishing him under pain of death and he had to tear himself away from them.

As his superiors were preparing to send a procurator for the Macao mission to Rome, their choice fell on him. Who, indeed, was better qualified to explain the situation in the Far East than this missionary with twenty years' experience to his credit, and successes in the apostolate on a par with those of St Francis Xavier?

In his first report, Fr de Rhodes estimated the number of converts in Cochin-China and Tonkin at 300,000, and anticipated a regular flow of 15,000 conversions a year. To minister to these Christian communities at least three or even four hundred priests were needed. Where were they to be found? And supposing they were found, what a persecution would have to be expected with such an influx of foreigners! The example of Japan before him, Fr de Rhodes wrote pathetically: "What would we not give to have many native priests in Japan

today! But because, when times were in our favour, the necessary priests were not ordained, this Church is now in great distress!" Priests therefore would be recruited in Vietnam from the ranks of the catechists, and to ordain them, it would be advisable to send out without delay bishops appointed *in partibus infidelium* so as not to cause any misgivings to the *patronato*.

The Congregation of Propaganda showed great interest in this report. Nevertheless, Innocent X asked for further information, including even a list of candidates for the episcopal duties envisaged. Fr de Rhodes sent in a second report. A year later, on August 1st, 1651, the Congregation suggested to the pope that a patriarch, two or three archbishops and twelve bishops should be sent out, all of them *in partibus infidelium*. Innocent X hesitated because of the conflict then raging in Idalkan between the Holy See and Portugal. As Portugal was keeping this kingdom without missionaries, the Holy See had sent out a Goanese priest, Matthew de Castro, a brilliant pupil of the College of Propaganda in Rome, with the title and powers of a vicar apostolic. The ecclesiastical authorities in Goa treated him as an intruder, declared that his papers were forged and refused to recognize him as an envoy of the Holy See.

If Lisbon had gone as far as this in its resistance to one single vicar apostolic, what would it not do if there were twelve bishops all chosen directly by the Holy See? Yet Fr de Rhodes forwarded a petition—it is the third document in his dossier and follows the two reports—in which he noted the fact that the Christian community of Tonkin had already given seven martyrs to the Church and that there were within it candidates for the priesthood, with all the necessary qualities. He asked that Tonkin should be given permission to have a native clergy. This petition was not granted. But he himself was appointed prefect of the Annam mission. All that remained for him to do was to recruit the missionaries he needed from those depending on Rome alone. But where was he to find them? Not in Portugal. The Idalkan affair made this obvious. Not in Spain;

Madrid would be as unwilling as Lisbon to forgo its *patronato* rights. Not in Italy, then under Spanish tutelage. And Protestantism was dominant in the greater part of Germany. In these circumstances he left for France.

He reached Paris towards the end of the summer of 1652. The Society opened many doors for him, including that of the Court. His skill, his ardour, the brilliant way in which he expressed his ideas, did the rest before an audience which, during the ten preceding years, had given so many proofs of its zeal for the Missions in Canada and in the East, and which also was only too eager to show that, in the realm of the apostolate, France could compare with the two ancient Catholic monarchies.

"Les Bons Amis", one of the groups which had its place in the religious history of the seventeenth century in France, was composed of the most zealous members of the great confraternities of the Blessed Virgin founded by the Jesuits. It was in this choicest of choice societies that Fr de Rhodes found more recruits than he needed for the Far-Eastern missions. He picked three men: François de Montigny-Laval, François Pallu and Bernard Piques. The Company of the Blessed Sacrament guaranteed the necessary financial help. In 1653, five bishops assured Innocent X that there were in Paris "able secular priests, of proved moral character and remarkable for their zeal, prudence and learning" for the Far-Eastern missions. The Assembly of the clergy, in its turn, took up the cause but without producing the slightest effect. In the meantime, Fr de Rhodes, on orders from his superiors, had been sent to Persia where he died in 1660.

The reason for the setting aside of this great missionary must have been the anxiety his schemes awakened in the Portuguese *patronato*. It would be wrong to conclude that his reports on the Far East were filed and their suggestions rejected. The truth is that the Holy See was waiting for the right time to deal with them.

In any case, Fr de Rhodes's recruits did not abandon the

project. Five of them set out for Rome, Pallu among them. They went on foot begging their food on the way. When they were taken into the presence of Alexander VII, they reminded him with so much fervour of their plan to "leave fatherland, relatives and friends and to offer themselves and all they possessed for the salvation of the peoples of the Far East", that he appointed a commission of four cardinals to re-examine the reports. One of them, Barberini, was against the scheme, and he held the key position. As Pallu had failed to get a hearing, he asked for the help of one of his friends, a former advocate at the Normandy Court of Excise, Pierre Lambert de la Motte. He too was full of zeal for the missions and had left the legal fraternity to take holy Orders. His tenacity and his powerful gift of argument removed the last objections of the formidable Barberini. The commission pronounced itself in favour of sending out three vicars apostolic. On May 13th, 1658, the Congregation of Propaganda put forward the names of Fathers Pallu and Lambert de la Motte. A brief dated July 29th appointed them, one as bishop of Heliopolis, the other as bishop of Beryta. The former was given jurisdiction over Tonkin, the latter over Cochin-China, A little later, a third Frenchman was appointed to the vicariate of Nankin, Ignace Cotolendi. Each of them also was made responsible for the administration of provinces in China. In fact, several of these provinces became vicariates.

Certain habits contrary to the evangelical spirit were severely condemned in the celebrated instructions drawn up in 1659 for the use of the new vicars apostolic, who were recommended not to interfere in national politics either directly or indirectly. In cases where they were absolutely obliged to give an opinion, they were to do so *sub specie aeternitatis*. They had to preach obedience to princes even to those of a religion opposed to Christianity. They were not to censure their conduct, but to wait patiently until Providence "brings happier days". They were not to urge peoples to change their manners, customs and rites, but on the contrary to respect them except when

"they were detestable". For "it is as it were inscribed in the nature of men that they should esteem, love and value above all else in the world the traditions of their country and this country itself". Further, the missions were to be organized in such a way that they should not be a charge on the faithful, for "there is nothing people admire more than perfect detachment and that evangelical poverty which lays up treasure only in heaven".

At the same time, Pallu, Lambert de la Motte and their friends founded at Paris in the rue du Bac, the Seminary for the Foreign Missions. (It is still there today.)

THE CHINA MISSIONS AFTER FR RICCI

Two important events took place in China after the death of Fr Ricci.

One, which seemed encouraging for the future of Christianity, had been the admission of the Jesuit scientists to the Pekin astronomical committee. Fr Adam Schall had been its president and had then been expelled, but a little later Fr Verbiest was given the office and Jesuit scientists[1] were, for a time at least, to be the bulwark of the missions because of the prestige they enjoyed under the emperors of two successive dynasties, the Ming and the Manchu.

The other event did more harm than good. In 1631 two missionaries arrived from Manila. One was a Franciscan, Fr Antonio a Santa Maria, the other, Fr Morales, a Dominican. They came from an area in which the "clean sweep" method was in force and so were *a priori* full of distrust for the method of adaptation adopted by Fr Ricci. They were present at a ceremony in memory of the ancestors after which they no longer doubted that the advocates of tolerance towards the Chinese rites were following a dangerous course.

Subsequently the members of both schools of thought were

[1] French Jesuit mathematicians were also authorized in 1687 to come into residence at Pekin and to be members of the astronomical committee.

all imprisoned together at Canton. Thus an unexpected opportunity arose for a comparison and discussion of their points of view. Ultimately, they agreed on twenty-four articles which they all signed. It is to be noted that the signatories included the Dominican Navarette. It is true that there was a proviso. The articles were to be approved by the Jesuit general's Visitor at Macao. The latter, although he had never entered China, nevertheless changed several of the articles entirely on his own initiative. In these circumstances, Fr Navarette considered he was no longer bound by his own signature. He succeeded in getting away from Canton and reached Macao where he embarked for Europe. When the ship stopped at Madagascar, he met Mgr Pallu who was on his way to China, and gave him a full account of all the facts. Then, on his arrival in Europe, he began publishing in 1676 his *Tradados historicos, politicos, ethnicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China.* This work, condemning the methods of the Jesuits, was to supply all their enemies with arguments.

Meanwhile, Mgr Pallu had reached Fokien, and the Christian community of Moyang, where he found himself up against serious difficulties. Certain of the latter arose from the oath of obedience to the vicars apostolic which Propaganda wished to make obligatory on all the missionaries. The Portuguese *patronato*, which had been informed of the situation by its missionaries, had protested so vigorously (Louis XIV had done likewise regarding the Jesuit scientists of the Cambodia mission) against this demand that the Holy See had eventually withdrawn it. Other conflicts had arisen over the division of the provinces of China between the old dioceses of the *patronato* and the vicariates apostolic. From the first, Portugal had questioned the legality of these vicariates. However, an agreement was reached in 1696. The three Portuguese dioceses of Pekin, Nankin and Macao were left with all their privileges but, apart from the area they covered, the Holy See reserved the right to maintain the vicariates already in existence:

Fukien, Shensi, Kiangsi, Szehwan, Yunnan, and to establish others under its authority alone.

There was still the problem of the rites. Mgr Pallu had not alluded to it in his last report to the Holy See. He had merely noted that the Chinese Christians he had seen had been delighted when they learned that Rome was sending bishops to China "to lead them in the ways of the Lord and to raise some of their fellow countrymen to the dignity of the priesthood".

Shortly afterwards in 1614 sickness brought Mgr Pallu's life to an end. His successor, who had been his vicar general, Mgr Maigrot, a good sinologue, examined at length the respective attitudes of the two parties and then adopted the opinion of the Dominicans and Franciscans. In a pastoral letter written in 1693, he strictly forbade the rites and refused to recognize the meaning which certain Jesuits had given them. It is important to note that the Society was not composed entirely of Fr Ricci's followers. An able sinologue, the leading expert in the antiquities of China, Fr de Visdelou, approved of Mgr Maigrot's decision, while on the other hand, Fr Le Comte went even further than Fr Ricci. According to him, the rites were not only free from all idolatry, but from all superstition. Fr Ricci would not have agreed that this was so.

The condemnation of Fr Le Comte's book by the Sorbonne aggravated the quarrel between the advocates and the opponents of the rites. The lampoons of the Dominicans and the priests of the Foreign Missions were answered by those of the Jesuits. There were a dozen of these in the year 1700 alone. The Holy See instructed Mgr Maillard de Tournon to conduct an inquiry on the spot. He decided to defend the Dominican view and to condemn the rites. He had to face both Portugal, which considered him an intruder in *patronato* territory, and also the hostility of the Chinese government since he had refused to accept the opinion of Kang'Hi who had given an assurance that the rites were of a merely civil nature. He was imprisoned at Macao where he died in 1710. A second legate, Mgr Mezzabarba, although of a more accommodating tempera-

ment, did not put an end to the quarrel. On the contrary, the concessions he judged should be made only aggravated the trouble. The advocates of the rites considered them inadequate, while their opponents were of opinion that he had sinned by showing weakness. These opponents, in any case, eventually won the day, and the Bull *Ex quo singulari* (1742) issued a definitive and complete condemnation of the rites.

During the quarrel, the emperor Kang'Hi had discovered the papal authority, but since he had not understood its entirely spiritual character, the Christians in his empire appeared to him to be subjects who were evading his authority in order to obey a foreign master. His attitude towards them altered. He demanded that the missionaries should apply for the *P'iao* (authorization to preach) if they wished to reside in China. And this permission was only to be granted in return for a promise that Fr Ricci's teaching would be followed. The missionaries who did not possess the *P'iao*—and these were the great majority since, even among the Jesuits themselves, many did not accept Fr Ricci's views on what could be tolerated—were obliged to go underground.

Throughout this vast empire they became hunted and exhausted men. The Christians were small in number, a bare 150,000 and all of humble rank: shopkeepers, ploughmen, fishermen, artisans, scattered far and wide. They could not be grouped into villages for fear of attracting attention. The missionary was always on the road from one hiding place to another and, however zealous, could only visit his flock on rare occasions, and when he arrived among them, what troubles awaited him! One of these missionaries, Blessed John Moye, wrote: "The poor man needs to be not in two but in ten places at once. He has to preach, hear confessions, quieten the children, carry them about, look after them and drive away the dogs, cocks and ducks that constantly interrupt his preaching."

The first missionaries had been ordered to inaugurate a Chinese clergy with all speed. Innocent X had told Mgr Pallu: "I would rather see you consecrate one good bishop in these

parts than convert 50,000 idolaters." The instructions of Propaganda to Mgr Pallu and Mgr Lambert de la Motte in 1689 gave them authority "to oblige the vicars apostolic, under threat of canonical penalties, to educate and ordain clerics and priests and thus to open the way to the episcopate as quickly as possible to native priests". An indult of Alexander VII was implemented and a beginning was made by ordaining to the priesthood middle-aged Chinamen, catechists of exemplary life, who were not required to know Latin, provided they pronounced it correctly and understood the sacramental formulas. This procedure was suited to the heroic times but could not become a general practice. A more thorough formation was essential. With this in mind, Mgr Lambert de la Motte, on his arrival in Siam, established a seminary at Juthia.

The first Chinese bishop, Mgr Lo or Lopez—it was the custom to Europeanize surnames—never left it. Fr Navarette had pointed him out to Mgr Pallu as a suitable candidate for the episcopate and he was consecrated in 1685. The second native bishop in the Far East, Francis Perez, was born at Tenasserim, the son of a Filipino father and a Siamese mother, and so was a half-caste. He was also one of the most devout and brilliant pupils of the Juthia seminary. With him the first experiment with native vicars apostolic came to an end as early as the end of the seventeenth century. They were beyond reproach in their priestly lives but lacked the authority to hold out against the claims of the *Padroado* and to discipline the Western missionaries who were constantly quarrelling with one other. We may well ask whether anyone else in their place would have overcome such difficulties.

However, the formation of a native clergy was not abandoned. All the missionaries, whatever their attitude in the struggle over the Chinese rites, wanted to work on its behalf. But agreement was impossible both as to the recruitment of this native clergy and its formation and deployment.

The Jesuits were apprehensive about the effect of the environment at Pekin and Macao on the seminarists. Should these

young Chinese be sent to Europe? The experiment was tried in the middle of the eighteenth century. The candidates educated at La Flèche proved worthy of the priesthood. But the priests-in-charge of the mission wanted to have them as simple catechists; they were to complete their preparation on the spot and would only be admitted to Orders after this testing period. The European Fathers and those in China could not agree and the European scheme was abandoned. An effort was made to establish seminaries in the heart of the empire in spite of the edicts outlawing Catholicism. This attempt also failed. The following passage from a letter of Fr Charlier's explains why: "All the pupils have defaulted, have learned nothing and have had to be dismissed. To educate them properly we should have to send them away from their own country, otherwise they make no progress in knowledge or virtue. Experience is there to prove it."

However, the priests of the Paris Foreign Missions, by forming priests both on the spot and at the Juthia college, succeeded after the beginning of the eighteenth century in having several Chinese ordained. One of them, Andrew Ly, may be held up as an example to the Universal Church. The only priest in Szehwan in the mid-eighteenth century for several years after the death or banishment of the European missionaries, a perpetual traveller often obliged to disguise himself to escape from his persecutors, he would revive in one place a Christian community on the verge of flight, in another encourage the wavering; elsewhere he would solve cases of conscience. Yet he found time between two periods of imprisonment to draw up instructions for the catechists, to have the calendar of Christian feasts printed every year, and, with the approval of the seminary in the rue du Bac, to recruit candidates for the priesthood.

When Mgr Pottier became vicar apostolic of Szehwan, he found an embryo seminary with nine boys in it. It was the work of Andrew Ly. The number of ordinations continued to be very small. Many pupils died during their course of study.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century (1763), Mgr Pottier took advantage of the indult of Alexander VII to ordain three clerics who knew no Latin. Another priest from the Paris Foreign Missions, M. Hamel, started a peripatetic seminary which for forty years moved backwards and forwards between Szehwan and Yunnan in order to avoid persecution. During these forty years, twenty-two priests were trained and ordained and they had often to be confessors of the faith. Several suffered martyrdom, three were beatified.

After the suppression of the Society of Jesus, a Vincentian, Nicolas Raux, in accordance with a decree of Propaganda dated February 5th, 1783, succeeded the Jesuit scientists at Pekin and became a member of the board of mathematicians. Now that they were ordinary secular priests, the Jesuits showed admirable zeal in their submission to the authority of the heads of the missions in their places of residence. The Vincentians fell back on the same method as that used by the Foreign Missions in their training of Chinese priests. The candidates who had been prepared in the clandestine seminaries completed their studies at the Macao seminary. When it was broken up in 1845, it had trained thirty-three Chinese priests.

THE MISSIONS IN INDO-CHINA

From the moment of his arrival in Siam, Mgr Lambert de la Motte had come up against the representatives of the *Padroado*, who threatened to arrest him and his missionaries. They therefore had to take refuge at Ayouthia, in the concession of the Cochin-Chinese. They used this enforced stay to put into shape a regulation (the *Monita*) in which they expressed their intention of acting "in an apostolic fashion", that is, to refuse to accept any political office from the local sovereigns.

They were all in a hurry to begin their apostolic work. Louis Chevreuil, a member of the "Bons Amis" group, who had been appointed vicar general for Cochin-China, entered Faïfo, where he was given a rather cool reception by the few Euro-

pean priests depending on the *patronato* who had preserved the faith of Fr de Rhodes' converts. Persecution forced him to return to Siam. Shortly afterwards he returned to Cochin-China where he fell ill. The young priest who had accompanied him, Hainques (he deserves to be mentioned by name), devoted himself unaided to the task of bringing spiritual help to the persecuted and hunted Christians. He had time to train the two first Cochin-Chinese priests: Joseph Trang and Luke Ben, who were ordained under the conditions laid down in the indult of Alexander VII. He then died, worn out by his labours.

When the vicar general appointed for Tonkin, Louis Deydier, entered the territory in 1666, the last priests had just been expelled. The little Christian community was under the direction of catechists who lived in hiding on a boat. This boat, which has remained celebrated in the history of the Tonkin missions, sheltered a seminary in which Deydier, after a stay of eighteen months, chose two candidates for the priesthood: Benedict Hien and John Hué. They were ordained in Siam and then returned at once to their own country. When Mgr de la Motte succeeded in landing, Deydier brought to him seven other candidates for ordination and forty-eight catechists to receive the tonsure and minor orders. Subsequently the vicar apostolic assembled the first synod of Tonkin. All his missionaries and nine native priests attended it. It was decided that, in the chief towns, a fixed place of residence should be allocated to the priests and the catechists; that in every separate group, certain of the most deserving members of the community should be chosen to be responsible for presiding at assemblies for prayer and for the maintenance of general good order: that, with the example of the Twelve Apostles in mind, and with the help coming from Europe and from local alms, a common fund should be inaugurated to provide the means of subsistence for the missionary personnel.

Young women and Christian widows, who desired to consecrate themselves more fully to God, received from Mgr Lambert de la Motte a rule which included community life in

addition to the three vows. He also gave them a strict set of regulations in which prayer and penance played a great part. This was the beginning of the Congregation of the Amantes de la Croix (Votaries of the Cross) for the education of girls, the care of the sick and the baptism of children in danger of death.

These Far-Eastern Christian communities were seldom left at peace. They had to go underground for most of the time, yet such periods were succeeded by a few months of toleration during which public worship would come out into the open. At Tonkin, Deydier spent two years in prison. At the outset in Siam, King Phra-Naraï seemed well disposed. The embassy which he sent to Louis XIV was received with great ceremony at Versailles and Paris. The Siamese envoys returned home accompanied by a French delegation headed by M. de Chaumont, who made a speech in which he expressed the hope that the king of Siam would receive instruction in the truths of Catholicism. But nothing of the kind ensued. Phra-Naraï was overthrown by a revolution and his successor drove the French from Bangkok and Mergui. As the evacuation orders had been badly executed on both sides, the missions suffered from the repercussions. Mgr Laneau, the vicar apostolic, some missionaries and a number of the faithful were thrown into prison, the churches were closed and Mgr La Motte's tomb desecrated.

The greatest upheaval of the century was caused by the revolt of the Tay-Son. Their leader conquered the whole of Cochin-China, put the *chua* and his son to death, invaded Tonkin shortly afterwards and drove out the king who was the last of his line and had to take refuge in China. The heir to the kingdom of Cochin-China, Nguyen-Anh, a young man of seventeen and the nephew of the murdered *chua*, eluded the rebels by seeking asylum with the vicar apostolic, Mgr Pigneau de Béhaine. Meanwhile, the English in India and the Dutch in Batavia offered their help in restoring him to his kingdom. This would have meant the entry of Protestantism into Vietnam and the Catholic missions would have been threatened with the same fate as befell those in Ceylon after the Dutch

conquest of the island. Since this was how matters stood, Mgr Pineau de Béhaine set out for Versailles to ask the French Government to defend the cause of the dethroned monarch. Louis XIV's ministers, completely devoid of all enthusiasm for this cause, drew up a treaty of alliance between France and Nguyen-Anh. The governor of Pondicherry refused to implement its stipulations on the grounds that he had received secret orders leaving him full freedom of action.

Mgr Pineau de Béhaine next appealed for French volunteers: engineers and officers. These fitted out two ships at their own expense and armed a small expeditionary force whose intervention was enough to bring about the restoration of Nguyen-Anh. After 1802 he reigned under the name of Gia-Long, showed himself tolerant and remained on good terms with Mgr Pineau de Béhaine, but did not become a convert. However, when struck down by a serious illness, he asked for baptism and died a member of the Church.

Mgr Pigneau de Béhaine had died before him. It may be said of this prelate that in difficult circumstances his political acumen had come to the rescue of his apostolic zeal. Mgr de Guébriant wrote of him: "Had he kept silent, he would have betrayed the Gospel which it was his mission to preach."

THE INDIAN MISSIONS AFTER FR DE NOBILI

Although the coronation of John of Braganza in 1640 had freed Portugal from its dependence on Spain, her hold on India was to become increasingly weaker as her former privileges as discoverer and first conqueror were undermined by the Dutch, the English and the French, each in their turn allies of the local rulers. These reverses did not prevent Portugal from claiming her full rights of *Padroado* when faced with the decisions of the Holy See.

As we have seen, Matthew de Castro, who had been appointed vicar apostolic of Idalkan, had been treated as an intruder. This was the beginning of a severe struggle in which

he received many blows and gave many in return. Propaganda did not approve of all he did, yet never lost confidence in him. In fact, he had been zealous in applying the pontifical instructions concerning the founding of a native clergy and had succeeded in obtaining permission for such a clergy to be affiliated to the Oratory of St Philip Neri. The other two Goanese vicars apostolic, Custodio de Pinho and Thomas de Castro, cousins of Matthew, acted in the same way. They too were unable to persuade the *patronato* to recognize their authority. Rome therefore ceased to appoint vicars apostolic of Indian race. Here, as in China, it was not until the thirties of the twentieth century that natives were once more to be raised to the episcopate.

We may guess what suffering these rivalries caused to sensitive minds thanks to certain authentic writings dealing with the long and exemplary apostolic life of a Goanese priest, Joseph Vaz. It happened that he was at Kanara when the conflict between Thomas de Castro and the archbishop of Goa was at its height. The latter had excommunicated all who had any relations with his rival; de Castro had retorted by applying the same penalties both to priests administering the sacraments by virtue of powers they had received from Goa, and also to the faithful who accepted the sacraments at their hands. The unfortunate Vaz had received his powers from the archbishop of Goa's vicar forane and so fell under the ban of Thomas de Castro. At first he remained obedient to his archbishop and urged the faithful to repeat to him the confessions they had made to priests appointed by Propaganda. Then, troubled by the whole affair, he went to discuss his difficulties with Thomas de Castro and begged him to grant him jurisdiction and, at the same time, to tone down his warfare against the Padroadists. He obtained what he had asked for. All this never caused his zeal to flag. He went bare-footed from village to village, looking for Christian families, reconciling apostates and giving help to those who had been reduced to slavery. Eventually, the quarrels became such a burden to him that he asked the archbishop of

Goa for permission to leave Kanara for Ceylon (1684). His request was granted. He was a man of profound humility and before his departure he called on his successor, the pro-vicar. He assured him that he had never wanted to offend the vicar apostolic personally or his priests, and asked to be given public conditional absolution. Not that he thought he had deserved excommunication but he wanted nobody to doubt his filial respect for the archbishop of Goa. The pro-vicar realized that the man was a saint and refused.

Joseph Vaz was able to enter Ceylon, disguised as a beggar, in 1688 or thereabouts. The decree expelling all the missionaries promulgated by the Dutch after their conquest of the island, had not been withdrawn. Later, a few Goanese had been allowed to enter. Vaz joined these, brought the scattered flock together again and enlarged it in a miraculous fashion. He was responsible for 30,000 conversions in the quarter of a century between his clandestine entry into the country and his death in 1711. The cause of his beatification was introduced almost at once. It was then abandoned because of difficulties connected with the inquiry. It has just been revived on the initiative of the bishop of Candy. Joseph is the noblest figure among the Goanese clergy who were sufficiently numerous in the eighteenth century to provide priests for all the churches between the delta of the Indus to Cape Comarin and from Cape Comarin to the Ganges.

At Madura, the Jesuits, faithful to Fr de Nobili's methods, continued to base their apostolate on both *Sanyassi* and *Pandara* missionaries. They had little success among the Brahmins; among the other castes results were slightly less disappointing and year in, year out, about a thousand converts were baptized. In 1688, the mission was reinforced by French Jesuits who, once they had landed at Pondicherry, obtained permission to evangelize the interior and left the French Capuchins to minister to the European colony in the town.

A serious conflict between the two institutes was shortly to break out when the process of beatification of the greatest

missionary in the province at the time, the Jesuit, John de Britto, was introduced at Rome. The son of one of King John IV's Masters of Horse, page and fellow student of the future regent, Don Pedro, at the age of sixteen he had turned his back on the brilliant career which was opening before him with the firm intention of preaching the Gospel in the Indies. As a Pandara missionary in Panjore, the Eastern province, he had been arrested on several occasions, imprisoned, beaten and tortured. He was eventually condemned to death but was reprieved by the king of Marava on condition that he gave up all preaching and left the country. His superiors sent him back to Europe. But nothing, neither prayers nor entreaties nor promises of a fine future, could make him forget the missions. He was in Madura again in 1691. He was offered but refused the archbishopric of Cranganore. Faithful to his vocation as a Pandara, he took up again the same insecure and apostolic life he had previously led. He wrote to his brother: "Our enemies do not cease from harassing us, but the king and his ministers pay no attention to their recriminations. The king contents himself with declaring that if I were to preach in his own territory, he would have me beheaded. I am now trying to obtain an audience so as to find out what my legal position is."

The king of Marava was not the kind of man to listen to the complaints of any- and everybody, but when one of his nieces came to tell him that a neighbouring prince, whose youngest wife she herself was, had repudiated her in order to obey the laws of Christ, he decided to put to death the man responsible for his conversion. He entrusted the task of execution to one of his brothers who cut John de Britto's throat with a blow from his scimitar. In the last fifteen months of his life John de Britto had baptized 8,000 people and the movement of conversion had continued after his death, so that the cause of his beatification was introduced immediately.

At the outset, it roused the liveliest opposition from the

French Capuchins at Pondicherry. In a report they sent to Rome, they accused John de Britto and all the Jesuits of showing an exaggerated toleration towards the Malabar rites. This denunciation reached Rome at the time Mgr Maillard de Tournon was about to leave for the Far East as legate with the task of settling the problem of the Chinese rites. He was now told to institute an inquiry into the Malabar rites as well. At Pondicherry he met Fr de Visdelou who had not been able to accept Fr Ricci's conclusions in the matter of the rites. The opinion of this Jesuit, who was considered a great sinologue, must have carried great weight with the legate. In any case, on June 23rd, 1704, he signed a decree annulling the toleration granted to these rites by Gregory XV at the request of Fr de Nobili. This decree enjoined obedience under threat of excommunication. It divided the missionaries into two camps. It also caused John de Britto's cause to be abandoned, for how could a religious be raised to the honours of the altar if he had practised customs forbidden by the Holy See? But the Holy See always ends by rehabilitating those it has ill-treated. John de Britto was beatified in 1851 and canonized in 1941.

The Madura mission recruited fewer and fewer *Sanyassi* and *Pandara* vocations after this. Yet there were two other Jesuits who distinguished themselves in this region: Fr Hanxleben, to whom we owe the first Sanskrit grammar, and Fr Beschi, a fervent missionary, a polyglot and an extraordinarily prolific poet. He wrote lives of the saints, among them one of St Joseph containing 3,615 quatrains and loaded with quotations from the Bible; and a *Veda Vilakkan*, or explanation of Catholic doctrine in twenty-eight chapters. It was often reprinted in the nineteenth century.

This brief sketch of Christianity in India would be incomplete without mention of the Syro-Malabar Christian communities which, according to a well-established tradition, were descended from the converts of St Thomas, the first Apostle

of India. All the travellers in the Middle Ages had drawn attention to these communities which were dependent on the Church of Antioch or that of Persia through the Catholics of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. Were they followers of one or other of the Eastern heresies, were they schismatics or Catholics both in word and at heart? Contemporary scholars still discuss these questions. But, when modern missions began, there was an initial period of peaceful relations, after which in 1599, the Synod of Diemper (Udiamperur) declared that they were Nestorians and decided that they should be forcibly restored to communion with Rome. In future, they were to have only one bishop, a Latin and a suffragan of Goa. Their books were to be burnt, their traditions cast aside and the use of Syriac limited to the translation of the calendar, the Latin Missal and Ritual.

An ambitious man, the archdeacon Thomas, put himself at the head of a resistance movement and so was raised to the dignity of a *mar*. But one section of the Syrians refused to recognize his authority and appealed to the Holy See who sent them an Italian Carmelite as vicar apostolic. He succeeded in re-establishing unity in his flock but, shortly afterwards, the capture of the town of Cochin by the Dutch led to the departure of the bishop. The Syrians were invited by the Dutch occupying power to choose a bishop and enthrone him. They split again, some nominating *mar* Thomas, who adopted the Monophysite views of the patriarchs of Antioch so as to obtain episcopal consecration from a Jacobite bishop. Thus there was a "new party". The others, faithful to their original faith, formed the "old party". This time the schism was complete.

Already divided in this way, the St Thomas Christians had also to suffer from the conflict of jurisdiction between the bishops of the *Padroado* and the vicars apostolic. They had only one common desire: to have a hierarchy of their own race and this could only alas! become possible by means of a schism.

THE PATRONATO MISSIONS IN SOUTH AND NORTH AMERICA

At the time of the establishment of the Congregation of Propaganda, the *patronato* missions had already taken their final shape. They were not so much missions as the extension or rather the implantation of the Churches of Portugal and Spain in the new world, with this very unapostolic addition that they depended on the Council of the Indies and so, in a word, escaped from the authority of Propaganda. All attempts to reform certain abuses came to nothing.

In 1611, the Jesuit, Louis de Valdivia, who had been raised to the office of royal commissioner by Madrid, had freed 10,000 Indians from slavery and had forbidden any fresh raids or enslavement. But he succeeded only in enlisting against him colonists, soldiers, officials and the religious of the other Orders. Antonio Vieira underwent similar cruel trials in Brazil from 1652 onwards. This missionary had evangelized some fifty villages along 1,000 miles of the coast. He too had undertaken to defend the natives and to ask Lisbon to put an end to the slave raids. He was listened to and appointed visitor of the Brazilian missions. He was thus able to pacify the tribes on the verge of revolt. Nevertheless he was treated as a sedition-monger by the colonists. The Inquisition condemned him to two years' imprisonment on account of his book *Quinto imperio del mondo*, and he had many other tussles with the same tribunal in Rome. However, justice was done to him in the end. At the age of seventy-three he then set out again, indifferent to the honours offered him by the pope, for Brazil, where he died in Amazonia at the age of eighty-nine.

Other missionaries experienced the same trials. The criticisms they aroused, even in missionary circles themselves, indicate that dignitaries of the Churches of South America and Mexico, both secular and regular (except the Capuchins), to the extent that they become part of the colonial system, had sometimes been influenced by it. It is certain that the clergy, all of whom were Spanish or Creole (Vieira himself considered

the *almazinhas*, the little souls of his dear Indians, unready for the time being to receive the priesthood) was badly distributed. In the towns, the clergy were too numerous and too rich. In the rural parishes and the *haciendas* they were too scarce and too poor. The instruction of the converts suffered in consequence.

But this is only one aspect of the matter. The other, so clearly worthy of admiration, is the work done in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from California, evangelized by Junipero Serra, to the Jesuit reductions in Paraguay. Side by side with the static Church of the colonial areas, there was a Church on the march, ardent, resourceful, creative and seeking its inspiration as best it could in the character of the Indians themselves so as to establish and confirm them in Catholicism.

This truly apostolic Church, composed of regulars, operated generally from Lima after it had handed over to the diocesan clergy the Indian parishes already established. In the mid-seventeenth century, Franciscans founded in the north of Peru a large Christian community which was laid waste at the end of the century by Indians who had not been subdued. The Franciscan missions in the south of Peru had been ill-treated during the seventeenth century. They were reopened during the first thirty years of the following century by Fr Francis of St Joseph, and when he died they had made 85,000 converts. But ten years later, an Indian from Cuzco, a self-styled descendant of the Inca Athualpa, instigated a revolt, in the course of which the mission was destroyed and several religious massacred.

In Chile, the Spanish had signed a treaty (1641) guaranteeing peaceful possession of the land to the Araucanians. The latter, when they found the treaty was not adhered to, revolted and destroyed part of the mission posts founded by the Jesuits. The Franciscans restored some of these and Fr John Frenezda, who had a perfect knowledge of the local languages, established two missionary colleges at Chillan and Tariva. A fresh revolt led to a new repression which a missionary, Fr Angel

d'Eispineira, succeeded in mitigating. When peace returned the work begun by the establishment of the colleges produced its first fruits: the first three Indian priests in Chile were ordained in 1794.

The earliest Franciscan missions in the east of Peru on the territory which is now Bolivia, obtained almost no results at all while they were helped by the colonial administration. Then, at the end of the eighteenth century, there came a perfect son of St Francis, Francis del Pilar. He had the same spirit as the *Poverello* himself, making his way into the court of Melek-El-Kamel. Francis del Pilar settled in a Chiriquan village and lived there in poverty for thirty years, indifferent to insults and never ceasing to come to the help of the Indians. In the end, they were moved by his charity and agreed to receive some missionaries. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Chiriquan mission had twenty-two mission posts and more than 16,000 Christians out of a population of 25,000 souls.

The Jesuits founded a large number of Indian parishes in the basins of the upper Amazon and the Marañon. Apparently there were three hundred Indian churches in Colombia during the seventeenth century, but they were not completely free from paganism. The Jesuits, profiting by the memory of the apostolate of Fr Claver to the Negroes, made many converts among the Llanos.

Fr Christopher de Torres, who became archibishop of Santa Fé in 1635, founded there a university college and decided to admit Indians to communion. The most amazing apostle of Colombia at this time, the Dominican St Louis Bertrand, began by evangelizing Cubara, Tenerife and a number of other places, baptizing thousands of Indians and then, sickened by the profligacy, cruelty and love of lucre among far too many of the Spanish officers, returned home to Spain.

By far the most original and most effective establishment, the republic of the Guaranis, stretching from Belem in the north to Uruguay in the south, and from Parana in the west to Brazil in the east, was the work of the Jesuits. The Guaranis, the

largest racial group in South America, were civilized, although to a lesser degree than the Incas. They believed in God, but their belief was an entirely personal one and involved no public worship, sacrifices or priests. They had no notion of private property and their economy was communitarian.

Loreto, the first community, founded in 1610 on the Parana, comprised two hundred families already baptized. As the Fathers guaranteed freedom, this initial nucleus attracted people living in nearby villages. This attraction continued to operate and the first Reduction was soon overpopulated. It split in two and so the Reduction of San Ignacio-Mini came into existence by the side of the original one, still on the Parana. This swarming process went on and all the more since the various freedoms granted by the Jesuits to the convert Guaranis had been sanctioned and codified by royal ordinances. But the movement forward was controlled with exemplary prudence. The Fathers began by building the Reduction and, in order to ensure its economic independence, endowed it with cattle and saw that the soil was in good condition to bear crops. Many of the inhabitants were still pagans, but the example of the religious and the converts living according to the Gospel teaching, prepared them to listen to the catechism which was only taught in full after the village had been completed. As time went on, the "swarming" was speeded up. The number of Reductions in the Guayra rose from thirteen in 1623 to twenty-four in 1630 with a population of 100,000 Guaranis. There were another half-dozen on the Parana and a dozen to the south-west of the Sierra del Tape. This incomparable success had not failed to give rise to calumnies nor had it escaped the slave raids organized by Spaniards and more often still by Portuguese. The permission given to Fr de Montoya to arm the Guaranis put an end to this. The Paulista marauders were defeated in 1640 and 1641. A relative peace was established but the loss of Guayra and Tape reduced the Republic of the Guaranis to the territory within the area round the spot where

the courses of the Parana and the Uruguay are nearest to one another.

The Reductions were all built according to the same plan. They included a vast rectangle with a spacious square on one of its sides and streets going off at right angles from it and lined with houses and blocks of flats. Just off the square were the church, the *Cotiguazu* (a home for widows, cripples, etc.), the hospital, the school and further on, a large garden.

Private property was unknown. Trade outside or within the community was the monopoly of the latter. All in good health were required to do a maximum of eight hours' work per day. In exchange, they were guaranteed all the necessities of life: housing, clothing, food, tools, education and apprenticeship for their children, an old age pension, insurance against sickness and accidents, upkeep of widows and orphans, leisure.

The working day began at about nine o'clock after Mass and ended at about four or five. On Sunday in addition to Mass there were Vespers, Rosary and confraternity meetings. Their public worship gave the Guaranis ceremonies accompanied by music and chant and all those who witnessed these commented on the dignified and reverent way in which they were carried out.

One or two Fathers at the most (and unarmed), assisted by the pick of the young men forming the group known as the Congregation of St Michael the Archangel, were all that was needed to keep the peace and ensure fraternal unity.

The downfall of the Reductions was not due to any internal weakness; it was caused first and foremost by the violent crisis that followed the cession of seven of them by Spain to Portugal, the calumnies spread abroad against the Jesuits by Plombal's agents and, finally, the suppression of the Society as a whole.

These Paraguay Reductions have been studied and praised by men of very different schools of thought. Voltaire praised them as "a triumph of humanity". Buffon considered that "nothing has given more honour to religion than the civilizing

of these nations and the laying of the foundations of an empire with no defensive arms other than those of virtue".

The lesser Antilles do not seem to have been inhabited by indigenous peoples properly so-called. The Caribs who landed only a short while before the Spaniards cannot be considered as such. Hence, apart from these newcomers, the missionaries were preaching almost wholly to Negroes, slaves imported from Africa.

The Caribs whose religion, so it is thought, was a mixture of pantheism and shamanism, lived in the most primitive social conditions. They conceived a ferocious hatred of the whites who had driven them back and tried to impose forced labour on them. Naturally, this feeling extended to the missionaries themselves. The first among these, the Dominicans, preached the Gospel to them at Guadeloupe. The war between the Caribs and the Europeans obliged them to withdraw. They made further attempts in 1641–2, then in 1652, this time in company with the Jesuits. This new Carib mission had also to leave, after the massacre of two Jesuits. An Anglo-French agreement ceded the islands of Dominica and Saint Vincent to the Caribs and in them Dominicans and Jesuits began their apostolic work again, but with no more success than previously. Finally, the mission was abandoned in 1685.

The Negro slaves arrived in ever increasing numbers during the eighteenth century. There were 84,000 in Martinique alone and 90,000 in Guadeloupe in 1789. Catechists began to instruct them as soon as they landed. When they considered them sufficiently advanced, they passed them on to the missionaries. They were only admitted to baptism later, when they had given proof of their knowledge and good conduct. With the exception of those who had already come under Moslem influence in their native countries, they accepted baptism all the more readily since it was accompanied by holidays and presents and they considered it a godsend if they were able by trickery or cunning to have themselves baptized several times.

The Negro Code obliged owners of slaves to give them religious instruction. Many undertook this with reluctance since they considered it equivalent to wasting so many working hours and days. When the Fathers reminded them that all men were equal in the sight of God, that baptism was of outstanding importance, they still in general refused to obey them. All these obstacles were unable to prevent a West Indian Negro Christian community from coming into existence. It was made up of various elements: a few free men, slaves who were well treated and in fact were permanent members of their masters' households, and slaves attached to the plantations. These were the least well provided for, since it was very difficult to minister to them for the reasons we have mentioned. The escaped slaves or *maroons* were deprived of all religious help.

Jesuits (until the suppression and even afterwards as seculars), Dominicans, Capuchins, Carmelites, Friars Minor, Recollects, and a few seculars shared the moral responsibility for this Christian community. In all, there were no more than two hundred priests, a minute number for these hundreds and thousands of souls. It is surely not surprising that under such conditions this community was not a model one, that it often harboured traces of fetishism imported from Africa, and that its moral standards were deplorable. But there were within it families based on regular marriage. Some of the good Christians whom it was found possible to send back to their native land after the abolition of the slave trade and slave status often became the nucleus around which the first African missions came into existence.

MGR BORGIA'S INQUIRY REVEALS A GENERAL DECLINE: ITS CAUSES

The last few chapters suggest that there was a falling-off in missionary work. Its full extent became known when in 1773 Mgr Borgia presented to Clement XIV the general census on which he had been working since 1765. In China there were

125,000 Christians, in Tonkin 200,000, a few thousands in Cochin-China, Siam and Burma, perhaps 500,000 in India (225,000 of these were in Goa), 100,000 in Ceylon and 80,000 Syro-Chaldean Catholics; some tens of thousands in Africa; 100,000 in Canada and Nova Scotia; 25,000 in the Californian missions and 25,000 in Texas; 400,000 Negroes had been evangelized in the West Indies as well as a few hundred Caribs: 100,000 Indians in the Paraguay Reductions; and perhaps 100,000 in all the other missions of Portuguese and Spanish America: in all, a total of less than two million.

But the returns for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries gave the figures for Catholics in Spanish and Portuguese America as 15 to 20 million; 4 to 5 million in the Philippines; 600,000 to 700,000 Japanese. Even if we suppose that one of these lists of figures was drawn up too optimistically and the other too strictly or with insufficient data, the divergence is still too great to allow of any doubt as to the extent of the decline.

There were local reasons for it. There is no point in going over them once more and they were not the most serious ones; these we must look for in Europe.

Their unity in faith had not prevented Spain, Portugal and France, from the eighteenth century onwards, from waging bitter warfare with one another in an attempt to extend their colonies. The Protestant powers, England and Holland, had been equally greedy and each of their conquests had been followed by an extension of Protestantism—to Ceylon and Indonesia—accompanied by hostility towards Catholicism. These struggles between Europeans could not fail to do a disservice to the religions they protected.

In France, the Jansenist quarrel, aggravated by the quarrel over the rites, had slowed down missionary effort in the seventeenth century. The enthusiastic workers, men like Olier, Vincent de Paul, Bagot, etc., had never really been replaced.

Of course, these theological disputes emboldened and encouraged the enemies of Catholicism throughout Europe. They declared a war to the death against it, a war all the more

dangerous in that it was waged in the name of reason, progress and freedom. Its principal achievement, the *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, skilfully planned by Diderot and d'Alembert to create "a general and widespread attitude of hostility towards all that smacked of religion", gained for the philosophic spirit, thanks to a no less skilful circulation policy, converts of high standing outside France whose decisions dealt a terrible blow to the missions. Two of the most active of these men, Pombal (1699–1782) at Lisbon, and Aranda (1718–99), a personal friend of Voltaire, at Madrid, with the support of all the courts of Europe succeeded in obtaining from a weak pope, Clement XIV, his signature to the brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* (1773) which suppressed the Society of Jesus.

Once the French Revolution had abolished the religious Orders, closed the seminaries, secularized the property of the clergy and confiscated the inheritance of "émigrés" and suspects, recruitment in France ceased altogether and the work of the missions lost a large section of its resources. Finally, for a quarter of a century the wars of the Revolution and the Empire made communications difficult between Europe and the missions. In view of all this, the very serious decline revealed by the Borgia report was bound to become still more marked.

In America and Canada, 137 priests were left and twenty-four of these were missionaries. They were gradually to disappear. The progress of Catholicism towards the West was interrupted and only revived in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The Franciscans and then the Dominicans replaced the Jesuits in California and Texas, but Louisiana and Florida and central North America were abandoned for twenty years. In the thirteen states of the Union, Baltimore which had been a prefecture apostolic, was now a diocese but there were twenty-five priests in all for 24,000 Catholics. A handful of religious were living in Mexico. They were barely tolerated by the new government in revolt against Madrid. There was a

similar shortage in the lesser Antilles (in spite of the addition to their numbers provided by French priests, deportees to Guiana who had managed to escape) and in Guiana itself whose new prefect apostolic had under his jurisdiction the whole coast as far as Brazil.

In South America, the missions had been disorganized by wars of independence, and also in Mexico, although in Peru, the Indians remained loyal to their missionaries. The expulsion of the Franciscans (1810), the Jesuits' successors in Paraguay, brought in its train the dispersal of the Guaranis and the looting of what remained of the Reductions.

In India, the priests of the Paris Foreign Missions were unable to replace the Jesuits except in the Coimbatore, Mysore and Carnatic missions. The oversight of the Christian communities fell to a hundred or so missionaries of various Orders who were not replaced after their death. A large number of their converts, deprived of spiritual help, gave up the practice of their religion or became Protestants. The four dioceses of the *Padroado* were to remain without bishops until 1818. This was the fault of Portugal whose governments since Pombal had been anticlerical.

In the Indo-Chinese peninsula, only the Christian community in Annam (Cochin-China, Cambodia, Tonkin), with its 400,000 Christians, remained steadfast, thanks to the goodwill of Gia-Long, the protégé of Mgr Pigneau de Béhaine, and to a relatively numerous native clergy.

In China, the French and Portuguese Vincentians succeeded the Jesuits. Two of them, men of learning, had seats on the board of mathematics at Pekin and enjoyed the imperial favour. They were able, for the time being, to protect the missionaries scattered throughout the empire. But nothing could stop the persecution launched by Kiaking in 1802. The missionaries, banished from Pekin, were obliged to take refuge at Siwantse, beyond the Great Wall, in Manchuria. Mgr Dufresse was beheaded and four Chinese priests were put to death by strangling in 1815. Fr Clet, the Vincentian, and

Fr John de Triora were martyred in 1820. The last missionaries had come out in 1801. No more arrived until 1829. We may well ask what would have become of the China missions whose European establishment was decreasing year by year, had not the members of this establishment done all in their power to train, at Manila in particular and on the spot, a Chinese clergy (it numbered eighty-nine priests at the beginning of the century), and had they not been helped by excellent catechists and Chinese women, nuns by desire if not in fact, entirely devoted to apostolic work.

Japan was still closed to missionaries, but the arrival at Manila in 1829 of twenty Japanese bringing medals with them and wishing to be baptized, showed that the light of faitl continued to burn there.

In Africa, Abyssinia was without missionaries, five or six Vincentians were in residence at Algiers, three at Tripoli, five Capuchins at Tunis, four of whom died of the plague while tending those who had been struck down by it. At Benghazi, a mission had been opened by the Franciscans. In West Africa, the prefecture apostolic of Senegal had not survived the Revolution, and two attempts to restore it had failed. In the Congo, in Angola and at Mozambique, the remains of the Portuguese missions were in the last stages of decay. In the Indian Ocean and on the island of Bourbon in 1818, five Vincentians were in charge of eleven parishes with a population of 12,000 whites, 3,000 blacks and 60,000 slaves. Madagascar had been almost given up and in 1829 was restored to the immense prefecture apostolic entrusted to Mgr Solages which comprised all the South Sea Islands as far as Australia and Oceania, where missionaries were unable to land for a long time to come.

The situation was no brighter in the Near East. The see of Baghdad had been vacant since 1773 and was not filled until 1820. The new arrival then found the missions neglected. The same was the case with those of Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Arabia, Cyprus and Egypt.

FIRST SIGNS OF A RE-AWAKENING OF THE MISSIONARY SPIRIT

Setbacks on every side! It was time to remember that the *Imitation*, quoting St Paul, recommends us to accept these with joy, "for it is always for our salvation that God brings about or permits all that happens to us". In any case, at the end of the seventeenth century, a light suddenly shone in Korea, a feeble light indeed, yet kindled in such a surprising fashion that it was sufficient to drive darkness and desolation from the land. It was not the work of any missionary. A treatise on the Catholic religion which had come from China together with various scientific works, fell into the hands of an educated man and made him a Catholic by desire. He shared his discovery with a friend about to leave for Pekin with the annual delegation and asked him to make contact with the Christians of the Chinese capital. The friend obtained an audience with the archbishop of Pekin, studied Catholic doctrine, was present at some of the ceremonies, was himself won over and asked for baptism. This he received and once back again in Seoul, loaded with books and pious objects, baptized the Catholic by desire. Between them, they converted a third scholar in their small circle. The three of them converted others and worked to such good effect that the first priest to enter Korea, James Tsiu, found there 4,000 Catholics who had remained steadfast under fierce persecution. This priest was beheaded in 1801 and with him several Koreans of high rank. The "underground" Church of Korea then numbered some 10,000 faithful and several martyrs. Yet no missionary had come to it. It was already so steeped in the spirit of Catholicism that it asked the pope to send a bishop and some priests. The letter reached Fontainebleau at the time when Pius VII was Napoleon's prisoner and quite unable to give a favourable reply for lack of missionaries. A new request in 1827 decided Leo XII to entrust Korea to the Paris Foreign Missions, but they were unable to send out missionaries until 1835.

In France, Napoleon at first seemed anxious to rebuild the

ruins left by the Revolution, but for reasons of a political nature. These were analysed in the Portalis report and the emperor summed them up cynically in an address to the Council of State: "... These religious will be very useful to me in Africa, Asia and America. I shall send them out to gather information on the state of affairs in the various countries..."

A decree of March 23rd, 1805, therefore legalized the existence of the Society of the Foreign Missions, the Seminary of the Holy Spirit and the Vincentian Congregation. But fresh difficulties with the Holy See, caused by the unbridled Gallicanism of the emperor, brought in their train the revocation of these decrees of 1805 in Paris, and in Rome (soon after occupied by Miollis), the suppression of the Congregation of Propaganda, the seizure of its archives and the control of its finances by the imperial authority.

After the collapse of the Empire, Pius VII reorganized the Congregation of Propaganda in 1817. In Paris, Louis XVIII re-established the Society of the Foreign Missions by the decree of March 2nd, 1815, the seminary of the Holy Spirit and the Vincentians by the decree of February 3rd, 1816.

Moreover, this legal re-establishment was accompanied by a re-awakening of the missionary spirit. It may be asked to whom or to what this was due. We must certainly not disregard the deep emotion aroused by the *Génie du christianisme* (1802), but the new editions of the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* were even more influential. It was while listening to a commentary on these at a meeting of the association of prayer for the salvation of the infidels that a Lyonese woman of great piety, Pauline-Marie Jaricot, thought of the idea of making collections for the missions. It was from this initial effort that the work of the Propagation of the Faith was to emerge in 1822. In the same year, the Council of this Society began to publish extracts from missionaries' letters under the title of *Nouvelles des Missions* ("News of the Missions"), to be re-

placed in 1825 by *Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* ("Annals of the Propagation of the Faith").

From the ruins left by the Revolution and with the intention of rebuilding them, there came into being three new institutes whose chief object was the apostolate *ad infideles*: the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, approved in 1800 and better known as the Société de Picpus from the name of the street in Paris where it was founded during the Empire by Fr Coudrin; the Society of Mary (Marists) founded by the Venerable Fr Colin and approved by Pius VII in 1822; the Congregations of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, established in 1816 by Mgr de Mazenod.

Finally, the resumption of exploration and the campaigns against slavery contributed, as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, towards the creation of an atmosphere favourable to the missions. Fifty years later, the furious river rapids which form a sheer barrier to navigation round almost the whole coast of Africa, had been everywhere crossed. Through the breaches the missions, which had previously been confined almost exclusively to the coasts, were able to move forward into the interior of the continent and sometimes to complete the work of the explorers.

PART III

FROM GREGORY XVI TO BENEDICT XV