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# Crapez Henri, The Lazarists and the Chinese Clergy

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**The Lazarists and the Chinese clergy from 1697 to 1900**  
**(History Notes)**

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## **The Lazarists and the Chinese clergy from 1697 to 1900 (History Notes)**

The last two sovereign Pontiffs' encyclicals about the Missions, and above all the promotion of several local priests to the bishops' dignity, have put on the agenda the question of the local clergy. Since then, new seminaries have been created, and the personnel of the old ones have been increased considerably. At the same time numerous and interesting monographs on this special topic have appeared; and they revealed to us the generally admirable efforts which have been accomplished, even at the height of persecutions, by the religious societies which have been evangelizing the Far East.

A missionary of China, Mr. Henri Crapez, has been so kind to inform us about the Lazarists' contribution concerning their missions in what has been the Empire of the Middle. In order to do so, he has had the patience of gathering all the material which was related in the old missionaries' correspondence with the formation of the Chinese clergy. This method has the advantage of expounding without bias and without tendentious or rigged calculations, but frankly and loyally, the irrefutable proofs of the constant concern, which the old Lazarists had, from their arrival in China, of creating a local clergy. One can see there at the same time the numerous difficulties, which they had to overcome, in order to realize this program.

Reading these documents, which lack every literary device, will bring and confirm into the mind of each honest and not-accused reader the judgment, passed in this very magazine, 10 years ago by late Mgr. de Guébriant:

The evangelization of modern China goes back 399 years. During more than three fourths of those laps of time, the missions lived only in the most precarious conditions. The existence of seminaries as far as at the bottom of the remotest provinces has been a feat of real apostolic strength for more than 100 years: courage of the young men, who accepted a life in catacombs in their desire of the priesthood, bravery of the Christian families who hid - in the secret of their out-

of-the-way districts - these schools so dangerous for them; bravery of the missionaries, dedicating their energies to this humble job; one does not know what admire most. It is marvelous that even before the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century more than 159 priests could be ordained in China. Then came the period, which is still not very remote, in which under the regime of the Treaties passed between China and the Europeans, thanks to the clauses introduced by France in aid of the Missions, those saw that was opening before them a period of relative security. They took advantage of that, to organize themselves as missionary churches, transition churches: and that organization has been the hard work of the 60 years which have just finished.... Thanks to the badly known and too little appreciated effort of those 60 years, the Holy See can find today the elements which allow it to realize, here and there in China, the such a long time foreseen and desired transition.

## Foreword

In the "Dossiers de la Commission Synodale" (Files of the synodal committee) of Peking, Mr. Hubrecht, C.M. gave, in January 1935, a clear view on the "Beginnings of the Local clergy in China".

The reading of this very interesting survey suggested us the idea of showing the Lazarists' contribution to the development of the Chinese clergy up till 1900. This paper, probably a little dry, like everything which is mostly based on documents, might be of some use for the history of the Missions.

Anyhow, these are the parts of the vast apostolic field which the reader is invited to cover with our documents:

- 1 - Setchuèn (1699-1742)
2. - Macao (1784-1845)
3. - Peking Diocese (1785-1856) and Mongolia (1840-1865)
4. - Apostolic Vicariate of Peking (1856-1900)
5. - Apostolic Vicariate of Tchely South East (Tchengtingfou) 1856-1900)
6. - Apostolic Vicariate of Honan (1844-1869)
7. - Kiangsi (1845 - 1879)
  - 7 a. - Kiangsi North (1879-1900)
  - 7 b. - Kiangsi South (1879 - 1900)
  - 7 c. - Kiangsi East (1885-1900)
8. - Apostolic Vicariate of Tchékiang (... 1846-1900)

## 1. The Lazarists in Setchuèn

Attempts of opening seminaries in China: Messrs. Appiani and Müllener 1699-1742

Though the Congregation of the Mission had not been officially made responsible for any Mission in China before 1783, 3 of its members had gone there however on their own accord and had worked at the job of creating Chinese clergy, mostly in

the Setchuèn province. We are going to recount those commendable beginnings in this chapter.

*The hierarchy in China in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.* - In 1690, the immense Chinese empire was distributed to 3 dioceses, depending on the arch-diocese of Goa and under the padroado of the King of Portugal. They were:

- 1° The diocese of *Macao*, erected in 1576, and comprising, with the island of Macao, the Chinese provinces of Kouangtong and Kouangsi;
- 2° The diocese of *Nankin*, containing the provinces of Nankin (or Kiangnan), Tchékiang, Foukièn, Kiangsi, Houkouang, Kouitchow, Yunnan and the islands near the coast of Nankin;
- 3° The diocese of *Peking*, embracing Tchely, Chantoung with Léaotoung (or Manchuria), Honan, Chensi, Setchuèn and the islands of the coast and the adjacent regions (Cfr. de Moidrey, *Hiérarchie Catholique en Chine*, p.176)

*Launching of the Apostolic Vicariates.* - Those dioceses, the last 2 of which dated back only to 1690, were too vast to be managed properly. Therefore the Popes Innocent XI and Innocent XII divided them in several Apostolic Vicariates, entrusted to bishops *in partibus*, who had been taken from different societies and depended directly on the Propaganda, without any attachment to the Portuguese Padroado.

This is that division as it existed in 1696:

- 1° The vicariate of *Foukien* entrusted to Mr. Maigrot, from the seminary of the Foreign Missions with the title of bishop of Conon;
- 2° The *Tchékiang* to Father d'Alcala, Dominican;
- 3° The *Kiangsi* to Mgr. Alvare Benavente, from the Hermits of Saint-Augustine, bishop of Ascalon;
- 4° The *Houkouang* to Father Jean-François de Léonissa, Franciscan;
- 5° The *Chansi* to Father Antoine Ponates, Jesuit;
- 6° The *Setchuèn* to Mgr. Artus de Lyonne, bishop of Rosalie, of the seminary of the Foreign Missions;
- 7° The *Chènsi* to Father Basile of Clémone, Franciscan;
- 8° The *Yunnan* to Mr. Philibert Leblanc, from the Foreign Missions
- 9° The *Kouitchow* to Father Charles Turcotti, Jesuit.

After having filled the management of these vicariates, Innocent XII wanted, in 1697, to provide them with good apostolic workers: by his orders an apostolic expedition for China was prepared which consisted of 4 Dominicans, 3 Augustinians, 13 reformed Franciscans and 12 Observantine Minor Friars. 2 diocesan priests were added to them, and then a pupil of the college of the Propaganda, Mr. Jean Mullener<sup>1</sup> and finally a Lazarist, Mr. Louis-Antoine Appiani<sup>2</sup>.

*Mr. Appiani was given by the Propaganda the job of founding a seminary in China* - The thought towards which the Congregation of the Propaganda was striving at that time was the one of establishing a seminary in China to form there a local clergy. The qualities it had noticed in Mr. Appiani had caused it to conceive the hope of realizing its project through him; it gave him therefore very extended faculties, with the title of apostolic vice-visitor (*Mémoires de Chine*, I, 43).

On 14 October 1699 Mr. Appiani and his student, Jean Mullener, landed on Macao, about 3 years after their departure from Rome (10 February 1697). It was the moment that the quarrels about the Chinese rites were most ardent: Mr. Appiani opined that in such troubled circumstances he could not begin a seminary in Canton nor in Peking. He thought of looking for some remote region, far from the noise of theological disputes.

Knowing by reputation Mgr. de Lyonne's orthodoxy and other virtues, Mr. Appiani decided to settle in this region in the far end of China in order to dedicate himself completely to his apostolic job. Monsignor had just been appointed apostolic vicar of Setchuen.

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<sup>1</sup> Mullener Jean, born in Bremen in Saxe, on 4 October 1673, pupil of the College of the Propaganda, sent from Rome to China, was received in the Congregation of the Mission in Madras (25 January 1699) by Mr. Appiani and arrived with him in Canton. He was appointed apostolic vicar of Setchuen in 1715 and died in Tchengtou on 17 December 1742.

Mgr. Enjobert de Martillat, who was his friend and fellow apostle, wrote to the Propaganda on 7 September 1743, that Mgr Mullener belonged to a French family, settled in Belgium and was born among the Belgians: "*Illustrissimus Mullenerius ex Gallia prosapiam traxit, et avis ipsius ad Belgas transmigrantibus, apud Belgas natus est* " Archives of Foreign Missions Paris, volume 434, pp 227-236.)

<sup>2</sup> Appiani Louis-Antoine, C.M. born in Dogliani, diocese of Saluces, in Piemont on 26 March 1663, doctor in theology. He arrived in China on 14 October 1699, and died in Macao on 29 August 1732.

Hardly had he settled down in the town of Tchungking, with Mr. Mullener, when a local persecution came and hampered his projects and forced him to defer the execution. At that moment, a legate of the Holy See was landing in Canton with the task to sort out peremptorily the Chinese rites. Mr. Appiani was chosen by the legate de Tournon<sup>3</sup> to serve him as interpreter; he was to reappear in Setchuen only in chains. Victim of his dedication to the legate from 1706 to 1726, exactly 19 years and 6 months, he had to get to know the prisons of Peking, Setchuen and Canton. Exhausted by the snubs he had to bear, he died in Macao on 22 August 1732.

In this way therefore the setting up of a seminary in China, the special task entrusted to Mr. Appiani by the Propaganda itself, would have remained in the state of a project but for his companion and confrere Mr. Jean Mullener, whose activities we are going to outline quickly

*Mgr. Mullener's heroic efforts to promote a Chinese clergy* - After Mr. Appiani's departure for Canton, Mr. Mullener saw that he was the sole European missionary in Setchuen (1705). The following year he was seized and taken to Canton. Taken back to Setchuen in 1707, he was banished again from the province after 50 days and taken to Canton (October 1708). On the following 12 December he was banished to Macao. A year later, on 8 December 1709, he was banished also from Macao and he fled to Batavia.

Having come back stealthily to Canton in 1710, he set out again for his apostolate-field on 17 March 1711, and always with the hope of forming priests he took with him two young pupils.

Half-way, he settled in Tchangte-fou, a big commercial town in Houkouang, and he founded there a fervent Christian community, but he did not succeed in building a seminary. In April 1712, he went back to Setchuen, from where the Christians had come twice and had invited him.

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<sup>3</sup> Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon, born in Torino on 21 December 1668, patriarch of Antioch, sent to China and to the Indies as legate, arrived in Canton on 4 December 1705. After 3 audiences of the Emperor, he left Peking on 28 August 1706, published a decree against the Chinese rites in Nankin on 25 January 1707. As result of this brave act he was imprisoned in Macao, where he died on 8 June 1710, after having been rewarded with his promotion to the cardinalate.



On 15 September 1715, Mr. Mullener was appointed bishop of Myriophite and apostolic vicar of Setchuen and was episcopized by Mgr. Della Chiesa in Lintsintchow (Chantoung) on 14 December 1716. Apostle of a great virtue, animated with a tireless zeal, while directing and spurring on the activity of the rare priests of his mission, Mgr. Mullener placed everywhere catechists for whom he wrote very practical statutes. He attended to the purity of the faith carefully and increased the fervor of the Christians whose number, at his death, will be reported, for Setchuen alone, to be more than 9.000.

Concerned however above all about the formation of a local clergy, he tried to found a seminary in Tchengtou, at the cost of the hardest sacrifices. Mr. Appiani wrote, on 27 November 1719, to one of his confreres in Rome:

"Mgr. Mullener draws the bread from his mouth to form some 10 young men at whose head he put his first disciple, Paul Sou, 28 years old who has received the minor orders. He left him in the capital of Setchuen to keep an eye on this Christian community or to teach those children to read and write Latin while he himself was going everywhere in his Mission. In the month of September of last year (1718) he sent me a second student who arrived here in Canton on 21 November. Hardly had this one arrived when he began to vomit blood, then he became completely consumptive and finally died in the last month of June, having received all the sacraments, just here in my prison" (*Mém. de Chine*, I, 218).

Mgr. Mullener wrote on the other hand to a missionary in Rome on 22 March 1721:

"I look after 8 young men to whom I teach Latin and who are with me. 3 among them make much progress, and the other ones are still small. One of the first three is 25 years old; I gave him the minor orders; two other ones will soon receive the tonsure. All these young men have been offered to God by their parents. In our missions we have 15 more of them, but they are still small. I cannot welcome so many as long as I am alone and without a confrere. So you see how I need to have one

or several companions<sup>4</sup>, for the covering of all these missions asks for a whole year, and during that time, those pupils remain at the mission under the sole direction of the Chinese teacher and forget what they learnt the previous year" (*ibid.*, I, 247).

In another letter (dated: Canton 7 August 1721) he insisted to the legate Mezzabarba about the necessity of the local clergy:

"Because Your Excellency wishes me to tell you some appropriate way to make blossom those missions, I shall tell you that during the 22 years I have been here, I did not find a more useful and more necessary way than to bring up and form young Chinese people for the priesthood ...

I would like to settle down in a sure residency for the instruction of my pupils among whom. in a few years, with God's grace I can find some good priests and ministers of the gospel, in accordance with the intention of the Pope and of the Sacred Congregation" (I, 251).

*Mgr. Mullener's demise.* - After having had the great merit, in view of the conditions of his apostolic life and the consolation of leading to the priesthood 3 of his pupils, another one to the sub-diaconate and more than 10 to the minor orders, Mgr. Mullener died still hard at work on 17 December 1742, after catching a cold during a visit of a Christian community, near Tchengtou. He was taken care of in his last moments by Mgr. de Martillat from the Foreign Missions, apostolic vicar of Yunnan, who, as an authoritative witness, caused people to write to the Propaganda these words: It is hardly possible to find a life ... better made to serve as model for all apostolic people" (I,381).<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> On 12 December 1731, 3 Lazarists Messrs. Gandon, Monet and Trogneux left for China and arrived in Macao towards the end of 1735. The political situation of the time prevented them from landing and forced them to go back to France

<sup>5</sup> *Paul Sou*, Mgr. Mullener's pupil, who has been mentioned above, was born in the sub-prefecture of Chounte Canton), was ordained a priest by Mgr. Mullener and received in the Congregation of the Mission towards 1723, was imprisoned in 1733, consequently fled then to Foukien, then to Peking, came back to Macao, went back to Setchuen, then left him definitively and retired at the Dominicans' in Macao, where he died around the year 1766.

## 2. The Lazarists in Macao 1784-1845

*The beginnings of the seminary of Macao.* - At Mgr. Mullener's demise, not one of the three Lazarist missionaries, who had come in a personal capacity, was still in China. Only 40 years later and in Macao, the threads of the tradition were to be taken up again, through Portuguese Lazarists. Here one can see in which circumstances.

At the nomination of Mgr. de Gouvéa<sup>6</sup> as bishop of Peking, queen Mary of Portugal having agreed that this prelate should build a seminary in Macao<sup>7</sup> to raise there young Chinese men and form them to become priests, he went to Goa. There he talked with the Lazarists who had been in that town since 1781, and seeing the nice order which reigned in the seminaries which were under their direction, he persuaded Mr. Corrêa, Portuguese, and Mr. Villa, Italian, to go and join him in Macao and to lead the one which he wanted to set up there.

Mgr. Gouvéa chose the *collège Saint-Joseph*, unoccupied since the Jesuits' departure. The house was absolutely fit for installing in it a seminary. He had it repaired and provided with everything. He wrote a rule according to which Latin and Chinese grammar, rhetoric, philosophy and dogmatic and moral theology and mathematics had to be taught. The queen of Portugal had given order to pay from her treasure the costs of the reparation of the house, of the food and the keep of the professors and students.

On 1 October 1784, Mr. Corrêa, who was superior, opened the seminary with a Latin speech which he pronounced in the presence of Mgr. Bishop and of the "noble Senate of the town". They showed their satisfaction... There were 8 pupils (*Mémoires C.M.*, II, 152)

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<sup>6</sup> Mgr. Alexandre de Gouvéa, member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, religious of the third order of Saint Francis, was born in Evora on 2 August 1751 was appointed bishop of Peking on 22 July 1782 and episcopized on 2 February 1783. He left Lisbon the following April and arrived in Peking on 18 January 1785. He died in Nantang on 6 July 1808 and was buried in the cemetery of Chala where one can still see his grave.

<sup>7</sup> The diocese of Macao was vacant at that time. The last titular, who had resigned in 1782, was only replaced in 1789 by Mgr. da Silva.

That was the beginning of that famous college "San José da Macao" which, during more than half a century, was going to provide several provinces with priests: the provinces of Kouangtong, Kouangsi, Kiangsi, Honan, the diocese of Peking itself and so on.

*The college Saint-Joseph was entrusted to the Lazarists.*- Till 1800 this seminary-college of Saint-Joseph was the "bishop's" seminary for Peking; the Portuguese Lazarists had only its direction. Moreover they were responsible for no Mission in China. Or, in the abandonment in which the missions of China were at that time, those Portuguese Lazarists were the only ones who wanted and were able to take that responsibility; the Court in Lisbon chose them for that job in 1800. To that end it allotted them incomes of which they had to give accounts only to their superiors. The bishop of Macao received the order to pass to them the house and the church of Saint-Joseph; the building did not belong to the bisdom anymore and became the seminary and the house of the Congregation of the Mission. (*Mémoires C.M.*, II, 355)

In this way, through this seminary-college, the Lazarists imperceptibly were drawn into the job of occupying themselves with the missions of China. From 1801, 2 Portuguese Lazarists, Messrs. Ribeiro and Ferreira were made owners of the church *Saint-Joseph* (Toungtang), in Peking by Mgr. de Gouvéa, delegated to do that by the court of Lisbon. (*Op.cit.*, 275, 445.)

*Transfer of the seminarians from Peking to Macao.* - While the Portuguese Lazarists were busy forming a local clergy in their college in Macao, their French confreres, having recently settled in Peking, opened a true seminary in their residency, as we will see further on.

Persecutions, however, and the confiscation of their building occurred. At the occasion of Blessed Clet's arrest in Honan, the last French missionary, residing officially in Peking, Mr. Lamiot, was banished from China. He fled to Macao and transferred there his seminary from Peking.

From that time to 1845, the young men were sent there after a brief study of Latin and, when the time had come, they were received in the Congregation of the

Mission, as it was the rule formerly under the Jesuits' regime. This had the advantage of avoiding two categories of priests and of cementing the union among them; on the other hand there was no strict obligation, for several students of Macao remained diocesan priests, e.g. Mr. Ly Marc, who died in Petang in 1909, 90 years old. (M. Hubrecht. *loc. cit.*, 20.)

*Sending seminarians to France.* - Mr. Lamiot, feeling that his old age and handicaps told him that his end was near, wanted to provide for the future of his dear Mission of Peking. Aware that he could not anymore continue the education of young Chinese missionaries, he decided to send 4 of them to France, in the month of November 1828, and 2 more a few months later. (*Mémoires C.M.*, II,15)

Unfortunately, the circumstances did not encourage this project: France had just started a revolution for the second time. The clearly anti-religious character which governed the fall of Charles X's government had thrown the Catholics of France into helplessness; people thought that the bad days of 1793 had come back. Because of this impression, Mr. Dominique Salhorgne, superior general, believed it necessary to send these 6 seminarians back to Macao. He put them under the direction of Mr. Louis Perboyre, who was to die on sea, near Batavia, on 2 May 1831, (*Op. cit.*, II, 15)

*Mr. Torrette's work in Macao.* On 18 October 1829, Mr. Lamiot received a new choice helper, his future successor in the person of Mr. Torrette<sup>8</sup>. This young missionary came just in time so that there would not be an interruption of the tradition between the old and the new mission., for Mr. Lamiot died a little later on 5 June 1831. Mr. Torrette took the succession as superior of the mission of Macao and visitor of the French missions entrusted to the Lazarists. Soon he had 5 of his seminarians ordained in Manila; with 6 other ones who were ordained since then, that made in all 33 chinese priests and missionaries ordained in the laps of 54 years that the Congregation had been made responsible (of a part) of the Missions in China and God knows in how painful circumstances (*Op. Cit.*, III, 21).

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<sup>8</sup> Mr. Torrette (Jean Baptiste), visitor and procurator of the Missions of the Lazarists in China, was born on 28 Noemer1801, in Loubarez, was ordained a priest in Paris on 23 September1826, set out for China on 12 May 1829 and arrived in Macao the following 18 October. He died in Macao on 12 November 1840. (III,183)

Mr. Laribe, newly arrived in Macao with Mr. Rameaux, expressed in his letter of 2 April 1832 with these words his admiration for the good behavior of the students in the seminary of Macao: "Our heart was moved especially when we saw as many as 13 young Chinese seminarians come in haste and surround us and congratulate us sincerely on the occasion of the fortunate issue of our voyage. What a hope for our missions. Two weeks ago 5 of them had left for Manila, because there is no bishop in Macao. They are all to be back shortly as priests. Mr. Ly, the best educated of those who have been in Paris is among them. They ought to have been 6, but the good God, in his inscrutable plans, has found it fitting, a few months ago to call the 6<sup>th</sup> back to him. We have the plan to form them, on their arrival, during some time in the best way we can. After that they will go before us into our Missions" (III, 25).

*The seminary during Mr. Torrette's banishment (1834)* - Banished from Macao by the governor, at the same time as all the foreign procurators, Mr. Torrette moved out to Canton, and from there he went on following closely what was going on in his seminary. On 6 January 1834 he wrote to the superior general: "Besides those whose education was begun by Mr. Sué in our seminary of Tartary, I have 13 pupils in Macao, most of whom are quite advanced, and whose good spirit gives me the best expectations of seeing them succeed. The majority of these young men has been tested in Tartary, where they have learned Latin; only those whose vocation was almost sure were called; those about whom there is some doubt are not admitted. Without that precaution and discernment we would never know the number of pupils we might have, for we would see that we were forced to send away a big part; moreover the rule would suffer much because of it and the expenses would be excessive.

Mr. Ly tells me that they were 15 under Mr. Soung who sent only 6 of them to Macao, but who have all succeeded. Mr. Ly is at the head of the house, having been forced myself to abandon the post, in order of not exposing myself to feel the effects of the threats of the governor of Macao. This confrere is neither French nor European; he will be able, I hope, to occupy usefully those children while waiting that my exile finishes.

So as not to overburden this interesting confrere, I have François Tchiou ordained a priest. He could be back from Manila where I had sent him only after my departure to Canton. These two young priests who do not lack talents and regularity will not allow slackening. I thought it proper to warn them against too much severity. I confess that the good mentality with which they are driven has allowed me to get away from my dear household, not with joy, but very at ease and very calm" ... (III, 118)

*The seminary of Macao after Mr. Torrette's return.* - Mr. Torrette's exile ended after a year. Hardly had he returned in Macao which had "opened again its doors for him", when M. Torrette wrote on 13 November to Mr. Etienne, the general procurator: "Our novitiate is doing very well. The more I work in it, the more I become persuaded that we can make good missionaries with Chinese people, absolutely appropriate to do well. Therefore I consider this job as very important and I neglect nothing to give it the development to which it is open. We have now 13 novices, all with an exemplary piety, and foretelling good dispositions for the ecclesiastical sciences" (*Annales C.M.* II, 121).

With the same enthusiast conviction he wrote, on 6 April 1835, to Mr. Grappin, superior of the seminary of Saint-Flour: "Our seminary, the uncertain future of which had given me so much anxiety, has been able to continue its exercises and to become established, I hope in a solid way; our students, part of whom, studies theology, give us the most flattering hopes and promise us the most comforting future: regularity, love for the study, and the good mentality of these dear children are the most positive guarantees for it. Mr. Danicourt, for whose arrival I have yearned so much, is exactly the man whom I needed<sup>9</sup>. If Montdidier underwent a loss when this confrere was taken away, our Mission of China, receiving him, made a big profit. He teaches here Latin to our Chinese young men with little common zeal and success; philosophy and theology are my share; our Chinese

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<sup>9</sup> François-Xavier-Timothée Danicourt, born in Authies-lès-Doullens (Somme) on 18 March 1806, Lazarist in 1828, having left for China at the same time as Mgr. Mouly on 30 September 1833, arrived in Macao on 14 June 1834 and taught in the seminary of Macao till 1842. Then missionary in Tchékiang, he was appointed as its apostolic vicar on 22 December 1850, and after that transferred to Kiangsi in 1855. Having received the responsibility of accompanying Blessed Perboyre's mortal remains to France, he died in Paris on 2 February 1860. (Planchet, *Missions de Chine* 1916. 184)

priests teach the basics of the Latin language and of the local literature to the beginners.

We are all satisfied... Our happiness consists of the unity and the intimacy which reign among us and are a reward for the endured troubles; we can sing with sincerity: "*Quam bonum et quam jucundum habitare fratres in unum...*" (*Op.cit.*, III, 177 - *Annales C.M.*, VI, 269)

*The end of the seminary of Macao.* - In 1845, the seminary of Macao closed its doors. The treaty Lagrené, causing people to catch sight of the dawn of religious freedom, had changed the conditions of life of the Missions and allowed them to try to do on the spot and much cheaper the same job as in Macao. On the other hand the development of the missions demanded forcefully the erection of diocesan seminaries, and the apostolic vicars wanted to direct them-selves the clerical education of their future collaborators.

That is the reason why, in 1845, the regional, or central, seminary of Macao finished its existence and the students were divided under the different vicariates, entrusted to the Congregation: Siwantze for Peking and Mongolia, Sankiao for Kiangsi and Tchekiang. (*Mémoires C.M.*, III 208, 214. - *Annales C.M.* X, 644; XII, 362, 406)

### **3. Peking diocese 1785 - 1856 and Apostolic Vicariate of Mongolia 1840 - 1865**

*The French Mission of Peking entrusted to the Lazarists.* - As the result of the suppression of the Company of Jesus and of negotiations which we need not recount here, the Congregation of the Mission or of the Lazarists was made responsible by the French government and by the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda (decree of 7 December 1783), for the management of the French Mission of Peking.



That French Mission (or of China) comprised, at that epoch, some Christian communities spread over the provinces of Tchely or of Peking, of Houkouang, of Kiangsi, of Kiangnan, of Tchekiang, of Honan, and as far as Tartary or country of the Mongolians. (*Op. cit.*, II, 135.)

None of these provinces was entrusted to the French Mission exclusively. This is the occasion to write down the very special organization which was governing then the missions of China.

*The old organization of the missions.* -Above we saw that, beside the three dioceses of Macao, Peking and Nanking, the Holy See had erected, in 1696, nine apostolic vicariates in China. Unfortunately, owing to the lack of missionaries and to the non-stop recurring persecutions, those new vicariates were never well organized, so that at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century only 3 of them had outlived the storm: the one of *Chansi*, united to Chensi, with jurisdiction in 1762 over Houkouang; the one of *Foukien*, with jurisdiction over Tchekiang, Kiangsi and the island of Formosa; the one of *Setchuen*, with jurisdiction over Kouitchow and Yunnan. (*Op. cit.*, III, 104, 106. - Cfr. *Revue d'Histoire des Missions*, June 1936.)

In addition to this general organization of the hierarchy, orders by the Propaganda, special for China, ascribed the administration of Christian Communities to those who had founded them, without harming the jurisdiction of the Ordinary, to whom the missionaries remained sub-mitted irrespective of the society to which they belonged. Abandonment during 10 consecutive years stripped the founder of their privilege; those Christian communities became then the responsibility of the local Ordinary.

Due to this jurisprudence, the Missions of the diocese of Peking belonged in the beginning to the Portuguese Mission (to Nantang); they were managed by Portuguese missionaries, member of congregations or diocesan ones. When the French Mission began in Peking, almost a century after the Portuguese one, the bishop of Peking withdrew from the district which was around *Petang*, to wit from the Imperial Town, to help the French mission.

Then the French missionaries founded Christian communities in the north and the west of the diocese of Peking, the ones which were located beyond the big wall, almost all the ones in the north of Houkouang (West Houpé) and several in Hounan. They were the "Christians of Petang".

Well, in those different places there were often other Christian communities belonging to, either the Portuguese Mission, or to other religious orders. Each one of those Communities had its separate surface, a little like parishes of the same town in Europe, which live apart with a certain autonomy, all the time remaining submitted to the jurisdiction of the local bishop. And despite the difficulties which this diversity of directions had to provoke, it still was the combination which the Propaganda had found the one with the most advantages for the Chinese neophytes, who were in this way taken care of with more love and dedication by the very people who had brought them to the Faith. (*Op. cit.*, III, 106, 107)

This system of management lasted till the era that during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the diocese of Peking was distributed and passed, like all the Missions of China under the regime of apostolic vicars and prefects.

After this excursion let us go back to the very object of our study: the Chinese clergy and the Lazarists.

*The Superior of the French Mission worries about forming priests.* - On 8 May 1785, the Portuguese bishop of Peking, Mgr. de Gouvéa promulgated the decree of the Propaganda of 7 December 1783, and the French Lazarists, Messrs Raux and Ghislain and bro. Paris began their apostolate in Peking. (*Op. cit.*, II, 78)

1788 - Mr. Raux, superior of the Lazarists of Peking in an account to his superior general about the situation of the French Mission, told him his worries and projects about the formation of a Chinese clergy. He said to him:

"The Missions of which the Holy See made us responsible, being quite numerous and the old missionaries, our helpers, all former members of the Company of Jesus, all being old, we have been obliged, from the moment we took possession of this new setting-up, to busy ourselves with the means to get for it a sufficient number of

apostolic workers.. Besides those from Europe whom we have asked for and whom we are waiting for, we cannot manage without local priests; their local face and their natural way of speaking make them rather proper to enter certain critical regions where foreign priests might run the biggest risks. Add to that, that it is difficult to get from Europe as many missionaries as our needs demand.

This has urged us, in accord with the opinion of the former French Jesuits, our kind collaborators and worthy predecessors, to welcome a certain number of young men, able to be formed in the ecclesiastical and apostolic virtues and functions and also capable for the study of Latin. This seminary must be a greenhouse for Chinese priests and good catechists. It consists of 15 elements, some are older in order to be able to serve earlier, other ones are less old in order to have the time to form them better. Two of the first ones can be promoted to the holy orders in two or three years" (*Op. cit.*, II, 138, 120, 126, 129.)

One can see it, Mr. Raux without hesitation and like instinctively, had taken up again the tradition of the first Lazarists, of Mgr. Mullener and Mr. Appiani, which was moreover the one of the holy founder: "*Cleri disciplinam*". Thanks to that wise measure, the priests of the Mission were to be able to go back to their old Christian communities after the persecutions. Their Chinese confreres had kept the place till the return of the religious peace.

*Mr. Ghislain got the responsibility of the education of the clerics.* -The charitable work of the local Clergy in Petang was above all the job of Mr. Ghislain, who said in strict privacy: "I let have Mr. Raux absolutely the outside-relations with the Emperor and the High Ones; I came to China only to make good missionaries."

Indeed, if Mr. Ghislain contributed little for the wealth of the public institution, considered as a house of scientists and craftsmen, on the other hand he contributed very efficiently to the prosperity of the Christian community of the capital and the one of the provinces, either by visiting the Christian communities of the town and of the neighborhood all the time that it was allowed to him, or by forming some 20 Chinese missionaries.(*Op.cit.*II 347- 352. - Mgr. Gubbels, 225- 232.)

*Seminary of the Portuguese Lazarists in Peking.* - 1804 - The Portuguese government having entrusted the house Saint-Joseph (or *Toungtang*) of Peking with the Portuguese Mission to the Lazarists of that nationality in 1800, those busied themselves, like their French confreres, with the formation of apostolic workers. Mr. Ferreira, after his arrival in 1801, wrote on 17 April 1804, to Mr. Brunet, vicar general of the Congregation: "We are here four Portuguese priests of our Congregation. The number of European workers can be only very small considering the immense harvest that must be collected in this Chinese mission. To tell you the truth, our French confreres have here a novitiate [internal seminary] which is sufficiently filled; but we, Portuguese, have in our external seminary only five people. It would be fitting and even necessary that we had here an internal seminary (novitiate) in order to form subjects attached to our Congregation" (*Op.cit.* II, 445)

1805 - After the Portuguese Mission got the permission which was asked for, Mr. Ribeiro announced from 19 September 1805 that the internal seminary would be opened for the year 1806: "We have 6 seminarians... I think that next year they can be admitted in the internal seminary... This year we have suffered much through a persecution, which had begun in the month of March ...; now things are quieter, but all is not over yet. The Europeans have been deprived here of all freedom of preaching the faith and they have been forbidden all communication with Chinese people. Our French confreres are doing well" (*Op. cit.*, II, 446).

*The seminary of Petang under the persecution.* - For his part, Mr. Ghislain, giving detailed news about the persecution, finished his report for Mr. Brunet on 31 December 1805 in this way: "Mr. Lamiot and I are well. We had the good luck of being able to keep hidden our students of the seminary. So we do not lack occupation, despite the compulsory holiday, which the Emperor has imposed on us". (*Op. Cit.*, II, 442)

1808 - Mr. Jean Richenet, procurator of the Lazarists in Macao, wrote to Mr. Placiard, general vicar of the Congregation on 23 August 1808: "We received letters (from Peking) which had been sent to us in 1806 and 1807. Mr. Ghislain is doing better than a few years ago. The situation in Peking is gradually becoming better. The management of the Christians, the public celebrations in the churches

of the capital, the *seminaries*, the retreats, everything has begun again its march, with almost as much freedom as before the persecution" (*Op. cit.*, II, 463).

1911 - New persecution. Imperial decree of 19 July: Order is given to the missionaries of Peking to stop all preaching or to leave... The 4 Italian missionaries of the Propaganda left *Sitang*, which was soon completely demolished. The 7 other missionaries remained and kept the 3 churches, soon reduced to 2 as result of the fire of Tountang, the following year.

Through Mr. Ghislain's demise, occurred on 12 August 1812, only 2 French priests remained anymore in Peking: Mr. Lamiot and a more than 80-year-old former Jesuit, Father Poirot.

1813-1819 - Left practically sole European in the French Mission, Mr. Lamiot took upon him its administration and tried to make it prosper as much as such bad circumstances allowed it. Especially he went on with Mr. Ghislain's most beloved job, to wit the formation of local priests. Helped by a saintly and venerable Chinese missionary, Mr. Sué, he had the consolation of forming several and of admitting 5 into the Congregation. (*Loc. cit.*, II, 505, 509)

*Mr. Lamiot's banishment. Migrations of the Petang seminary.* - Arrested in 1819 as "Blessed Clet's accomplice", Mr. Lamiot appeared before the tribunals of Peking and Outchangfou. He was exonerated, but nevertheless condemned to leave China. He went to Canton, from there to Macao, where he installed his seminary and made his students come from Peking to Macao as we saw in the previous chapter. (*Op. cit.*, II 530, 599)

*Mr. Matthieu Sué*, appointed superior of the house of Petang, continued, with *Mr. Han's* help, the management of the seminary and of the Christian Communities of the French Mission, while Mr. Serra, Portuguese, took in hand the administration of the goods of Petang.

In the first days of October 1826, this last one received the order of leaving China. The Chinese government took advantage of that fact to seize *Petang* and to demolish its church. (*Op. cit.*, II, 594, 615; III 569)

Banished from Petang, Mr. Sué fled to Nantang and from there he managed the Christian communities of the French Mission. In 1828 however, "having seen erupt 6 persecutions in the laps of 9 years", he saw himself in the necessity to hide in the neighborhood of Peking and then in the town of Suanhouafou.

Having not found, even there, enough guarantees for security to install there his residency definitively, he went some time later beyond the big wall and settled, 17 miles further on, in the village of *Siwantze*. He established there the office of the management of Petang and settled there the 8 seminarians whom he had taken with him from Peking. (II, 616; III, 573)

*Mr. Mouly, superior of the French Mission. Vicariate of Mongolia.* - Mr. Mouly<sup>10</sup> arrived in Siwantze in the quality of superior on 12 July 1835. Mr. Sué handed over to him the whole administration.

In May 1840, he wrote to his Superior General: "We have here 9 young men; I think about sending two of them actually to Macao through Korean couriers. Parents have just proposed to me another one who seems to be rather spiritual and Mr. Gabet sent me another one. They are here squeezed together like herrings in their bad room..." (III, 374).

The fact is that 3 young seminarians were sent then to Macao, and 3 more followed them on 10 August of the same year.

On 23 August 1840 Mr. Mouly became the 1<sup>st</sup> apostolic vicar of Mongolia.<sup>11</sup>

*Foundation of the seminary of Mongolia.* - We saw above that the seminary of Macao was dissolved in 1845. In a report, sent from Siwantze on 8 February 1846 to the Central Council of the Propagation of the Faith in Lyon, mgr. Mouly gave

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<sup>10</sup> Joseph-Martial Mouly was born in Figeac on 2 August 1807, entered the Congregation of the Mission on 18 October 1825, was ordained a priest in Amiens on 2 April 1831. Appointed bishop of Fussulan and apostolic vicar of Mongolia on 23 August 1840, he was episcopized in Chansi (1842), appointed administrator of the diocese of Peking in 1846, and finally apostolic vicar of Peking in 1856. he died in Peking on 4 December 1868.

<sup>11</sup> The Mongolia Mission was part of the Peking diocese and was managed by Petang. Erected as a distinct vicariate, it was entrusted to the Lazarists who were evangelizing it at that time and left it in 1865 handed it over to the Missionaries of Scheut-lez-Bruxelles. (Planchet, *op. cit.* 1926, p. 84. - De Moidrey, *Hiérarchie catholique en Chine*, p.117)

the following important pieces of information: "Persuaded that it would be good for the vicariates entrusted to our Congregation in China, if every Apostolic Vicar had his seminary under his eyes, our Superior General dissolved our seminary in Macao... In accord with those dispositions we received our seminarians in Siwanzhe in last October. Having nothing to accommodate them even a little properly, I am forced to build beside our residency, this spring, a Chinese house with a few rooms and which we shall call Major Seminary, even if it looks stingy... One of these young men is student of theology; 6 others will begin their philosophy. Our minor seminary, 30 miles west from here (in Siaotoungkow) counts 12 young men from 14 to 20 years old."

He added: "I have had the satisfaction of receiving a new European missionary, Mr. Faivre, former visitor of our Company in Macao, and at present superior of our major seminary. Our Congregation has today, as well in Mongolia as in the Mission of Peking, 9 Chinese missionaries and 8 European ones, including the apostolic vicar who is going to have a coadjutor" (*Ann. C. M.* XI, 620).

*Mgr. Mouly, administrator of the Peking diocese.* - At the death of the old bishop of Peking, Mgr. Pirès, the diocese was managed temporarily by his vicar general, Mr. Castro<sup>12</sup>. This last one having refused that the rights of padroado of Portugal be decreased through his accepting of an Apostolic Vicariate, saw that every jurisdiction was taken away from him by the decree of 29 April 1846. His return to Portugal put soon an end to the Portuguese Mission of Peking. (*Hierarchy catholique en Chine*, p.39. - *Mémoires C.M.* III, 518)

Then Rome chose Mgr. Mouly as administrator of the Peking diocese. Following this nomination, this one gave himself a coadjutor for Mongolia, in the person of Mgr. Daguin and then settled in Tchely, in Ngankiatchouang. He hastened to found a new seminary in this village, as can be seen in this letter of 25 January 1849:

"...(The priests of the Peking diocese) are altogether 16, 8 of whom are confreres, among whom Mr. Simland, our vicar general, and 8 Chinese priests, absolutely

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<sup>12</sup> Jean de França Castro e Moura was born in the parish Saint-Côme, near Porto, on 18 March 1804; he entered the Congregation of the Mission and arrived in China in 1825. Appointed successively by Mgr. Pirès vicar general of Nankin and Peking, he was appointed simply apostolic vicar of Claudiopolis and administrator of the Peking diocese at the demise of Mgr. Pirès (2 November 1838) Because of patriotism he refused this dignity and went back to Portugal. Nonetheless he was elected bishop of Porto. He died on 14 October 1868.

diocesan, formed by the Portuguese. Among those last ones, 2, old and handicapped and unable to work have a rest in Peking. I placed the other ones, 2 by 2, in a big district. They must visit it together as much as the localities allow it. ...

"I hastened to welcome some 20 young men who want to study to become priests and confreres. 11 study in our 2 seminaries of Mongolia. The room making it impossible to welcome more of them and moreover obliged to have a seminary in this diocese, I managed to welcome the other ones in this residency, while waiting that my financial resources allow me to build my seminary. As the Christians are numerous, everything makes us believe that we shall not lack young students and that if money does not lack either we will be able to have, after a few years, enough clergy of local confreres". (*Annales C.M.*, XV, 51)

Mgr. Mouly ended his long letter saying that on 19 July 1849, 6 days before episcopizing his coadjutor in Siwantze, he had conferred Minor Orders on 3 of his seminarians, and sub-deaconate to another one. This last one, ordained a deacon the following Sunday, was finally promoted to the priesthood on Assumption-day.

"The 6 other young men, who, we hope, will be able to enter the internal seminary and begin their philosophy towards the end of the year, were publicly admitted to the number of the Clerics of the Lord".

*Mgr. Mouly chooses a coadjutor.* - 1850 - When Mgr. Mouly asked Rome for the authorization of appointing one of his confreres as coadjutor in the management of the Peking diocese, Pius 9 granted it him through the brief of 28 March 1848 and put to his disposition the title of *Abydos*.

Choosing a titular was very heavy-going. Under the influence of the commendations of the Propaganda about admitting the local clergy to all the ecclesiastical dignities, Holy Mgr. Mouly thought seriously of a Chinese Lazarist, Mr. Jean-Chrysostome Kho<sup>13</sup>. This choice, he thought however, might meet so many difficulties, that he did not dare to episcopize him without his superiors'

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<sup>13</sup> Jean- Chrysostome Kho was born in an old Catholic Manchu family (1807), in the Christian Community of Lantchow (Youngpingfou). He began his Latin studies in Petang under the direction of Mr. Sué (1825) and went to Macao to finish them with Mr. Torrette, who received him in the Congregation of the Mission. He had to go to Manila to be ordained (28 July 1838). He was in turn director of the Minor Seminary of Tsing-Chan, procurator in Siwantze, Mgr. Mouly's secretary and admonitor and member of the bishop's council. He died as parish priest of Toungtang in Peking on 17 September 1891, after an exemplary priestly life



explicit advice. The question was asked in Rome and can still be read in the archives of the Propaganda<sup>14</sup>.

Meanwhile, forced to leave his diocese to go to Ningpo where all the chiefs of Lazarist-served missions had been summoned (4 August 1851), Mgr. Mouly did not want to undertake such a long trip without having provided for all possibilities. Wouldn't the Portuguese schism<sup>15</sup>, which was raging at that time in a part of his administration take advantage of his absence to spread? Wouldn't that evil become incurable?

Then supposing that the answer to his petition about Mr. Kho might need one or two years, he chose his vicar general, Mr. Simiand, dean of the missionaries of the diocese because of his age and who had been in China since 1840, and whose name moreover had been pronounced by the Superior General. All agreed therefore on his name (1850), and after the whole community of Ngankiatchoang had been called to the chapel, the pontifical Bull was read and also the appointment of Mr. Simiand to the diocese of *Abydos*.

One had not counted however with the person involved, who refused stubbornly to ratify the choice that had been made of his person. So Mgr. Mouly made do with Mr. Anouilh who on 22 June 1851 was consecrated coadjutor of Peking and bishop of *Abydos*. (*Annales C.M.*, XVI, 405)

*Personnel of the Peking diocese (1851)* - This is the state of the personnel of the Peking diocese at that epoch:

2 bishops: Our Lordships Mouly and Anouilh;

3 European priests: Messrs. Simiand, Aimery and Talmier

7 Chinese Lazarists: Messrs. Matthieu Sué, Jean-Chrysostome Kho, Jean Tcheng, J.-B. Kin, Jean Kouo and Paul Tchang;

9 Chinese-Portuguese diocesan priests: Messrs. Cheng Matthos, Tcheng Sera, Pey Pina, Ki Crux, Yang Melo, Ouang Sa, Shu Alvès and Ouang Almada. (*Letter to the Propaganda*, Shanghai, 20 December 1851)

<sup>14</sup> Read the translation of this petition in Planchet :*Missions de Chine*, 1929 p.682

<sup>15</sup> About the small 'Portuguese Schism', unintentionally provoked by Mr. Castro (1847), cfr. Morelli, C.M. *Notes d'histoire sur le vicariat de Tchong-ting-fou*, pp. 16 - 21

As for the personnel of the *Vicariate of Mongolia*, we ignore the number and the names of the Chinese diocesan priests. We shall give only the Lazarist personnel according to the "*Petit Messenger de Ningpo*" (1922, p.9):

2 bishops: Our Lordships Mouly and Daguin;

4 European priests: Messrs. Gabet, Huc, Combelles et Gottlicher;

4 Chinese Lazarists: Messrs. Matthieu Tchow, Paul Tcheng, Vincent Ou and Vincent Fan<sup>16</sup>

*Division of the Peking diocese in Vicariates* (1856). - In 1851 Mgr. Mouly had begun steps to have the Peking diocese divided, of which he was the administrator. Through the bulls of 30 May 1856, this diocese which comprised then only the Tchely province was divided in 3 Apostolic Vicariates:

Peking and Northern Tchely, entrusted to the Lazarists;

South-west Tchely (Tchengtingfou) to the Lazarists;

South-east Tchely (Hokienfou) to the Jesuits.

Following those new dispositions, Mgr. Mouly, who was titular of the *Vicariate of Mongolia*, withdrew in favor of his coadjutor *Mgr. Daguin*<sup>17</sup> who, faithful heir of his predecessor's concern for the work of the seminaries, wrote to Mr. Etienne, superior general:

"Our seminary consists of 20 pupils. The eldest among them studies theology; he asked to enter our Company. Con gusto I gave my assent because of his good qualities ... The 19 other ones are more or less what they can be. The best one we had, as well because of his talents as for the qualities of his heart, died this year. Among the other ones, 4 or 5 give us well-founded expectations." (*Annales C. M.* XXIII, 503)

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<sup>16</sup> Cfr. *Histoire de la Mission de Pékin*, II, p.454

<sup>17</sup> Mgr. Daguin (Florent) was born in Beaujeu (Rhône) on 4 January 1815, was admitted in the Congregation of the Mission in Paris on 30 August 1837 and was ordained on 21 December 1839. He boarded ship for China in February 1840, arrived in Macao on the following 21 September and in Siwantze (Mongolia) on 11 March 1843. Appointed bishop of Troade and Mgr. Mouly's coadjutor for Mongolia, he was episcopized in Siwantze on 25 July 1848. He died on 9 May 1859.

## 4. Apostolic Vicariate of Peking and Tchely-North 1856- 1900

*Transfer of the Ngankiatchoang seminary to Peking (1861)* - The religious freedom having been returned in principle, thanks to the treaty of Tientsin of 27 June 1858, ratified in Peking on 25 October 1860, Mgr. Mouly could get back the old Mission buildings (residencies, churches and cemeteries).

He settled down in Petang as best he could and sent for his seminarians of Ngankiatchoang, some 40 of them, among whom 9 "students of Latin philosophy". (*Annales C. M.* XXVIII, 143)

On 9 January 1864, the Petang residency was destroyed by fire. Only the small buildings, destined for the servants, remained and the library and the refectory. (*Op. cit.* XXX, 498)

Thanks to the extraordinary help received from the Charities of the Propagation of the Faith and of the Holy Childhood, thanks, too, to the efficient aid by the French government, the ruins (and therefore the seminary) were rebuilt in the laps of 1 year. (*Ibidem*, 501)

*Wastage and illness in the seminary of Peking (1867)* - On 27 October 1867, Mgr. Mouly wrote from Peking to Mr. Etienne, superior general: "Though since about 10 years we have not ordained any of our young men, to whom we had to teach first Latin and theology, the number of our seminarians has, alas, decreased, and new ones do not present themselves. Their number amounts only to some 30 ones, and the defections discourage those who remain, and their parents, and also those who could have come from their families. Here more than elsewhere "pauci electi" is the case, and we find in them the required qualities with more difficulty. Health is very rare, the Chinese being weaker than the Europeans: the monotonous life of a seminary, the strain of studying and the regime destroy their health, despite all the precautions which we take, even before they have finished studying Latin.

Oh! How painful it is to send back then, into their families, well-behaved and intelligent young men, who otherwise promised to become one day good priests. Several are so, for the time being, at home, without much hope to get healed.

Two sub-deacons are in bad health, too. Despite that, we think about ordaining them priests shortly with another robust sub deacon, who has however less judgment. We think about ordaining also someone who has received the minor orders and 2 deacons. The sub-deacon and the one with the minor orders came from Mongolia and the three other ones are the sole heritage of our seminary, since some 12 years. Alas such a small result for so many sufferings and expenses. Among our young men we have only 4 theology-students and 9 Latinists. The rest, too young, studies only Chinese, while learning to write and read Latin and to sing plain chant."

*Setting up purely diocesan seminaries.* - In that same letter, Mgr. Mouly informs his Superior general about a considerable change introduced into the regime of seminaries, entrusted to the Lazarists: from that moment on, the seminary is not anymore a novitiate of the congregation, but a seminary of diocesan priests:

"Before the institution of our Apostolic vicariates, in the old days, all our young men were confreres (Lazarists) and we did not accept other ones. With our Apostolic Vicariates, we inform them that, if they want so, they will be able to become simply diocesan priests. But this disposition was new for them; they did not understand it as well as they ought to have. They let themselves be influenced a little by the old practice. Thence we decided to welcome them in the internal seminary (novitiate) only when they were priests and would have practiced a little the saint ministry, so as to let them freer and in better dispositions to enter the Little Company" (*Annales*, XXXIV, 275).

*Again the health of the seminarians.* - On his arrival in the seminary of Peking, where Mgr. Mouly had called him, Mr. Humblot had to attend in 1867 the funeral of 2 students "who died in quick succession; the seminary was in a state of confusion; 3 seminarians had died during the holiday and the others were more or less affected by the illness. After an extension of the holiday, granted by Monsignor, one began the lessons of the school-year".

1868. - Mr. Delemasure holding the direction of the seminary and teaching Latin, Mr. Humblot got the responsibility "of teaching philosophy to nine young men, who, he said, were able enough to begin this kind of study ... They have a philosophy lesson in the morning and in the evening; three Chinese lessons per week, one lesson of interpreting the *Epistles* of Saint Paul ...

So you see 9 Philosophy-students chosen among quite a big number: they were 25 in the beginning of their studies" (*Annales*, XXXIV, 470).

*State of the personnel under the bishops Delaplace and Tagliabue.* - In 1871, when Mgr. Delaplace took possession, the personnel of the vicariate consisted of:

14 European Lazarists

16 Chinese Lazarists; 2 of them were lay brothers

5 Chinese diocesan priests.

10 years later (1881) one could count 45 missionaries among whom 4 lay brothers. (*Annales*, XXXIV, 108)

1887 - On 10 November 1887, Mgr. Tagliabue, apostolic vicar of Peking, wrote to Mr. Fiat, superior general: "The seminary increases rather instead of decreasing; we have 15 students for philosophy or theology and 40 children in the Minor Seminary. All of them seem to be well-disposed" (*Annales C. M.* LV, 400).

*The seminary of Peking under Mgr. Favier. Conclusion.* - Mgr. Favier, while sending, on 14 October 1899, an account which compares the progresses of the Mission of North-Tchely during the last 10 years, wrote about his seminaries: "In 1889, the major seminary consisted of only 12 students; they are 23 now; as for the students in the Minor Seminary, from 36, they passed to 88" (*Missions Catholiques*, 12 January 1900).

Let us add that beside European (23) and Chinese (16) Lazarists there were in those days 20 diocesan priests. (*Annales C. M.* LXV, 198, 209)

Let us finish this special account of the seminaries and the Local Clergy in the Apostolic Vicariate of Peking with what Mr. Guilloux, director of the seminary was to write on 26 April 1903:

"You know that the Boxers did not succeed in finishing us off; there were never so many seminarians, the start of the New Year in September having provided us with 78 new ones... Last year we had 9 good priests and we will have some more next year; despite all that, the number of workers is not sufficient yet for the harvest, which announces itself as going to be so very abundant. The mentality of the seminary is perfect: one could not wish for more docility, piety and zeal. That is the reason why I am so happy" (*Annales C. M.* LXVIII, 288).

## **5. Apostolic Vicariate of Tchely-South-west or of Tchengtingfou (1856 - 1900)**

*Vicariate nullius.* - At the time of the division of the old diocese of Peking in three apostolic vicariates (30 May 1856), the one of Tchely south-west did not get a titular and was entrusted to no Congregation, because of the refusal by the society of the Foreign Missions to take its responsibility. It was left temporarily to Mgr. Mouly, who continued to manage it through his coadjutor, Mgr. Anouilh, bishop of Abydos. (Planchet: *Missions de Chine* 1916, p.54)

*State of the Mission of Tchely south-west.* - When Mgr. Anouilh received definitively its responsibility, with the title of Apostolic Vicar (14 December 1858), his wish was, remarked Mr. Morelli<sup>18</sup>, the very one of all the other bishops: the formation of a local clergy. How many obstacles, however! He had at his disposal only 1 European missionary and 8 local priests. His 14.000 Christians were spread over 45.000 square kilometers, among 7 or 8 million hostile heathens. The violent persecution had scarcely finished and the disguised persecution was still on. A small schism, stirred up by a few stray priests, had contaminated the best and oldest Christian communities, the ones which logically ought to have provided the recruits for the seminary.

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<sup>18</sup> Morelli, C.M., *Notes d'histoire sur le Vicariat de Tchengtingfou*, 1858-1933. Imprimerie des Lazaristes, Pékin, 1934.

*Difficult beginnings of the Seminary.* - However, from 1866, no sooner settled in the newly acquired and restored residency, then Mgr. Anouilh, who was going to dedicate himself to the direct apostolate of the pagans with so much ardor, gathered a few of the best endowed children in Tchengtingfou, and gave them as Latin prof Mr. Tchang Laurent, who had just arrived from Mongolia. Little by little, it would be a seminary (*Annales C.M.* XXXII, 440, 497).

Two years later (1868), Mr. Moscarella took the direction of this "pusillus grex", which he kept under Mgr. Tagliabue (1870-1885), but adding to it a great many other occupations: direction of the Holy Childhood, of the Joséphines, of the Daughters of Charity, and so on. In that time, one could not "specialize" a missionary for one sole job, even if that job normally called for several priests.

Recruiting seminarians was difficult, formation was slow, perseverance was rare. Nevertheless on 2 February 1881, Mr. Moscarella had the joy of presenting for priestly ordination 2 of his students, the first fruits of the vicariate; then in 1882-1883, 4 other ones, 2 of whom Lazarists.

Exact keepers of the ecclesiastical discipline. priests zealous in their task, they were going to become models for "those who follow and take the succession" (Morelli, *op. cit.* 89, 154)

1885. - Mgr. Sarthou, successor of Mgr. Tagliabue, found, at his arrival in Tchengtingfou, 27 priests, 15 of whom Chinese, and in the seminary some 15 students.

*The Minor Seminary is separated from the Major Seminary.* - 1891. - Following his transfer to the see of Peking, Mgr. Sarthou was replaced by Mgr. Bruguière, whose great preoccupation was also the formation of the seminarians. So far, lack of personnel, of resources and of vocations had not allowed to separate the Minor Seminary from the Major Seminary. The number of vocations increased every year; the moment had arrived to make the necessary sacrifices (108).

The definitive separation of the 2 seminaries was done in 1894. At that moment 34 students of the minor seminary took possession of their new propriety, in Paitang, and the 5 Major seminarians remained in the central residency (155, 157).

In an account to the Propaganda in 1896, Mgr. Bruguière wrote: "The Mission counts 27 priests, to wit, 13 Europeans and 14 Chinese. In the Major Seminary, 7 seminarians study moral theology. In the Minor Seminary 45 students, divided over two classes apply themselves on studying Chinese and Latin... True vocations for the ecclesiastical status are very rare. This is not likely, but it is however the exact truth" (108).

*Optimistic conclusion.* - Good work was being done, remarked Mr. Morelli, and Mgr. Bruguière could ordain many Chinese priests who soon became more numerous than the European missionaries. When he died, on 19 October 1906, his vicariate counted 38 priests, 17 of whom European, 9 students of the Major seminary and 74 in the Minor Seminary (120).

## **6. Apostolic Vicariate of Honan 1844-1869**

*The Lazarists in Honan.* - On 2 March 1844, the province of Honan, where Lazarists had been working for more than 50 years, and where Blessed Clet had been made prisoner, was detached from the Nankin diocese, and Mgr. Baldus, C.M. became its apostolic vicar with the title of bishop of *Zoare*. An authoritative report on this Mission has been given on 26 December 1861. It can be found in the *Mémoires C.M. de Chine* (III, pp. 323-361)

We shall content ourselves here with talking about what concerns the questions of Seminary and Chinese clergy for Honan, under the management of the Lazarists.

*Difficulties to open a private seminary for Honan.* Following the breaking-up of the central seminary of Macao (1845), the apostolic vicar of Honan sent his Superior general the following remarks on 26 June 1846:



"It has been ordered that every Apostolic Vicariate, respective of the Congregation, will have its own Seminary, and consequently the necessary profs to direct it; this rule is already every-where being practised. In Honan we have received a copy of your orders and we are supposed to be included in the general rule. However I have no doubt that you will approve the reflections which I am going to submit to you and that you will allow us to act in the way I am going to expound.

To found a seminary, one must firstly have the materials, necessary for its make-up. Like students, whom we do not have in Honan, where we have scarcely 2000 Christians, spread over the whole surface of the province. I think that it has never been your intention that we must undertake the extraordinary expenses to organize a seminary for 2 or 3 students, nor to give 2 confreres the job of directing it, when it would be more useful that they do Mission.

Therefore I and our missionaries we think that for the time being the better way would be for us to begin here teaching them Latin and even Chinese, while observing their dispositions but to send them either to Tartary (Siwantze), or to Kiangsi (Sankiao) to study much deeper the language and theology, and to form them better in the virtues, for, everybody knows that where the number lacks, there impetus and good examples lack, too. I think that the apostolic vicars of our different Missions will be happy to help in this way as I have already talked to one of them about this, with the exception that we did not yet agree on the costs.

It was the first thought which naturally came to everybody when we were informed about the dissolution of the Macao seminary. If later on, the good God wants to increase our number by touching the heart of our tough Honanese, oh then we will have the wish, too, to be self-suffi-cient and to perpetuate ourselves in our Mission. At present we have three students who learn Chinese and Latin, with another old and good one, the only one who remained of our old Mission of

Houkouang ... He revises his theology and helps us with the teaching of the young ones" (*Annales C. M.* XII, 33).

*Start of the seminary in Tsinkiakang. Personnel.* - On 27 September 1847, Mr. Jandard wrote to Mr. Martin, assistant of the Superior general in Paris: "Our seminary, now away for a big vacation (following a local conflict) consists of 9 seminarians. We will have a tough job making them doctors in theology. The most advanced ones in their courses are explaining the "Epitome Historiae Sacrae" The other ones learn reading and cite a few declensions... Mgr. Baldus's clergy consists of 4 priests and 1 deacon: to wit: 2 Chinese people, almost out of service because of their age and two Europeans, one is old and the other is full of vigor". (*Annales C. M.* XV, 505)

Here is according to the *Messenger du Ningpo* (1922, p.9) the state of the personnel of the Apostolic Vicariate of Honan in 1852:

Mgr. Baldus, Messrs. Jandard André, Dowling Michel, European Lazarists; Messrs. Tchou Joseph, Song Paul, Pong Jean-Baptiste, Chinese Lazarists.

1861. - Mgr. Baldus announced that he would soon have 2 more Chinese priests through the ordination of two deacons, hope of Honan, who were preparing themselves for it. (*Mémoires C.M.* III, 333). Then he added not without sadness: "Honan has been being devastated since at least 12 years by robbers ... When I write this in Pien léang, the capital of Honan, also completely surrounded by gangs of crooks, who could tell me what has happened, good or bad things, to Mr. Jandard, to the students of our seminary and to the residency of Nan yangfou (Tsinkiakang), sanctified in the old days by the stay of our venerable Martyrs?" (*Ibidem*, 340).

*The Lazarists leave Honan.* - The Lazarists who had just brought a new Congregation into China by yielding Mongolia to the Belgian missionaries, brought in, quite soon, a second one by offering the vicariate of Honan to the beginning society of the Foreign Missions of Milano. The transfer happened in principle towards the same time as the one of Mongolia; and in 1865, Mgr. Baldus was transferred to Kiangsi.

Mr. Jandard, appointed Provicar while waiting for the arrival of the new missionaries from Milano, could not see those last ones, for he died prematurely on 16 November 1867 in Peking where he had gone to ask for a little justice for his persecuted Christians (Planchet, 1916, p. 149. - *Hiérarchie catholique*, pp. 79, 100) On 28 June 1869, Mgr. Delaplace, in the name of the Congregation of the Mission, yielded the Apostolic Vicariate to the seminary of Milano. Father Volonteri, missionary in Hongkong since 12 years, was appointed provicar and arrived in Tsinkiakang, the principal residency, on 19 March 1870, with three companions. Mr. Pong, Chinese Lazarist, put them in possession of the Mission.

## 7. Apostolic Vicariate of Kiangsi 1845 1879

*Stages of the Hierarchy in Kiangsi.* - Kiangsi province was separated from the Nankin diocese, on 15 October 1696, then united with Foukien, from 1718 to the month of March 1838. Then it was linked to Tchékiang till 1845. On that date it was erected as a distinct vicariate, at the head of which Mgr. Laribe, C.M. was placed.

The Kiangsi vicariate was divided for the first time in 1879 and a second time in 1885 (Cfr. De Moidrey, *Hiérarchie catholique*, p.99 - Planchet, *op. cit.* pp18 - 196)

*The Seminary of Sankiao.* - 1845. - After the suppression of the seminary of Macao, Mgr. Laribe immediately organized the seminary of Kiangsi in Sankiao, in Chouitchofou. Mr. Anot took its direction and from Nan-tchang he wrote on 22 October to Mr. Salvayre, secretary general of the Lazarists in Paris: "As far as our Minor Seminary is concerned, we have a rather convenient house, which can accommodate some 30 students; for the time being we have 17 of them, but I have good hope that the number will increase" (*Annales C. M.* XII, 95; L, 119).

1847 - Mr. Bernard Peschaud succeeded Mr. Anot a year later. Then Sankiao counted 13 seminarians, 3 of whom were theology students who have done one year and a half of theology; but these theology students, "born in Tchekiang" were

soon asked back by their bishop, Mgr. Lavaissière (*Ibidem*, XXX, 532; XV, 100, 143).

1852 - At the end of 1851, Mr. Peschaud, who was yearning for the missions since some time, informed M. Salvayre that his wishes had come true: "So, I have finally left the seminary; more than 5 years of service made that I earned a honorable vacation; on 23 December I said goodbye to my beloved students and to your dear cousin who took over my duties" (*Ibidem*, XVIII,1).

*Optimism and pessimism of the new Director.* - As far as this 'dear cousin' was concerned, who was Mr. Montels, he confided to Mr. Martins, director of the internal seminary in Paris, his first impressions: "The nice results which Mr. Peschaud's zeal has produced in the seminarians are a good omen for the future. I have been amazed because of the spirit of regularity and exactitude which I found in the seminary of Kiangsi. Concerning spirituality, I would not have thought that Chinese people could reach the level on which I see them. The number of seminarians is the same as the one of the 12 apostles: one of them is doing his second year of theology, 3 others are doing their philosophy. The last 4 ones are still with the "Epitome". This is the business which threatens to weigh on my shoulders for some time. It is about nothing else than forming excellent missionaries, on whom almost the whole future of our Christian communities depends" (*Ibidem*, XVII, 103).

Mr. Montels, who was teaching theology, philosophy, Latin and was studying himself the local language, had help in directing the seminary from Mr. Ly, a Chinese confrere (one of those who went to Paris around 1830), who had the task to form the seminarians for Chinese (*Ibidem*, XVII, 102; XVIII, 168).

One day, Paul Claudel wrote: "In everyday life, there are no people more attractive and more talented at deceiving than Chinese people".

Because he had ignored that fact, he wrote, on 25 March 1852, a few months after the letter full of hope which one has just read, rather melancholically: "The number of seminarians has increased by 1 since Mr. Peschaud left; but I am quite afraid that when the apostolic vicar comes, he will be forced to remove some of them.

Pray much, my dear cousin, for those poor seminarians of China; oh, if you knew how difficult it is to form with them good local priests. It is well possible to form into them a certain facility of speaking about spirituality, but making of them convinced men, that is something else" (*Ibidem*, XVIII, 169).

In Octobre , visit in Sankiao of the apostolic vicar, Mgr. Delaplace, who performs the necessary clean-up and observes that the country is being troubled very much by rebels. (*Ibid*, XVIII,430)

*Seminary amidst revolutions.* - 1854 - Mgr. Delaplace has been transferred to Tchékiang. His successor, Mgr. Danicourt, decided, out of prudence, to transfer the institution of the seminary to what was at that moment a calmer place , to Kioutou, a small village located in the mountains, 3 hours' walk from the town of Tsientchangfou. Hardly settled there, Mr. Montels became quite seriously ill; he was sent to the hospital in Ningpo, where he remained a year. After his return, he dedicated himself to the job of preaching missions. On 26 June rebels beheaded him (*Ibid.* XXII, 468; XXV, 187; XXVI, 279)

Mgr. Danicourt entrusted the seminary to Mr. Rouger, having recently arrived after a short teaching period in Saint-Flour and Alexandria. "The seminary consisted of 8 students of Latin, 4 Philosophy-students and 2 recently ordained young Chinese priests, to whom the ceremonies of Holy Mass and the conferring of sacraments must be taught" (*Ibid.* LIII, 462).

Mr. Rouger had to carry out this task under particularly difficult circumstances. The *Taiping*, or *Tchang-Mao* (long hair) -rebels were laying waste to the whole province, and the seminary had to undergo their disastrous visit several times. It is touching to read in the *Annales de la Congre-gation* what Mr. Rouger told about the alarms caused by the rebels and by the Imperials, who were two of a kind. How often had the seminarians to flee through the mountains and to hide in order to avoid forced enlistment or death! (*Op .cit.* XXII, 347-372; XXIII, 368, 379, 530, 555, 570; XXVI , 281; XXX, 140)

1862. - During this nonstop being on alert, staying in a seminary must not have appeared as very attractive to the students. Nevertheless in October 1862, there

were in Kioutou 24 seminarians, 8 of whom began the ABCD, 7 could read Latin fluently and were studying the grammar.

"At the end of a year, these last ones will perhaps be able to begin philosophy, said Mr. Rouger; however, they are still just children... and then the vocation of several is not well decided yet" (*Ibid.* XXX, 157).

In 1863, Mr. Anot, appointed provicar of Kiangsi after Mgr. Danicourt's demise in Paris (2 February 1860), having gone to Peking to negotiate the affair of the destruction of the buildings of Nan-tchang (18 March 1862), Mr. Rouger set off for Kioukiang in order to hold the procure which one had put there for the whole province. His absence from Kioutou risked to last long... he called to him the two first divisions of his students and left the third one under Mr. Pé Jean's surveillance, in the care of some Chinese teacher (*Ibid.* XXX, 158).

*Exodus from Kioukiang: going there and coming back.* - In 1865, after the rebels' defeat, the village of Kioutou was not more than a heap of ruins; moreover a new rebel movement was always in the air. So it was decided to transfer the whole seminary to Kioukiang, in the neighborhood of the European steamboats, which were protecting the businesses of their compatriots. It took the name of "seminary of Nazareth" (XXXII, 483)

Under Mgr. Baldus, in 1868, some calm having been brought back to the province, the seminary was transferred from Kioukiang to *Tsitou*, a village quite near Kioutou; there it took the name of "seminary Saint-Joseph". Mr. Rouger went on sparing no effort to form his dear seminarians, so that 10 years later he had the consolation of having provided the mission of Kiangsi with 9 local priests. (LIII, 479)

*Mgr. Tagliabue's interim period (1870)* - Mgr. Tagliabue, during a very short time Mgr. Baldus's coadjutor, wrote from Kioukiang to the Superior general on 25 January 1870: "Before leaving Kiangsi, where I passed a few months, I must give you some details on this province, which is really interesting as a Mission... The local priests, confreres or diocesan priests are in a good mood; I saw them at the annual retreat and I confess that I admired their simplicity, their ease, their good

will; we were living like a family and our Lord was our soul. They all parted with joy, happy and willing to work still more ...

The seminary counts 3 young men who have received the Sacred orders and some 20 children who still need a long cultivation, before producing fruits if God gives growth. The seminary is, like everywhere the most difficult job, and where one meets with uncountable difficulties which can only be known by those who direct them. The Chinese mentality is completely different from the European one; one must change oneself in order to see through them, those small interesting but mistrustful beings who have very strong pagan convictions without suspecting it; one must little by little without jolts eradicate those natural seeds and replace them with roots of faith and charity. What is this task hard!. How long is it; and how easily can one fail!..." (XXXV, 583).

*Mgr. Bray, prof in the seminary.* - When Mgr. Bray, Mgr. Baldus's successor arrived in Kiangsi on 12 November 1870, he found there 4 European missionaries and 10 local priests (LIV, 424). He got down to work in order to hasten the moment that he could have new Chinese priests.

The seminary consisted of: 1 deacon and 2 sub-deacons; then another sub-deacon arrived from Honan, who in the past had been ordained and received as Lazarist by late Mgr. Baldus. Mgr. Bray made himself their teacher and taught them theology for more than a year.<sup>3</sup> of them were ordained priests on the feast of Trinity 1872, and the 4<sup>th</sup> one, 2 years later (*Op. cit.*, LII. 611)

1879. - When the division of Kiangsi occurred, this Mission had been worked, from 1832 to 1879, by 15 Chinese Lazarists, formed in Macao and by 4 Lazarists and 9 diocesan Chinese priests formed in Kiangsi itself. One can find short notices about this in the *Annales de la Congrégation de la Mission* (Tome XLV, pp. 269-278<sup>19</sup> )

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<sup>19</sup> Cfr. *Les Lazaristes en Chine (1697-1935) Notes biographiques.* 1 vol. in -8 de VIII 321 p. edited by Van den Brandt, C.M. Imprimerie des Lazaristes, Pékin, 1936.

## 7a. Apostolic Vicariate of North Kiangsi 1879- 1900

*First Division of Kiangsi (1879).* - In 1879 the first division of Kiangsi in two vicariates took place: in *North Kiangsi* and *South Kiangsi*, which was entrusted to the management of Mr. Rouger, provicar, while the first one remained with Mgr. Bray, who wanted to have the seminarians of Tsitou in Foutchow under his surveillance. The seminary counted 4 students in the Major seminary and 18 students of Latin (*Annales C.M.* LII, 612; LXXVIII, 408).

After ordaining 3 priests in 1882, Mgr. Bray wrote to Mr. Pémartin in Paris: "3 Priests!!! That is the fruit of many years of work, of watchfulness, of worry... We have 16 seminarians altogether, students in the Major and the Minor seminary, How many of them will arrive at priesthood? That is God's secret, but it is quite certain that I will not do any ordination anymore, before 7 or 8 years" (*Op. cit.* XLVIII, 386).

At that time the clergy of North Kiangsi counted 9 European Lazarists, 8 Chinese ones and 5 diocesan priests (*Ibid*, XLVIII, 305).

*Second amputation. Rebirth.* -In 1885, a part of North Kiangsi, where the most Christians were, and which was therefore the most fertile for religious vocations, was removed and erected as the apostolic vicariate of *East Kiangsi*.

Following this new division, North Kiangsi remained practically without a local seminary for several years. That was an unfortunate lack; but Mgr. Bray, according to his coadjutor, Mgr. Ferrant, "despite his wishes and efforts, had been unable to fill it. Finally in 1897, Mr. Potel brought together a small group of very young children whom he formed in piety and to whom he taught the first elements of Latin. The job was delicate and difficult. It was blessed by God and in a few years we will collect the fruits which it prepares for us. Of the first recruits, who were 18, we still have (in 1903) 10 seminarians, of whom 4 are in philosophy and six in second year. Next September, this seminary will receive 15 new recruits: children who, since one year and a half have been formed for the seminary in a school called "preparatory". All gives us reason to hope that they will be good seminarians



and that a good number of them will be good priests one day. I dare commend to your pious souvenirs this so interesting and at the same time so capital work" (letter from Mgr. Ferrant to Mr. Angeli, in Paris).

1899. - In 1899 North Kiangsi counted:

9 European Lazarists

2 Chinese Lazarists

2 Chinese diocesan priests

4 students in the Major Seminary and 17 students in the Minor Seminary (*Op.cit.* LXV, 198).

## **7b. Apostolic vicariate of South Kiangsi 1879- 1900**

*Seminant in lacrymis [they sow in tears].* This vicariate was carved off from Kiangsi on 19 August 1879. We do not know a thing about the beginnings of its seminary which was said to go back to 15 August 1881 (*Annales C.M.* LVI, 475), and we have only a few rare statistics - having escaped from looting and fire - about the ecclesiastical personnel of this so sorely tried Mission.

1882 - Lazarists: 5

Diocesan priests: 3

Seminarians: 1 deacon; 1 student of Latin (*Op. cit.* XLVIII, 116)

1884 - Missionaries: 8

Seminarians: 10 (*Ibid.*, L 624)

1886 - Looting and arson of the mission of Kantchow, center of the Vicariate. Residency, schools and all the other buildings were reduced to ruins. 4 big Christian villages were largely burnt or demolished and completely looted. Missionaries and Christians were obliged to flee ... (*Ibid.* LI. 580 -584).

Mgr. Rouger, apostolic vicar fled, sick, to Shanghai. In December he left for France and died in Paris on, 31 March 1887 (*Ibid.* LVI. 480).

*Restoration.* - 1887 - Mgr. Coqset arrived on 5 December in Kantchow where all had to be repaired. With courage, he got down to work and little by little he succeeded in putting everything on its feet again. In 1893 he had 16 students in the major Seminary and 30 in the Minor Seminary (LX, 404). In 1899, he had 5 local diocesan priests. (LXV, 198).

Like conclusion he could write, on 11 July 1903, to Mr. Fiat, superior general: "Concerning the task of preparing a local clergy, we do not forget that; already we have got 7 local priests, 6 of whom received their ordination from my hands. Those ordinations take much time to be prepared" (*Ibid.* LXVIII, 416).

## **7c. Apostolic Vicariate of East Kiangsi, 1885 - 1900.**

*Painful Beginnings of the seminary.* The vicariate of East Kiangsi was detached from North Kiangsi on 11 July 1885. Mgr. Vic became its "sympathetic and valiant administrator" under the title of bishop of Metropolis. He was episcopized, on 24 January 1886.

The lack of appropriated personnel caused the existing embryo of a seminary to pass through a series of crises which ended in its dissolution. In Foutchow, center of the vicariate, there were 16 students in the minor seminary, entrusted to a Chinese priest, Mr. You André. 3 students of the Major Seminary, 2 of whom belonging to South-Kiangsi, were under the direction of Mr. Dauverchain, who was responsible at the same time for the district, for the parish, for the procure, and so on (*Annales C.M.* LII, 298).

1889-1900 Ordination of 3 Chinese priests. However, otherwise, the students of the minor seminary gave little satisfaction, and a bad mentality having come among them, one judged it a good thing to have this work temporarily die out, and to begin, later on, again with new elements (*Ibid.*, LXXXVIII, 408).

1891. This year is marked by the looting of Foutchow. The children who wanted to become priests were sent to the seminaries of South Kiangsi and of Ningpo. (*Ibid.* LVIII. 618)

1893 - The vicariate counted:  
10 European Lazarists and 3 Chinese Lazarists;  
7 Local diocesan priests.

*The reorganization demolished by the Boxers.* - In 1898, Mr. Rameaux began in Foutchow an attempt of a Minor Seminary. The students, formerly sent to Kingan (1891) came back to Kioutou; there were 3 of them. Mr. Thierry taught them theology (*Ibid.* LXV, 64).

1899 - Arsons of Kouitsi and of Kiangpé. Mr. Dellieux, director of the Kouitsi district escaped from being murdered and came and fled to Kioutou. He was appointed to be responsible for the Major Seminary, which had 5 students (*Ibid.* LXXVIII, 409).

1900. - This was the famous year of the Boxers. Kioutou, Tsitou, Kientchang were looted and burnt. The missionaries had to flee to Kioukiang and to Shanghai and the seminarians were sent home temporarily.

When after the troubles, the missionaries coming back to their posts, Mr. Dellieux wrote his students to come to Kioukiang, 2 did not answer this call, but the 2 seminarians who had been sent to Ningpo in 1901, came and replaced them.

At the same time Mr. Liou Thomas organized again the Minor Seminary in Foutchow with 20 students (*Ibid.* LXXVIII, 409)

## **8. Apostolic Vicariate of Tchékiang 1846 - 1900.**

*Erection of the Apostolic Vicariate of Tchékiang.* - On 15 October 1696 Tchékiang was separated from the diocese of Nankin. The persecutions and the lack of

personnel and of Christians brought about its fusion with the vicariate of Foukien in 1718.

The creation of the apostolic vicariate of *Tchékiang-Kiangsi* happened on 14 August 1838; it was entrusted to the Lazarists and Mgr. Rameaux was its first titular.

Finally on 27 March 1846, Tchekiang was erected definitively as a distinct vicariate and it was entrusted to Mgr. Lavaissière C.M. (Planchet, *op.cit.* 1916, p221. - *Hierarchie catholique en Chine*, p.135. - *Annales C.M.*, XXXVIII, 120).

Beginnings of the seminary - In a report written from Ningpo, on 27 July 1847, to the members of the Administrative Council of the Propagation of the Faith, Mgr. Lavaissière wrote: "I have neither a residency for myself nor a seminary for our small number of students."

In 1848, the register of the state of the Mission counted 3 European priests, 3 Chinese priests and "3 ordained students". Those 3 seminarians of the Major seminary of Tchekiang, having been sent, after the dismissal from the seminary of Macao, to the seminary of Sankiao (Kiangsi) had been called back by Mgr. Lavaissière. They had to continue their studies in Tsofoupang, in Tchousan, in Ningpo and receive priesthood, one in 1849, the others in 1850 (*Annales C.M.* XIII, 527; XIV, 114, 143, 155. - *Le petit Messager de Ningpo*, 1934, p.263).

*The Assembly of Ningpo and the seminaries.* - The general Assembly of the heads of the Lazarist Missions in China was opened in Ningpo on 8 September 1851 and presided by Mr. Poussou, the first assistant of the Congregation, delegated by Mr. Etienne, superior general, as an extraordinary representative, in order to study the situation of the Lazarists and the Daughters of Charity, to look for and organize their means of apostolic action (*Mémoires de Chine*, III, 546-552).

In the 11<sup>th</sup> session which concerned the seminaries and the Chinese clergy, on decided on the list of the books that were to be used for Latin and Chinese; one decided that philosophy would be a whole year and theology at least 3 years. One

of the discussed questions was if it was fitting to increase the number of Chinese Lazarists and if it was not better to prefer the formation of a diocesan clergy.

"The assembly sees for this question difficulties on the 2 sides, for on one side by increasing the number of confreres, one increases the charges for the Congregation.. Moreover what would one do with so many confreres.... if the Congregation was obliged to leave China? On the other hand in the missions like ours, where there are so few Christians. it would be difficult for the diocesan priests to provide themselves with what they needed.... Moreover it is certain that the apostolic vicars would have much more problems to direct free priests than confreres. Following these considerations the assembly opined that one should continue almost in the same way that one had followed up till then, leaving all freedom however to the candidate to enter or not to enter in the Company".

*Rank reserved for the local priests.* - For the question, "must we treat Chinese confreres on the same foot as the European confreres?" this was the answer: "The Assembly thinks that one must treat them in everything and everywhere as confreres, and even entrust them, if they -through their piety and their regularity- become worthy of it, with the positions which they can manage. Nevertheless one must act in a way -for many reasons- that the Chinese confreres do not forget that the Missions were entrusted to the Europeans, and that after to God they must be grateful to them for their education and for all the other advantages which they enjoy."

The *Petit Messenger de Ningpo*, which we are quoting (1934, pp. 345-348), "pointed out that this equality which was being discussed, was a fact: testimony: the nomination in every vicariate of a Chinese Lazarist as councilor, and particularly for Tchekiang the one of Mr. Fou, as admonitor of the visitor and procurator of the province."

*The question of a central seminary.* Finally one discussed, if instead of having a Major seminary per vicariate, it would not be wise to gather the philosophy - and theology - students in one central building. This is what one was thinking in 1851:

"The Assembly recognizes the big advantage that one would have in having only 1 Major Seminary ... But the execution of this measure presents so many difficulties that the Assembly thinks that for the time being they must give it up for 2 capital reasons: 1° There is no money to have a central seminary; 2° the number of people to direct it is not sufficient...."

*Successive transfers of the seminary.* 1854. - In an account written in 1868, Mgr. Delaplace wrote: "When I was transferred to Tchékiang in 1854, this is what I found: Missionaries: 1 European, 4 Chinese... A seminary with some twelve pupils, 6 of whom had to be dismissed (*Annales C.M.*XXXIII, 415)".

The seminary needed indeed a serious reform. It had not been possible to observe the rules, established by Mgr. Lavaissière, deceased prematurely (1849). The to-ings and fro-ings of the young men, placed either in Tchousan, or in Ningpo, the frequent change of the director who, most of the time because of the lack of missionaries, had to manage also the faithful, and other causes, all that had not made it possible to favor either the studies or the discipline (*Petit Messager de Ningpo*, 1934, p.486).

In the meantime the Taiping or Tchang-Mao rebels occupied the province, particularly Hou-tchow in 1859, Ningpo and Hangtchow in 1861 (*Mémoires C.M.*, III, pp. 286 ss.).

On the other hand, on the island of Tchousan, the missionaries continued their work... And if we ignore the number of Latin students who were there then, we do know that there were 5 students of the Major Seminary, 3 of whom persevered and received priesthood, one in 1865, the two other ones in 1866 (*Petit Messager de Ningpo*, 1934, 680).

*The seminaries under Mgr. Guierry* - On 3 June 1870, Mr. Salvan, director of the seminary, wrote to Mgr. Guierry, Mgr. Delaplace's successor: "The seminary marches rather well: its 16 pupils do not offer any extraordinary thing, neither concerning virtue, nor concerning science ... As soon as you arrive, we will be

able to present you with 3 or 4 for the Minor Orders, who will go and practice their first arms, while accompanying the missionaries in a campaign" (*Ibid.* 1935, p.75).

1871. - This year the students of the major Seminary were separated from the ones of the Minor Seminary: 3 theology students and 2 philosophy students were sent to Hangtchow, " as well to provide them more easily with security if a persecution erupts, as to form them better" (*Ibid.* 1935, p. 282).

1878. - Among the "Answers to the 33 questions asked about Tchékiang by the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda on 16 June 1878" let us glean the following:

"21 Besides the Apostolic vicar there are 7 European priests and 7 local priests; there is only 1 local cleric ...

22 There are 2 seminaries, one of which consists of 5 students who do their ecclesiastical studies and the other one of 9 students who learn Latin...

23 We meet with ecclesiastical vocations, but rarely...

32 It is extremely difficult to find firm vocations among our neophytes. Among 10 students of our seminaries, we must feel fortunate if we can find 1 priest..." (*Annales C.M.* XLV, 137)

1881. - The spiritual accounts of the Mission of Tchékiang give:

European Lazarist priests: 9; Chinese Lazarists: 3

Chinese diocesan priests: 4

Seminarians: Major Seminary: 2; Minor Seminary: 9; (*Ibid.* XLVII. 116).

*Mgr. Reynaud's Episcopate.* - In 1884, Mgr. Reynaud succeeded Mgr. Guierry, deceased in Ningpo on 8 August 1883. Appointed bishop of *Fussulan* and Apostolic vicar of Tchékiang on 7 March 1884, Mgr. Reynaud was episcopized on the following 29 June. At the occasion of the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his consecration, one published a "comparative list of the state of the Mission between 1884 and 1894", copied by the *Petit Messager de Ningpo* of 1936, p. 247:

	1884	1894
European Lazarists	11	12
Chinese Lazarists	4	6
Chinese diocesan priests	3	2
Students in the Major Seminary	7	9
Students in the Minor Seminary	13	19

N.B. We must point out as obstacles for the apostolic activities during this period: the war between France and China (1884-1885) , and the collapse of the seminary of Hangtchow (1860) during which a seminarian met with his death.

1897. Mr. Barberet, director of the Saint-Vincent seminary (island of Tchousan) wrote, on 10 May, to Mr. Fiat, superior general: "The impetus which our honored Apostolic Vicar gave to the charitable activities of our province produced many fruits. The number of Christians increased to become double and consequently, the movement of the vocations increased in proportion. Therefore during several years, candidates for the seminary were numerous, but, for lack of space, we were obliged to postpone their admission.

Last year, thanks to big sacrifices, Mgr. Reynaud had a wing, parallel to the church, built, which can accommodate easily our 40 seminarians... Mr. Meugniot, who recently came and paid us a short visit, was very satisfied with the arrangement and with the nice shape of our seminarians. Our students, indeed, show the best dispositions; their good mentality, their devotion, their application for the study give me a great deal of consolation. Because of the beautiful movement which brings catechumens from everywhere, we found the hope of the evangelization of our vicariate which lacks workers, on our students. (*Annales C.M.*, LXIII, 260)

1899. - According to the "General List of the state of the Missions of the Lazarists during the period of 1898-1899" Tchekiang counted at that moment:

14 European Lazarists;

11 Chinese Lazarists;

3 Chinese diocesan priests

3 students in the Major Seminary and 43 students in the Minor Seminary (*Ibid.*LXV, 198)



1900. - Of the 9 districts, which composed Mgr. Reynaud's vicariate, 5 had to suffer in a special way. The losses were above all material, and when calm had come back, the missionaries could go back to their apostolate with more zeal than ever. (*Ibid.*, LXVI, 554)

## Conclusion

In 1882, Mgr. Bray, apostolic vicar of Northern Kiangsi concluded his account about the state of the Mission in this way: "A word about the formation of the clergy. There have been complaints sometimes about the fact that, because of our lack of workers, we did not form enough local priests. Alas! Do people in France understand the difficulties that must be overcome and the moments of slowness that are necessary for the formation of a Chinese clergy. One must take the child at about 12 years and begin sometimes by teaching him the morning and evening prayers and then some catechism. Then the study of the Chinese language comes up, which many Chinese people study all their life, in order to sit with honor an examination for the baccalaureat, without ever passing. Nevertheless a Chinese priest must know his language quite well, and he must apply himself to that study during 12 to 15 years.

Besides that, he must learn some Latin and this language, so weird for him is poles apart from his mother language. How many difficulties to get to understand reasonably well the simplest lessons of the breviary and the philosophy - and theology - authors which one will put in his hands after staying 10 or 12 years in the seminary!

In the meantime, among those who will have been admitted, how many have been obliged to go back to their family because of lack of enough capacity or of regular enough behavior, or because of illness! Generally of the 10 students who remain 2 or 3 years among us as candidates for the priesthood, only 1 arrives in theology; many are sent back after the first or the second year of the seminary; a few after 3 or 4 years of theology, for lack of vocation.

Let those of our confreres in Europe, who judge that we do not form enough Chinese priests, come and stay a few years in China and when they have seen what is going on, let them condemn us if they find us guilty or too finicky. In the meantime we shall go on following the policy shown by our precursors, and we shall try to promote to the priesthood the most possible candidates, but the number will still be very limited" (*Annales C.M.* XLVII, p.270).

That was: 'speaking wisely, speaking sense' according to the experience, as many other people did since then, especially Mgr. de Guébriant and Father Brou, S.J. Did this last one not finish his "Notes to serve the history of the local clergy in China" published in the *Revue d'Histoire des Missions* (December 1926 and September 1927) with these words? "European missionaries have, at no moment of the history of Christian China, lost interest for the big problem in question: local clergy. More than anybody else, they have seen and felt its need. If they have not done more, one must be grateful to them for having done so much in so difficult circumstances. The harshness, which one shows sometimes for them in circles where excitement seems to take the place of being fair, proves - that is the least one can say- an evident lack of critical spirit."

Leaving moreover the false critics with their theoretic considerations, the missionaries have worked practically always, have always made progress, have always developed the framework of the local clergy "on the apostolic battle field".

So, for instance, the sole Lazarists, whose action has just been studied partially in this article, could count, in 1899 in their different vicariates of China, beside 79 European Lazarists, 41 Chinese Lazarist priests, 46 Chinese diocesan priests, 50 students in the Major Seminaries, 234 students in Minor Seminaries ( *Annales C.M.* LXV, 198).

In 1913 they enjoyed to have together with 10 Apostolic vicars and 177 European Lazarists: 55 Chinese Lazarists and 132 diocesan priests, among whom 120 were Chinese. Their 21 seminaries held 46 students or seminarian novices and 690 diocesan seminarians (Cfr. De Moidrey, *Hiérarchie catholique en Chine*, 1914, p. 195).

Finally, in 1936, they had the consolation of seeing on the List of the state of their Missions of China:

15 bishops, 3 of whom were Chinese;  
 352 Lazarist priests, of whom 138 Chinese  
 359 diocesan priests, of whom 351 Chinese  
 32 Lazarist lay brothers, of whom 20 Chinese  
 40 Chinese seminarians C.M.  
 127 diocesan students in the Major Seminaries  
 519 diocesan students in the Minor Seminaries  
 261 pupils in schools, preparing for the seminary  
 (Cfr. *Bulletin catholique de Pékin*, 1936, p.530).

We shall conclude, with the *Bulletin catholique de Pékin* (1927, p. 667), that these splendid developments of the Work of the Local Clergy are indeed the normal outcome, in the time marked by the wisdom of the Holy See, of the "humble and persevering efforts made by the old missionaries". Late lamented Mgr. Tchao said so, speaking to the students of the major seminary of Chala; we think that dispassionate and impartial history will say so, too.

Shanghai December 1936 . Henri Crapez, C.M.