

M. Holmes

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AUTHENTICK

MEMOIRS

OF THE

Christian Church in *China*.



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A Series of FACTS to evidence the Causes
of the Declension of CHRISTIANITY
in that EMPIRE.

By JOHN LAURENCE DE MOSHEIM,
Chancellor of His Majesty's University of Gottingen.

TRANSLATED from the GERMAN.



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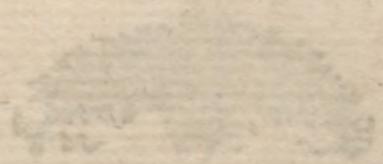
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THE HISTORY OF THE

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M E M O I R S

O F T H E

Christian Church in *China*.

THE following is an Account of the Revolutions among that Part of the *Romish* Communion, which is established in *China*, of the Controversies which have arisen among the Missionaries, and of the Disturbance occasioned thereby, even amongst the Subjects of the Bishop of *Rome* in *Europe*. It may seem proper to begin where Father *Du Halde* leaves off; but I find it indispensably necessary to go farther back to the Infancy of the Church in *China*. It will be difficult to understand what has pass'd of late, without knowing many of the preceding Transactions. The whole History of this Church is connected. The latest Events are Consequences of the Measures first taken. Indeed there is another Reason for this Retrospect. *Du Halde* has not related all that he might and would have related, had he been an Impartial Historian, and in some Instances he departs from the Historical Character, to assume that of a Panegyrist and Arbitrator.

tor. I think it expedient to guard the Reader against the Influence of his Eloquence, as well as of his Silence. This cannot be done by a mere Continuation of his History. However I shall be as concise as possible. My Authorities are unexceptionable. Most of them are borrowed from both the contending Parties, neither of which will choose to dispute the Equity of Judgments pronounced at *Rome*, and of the Bulls of Pope *Clement* the eleventh, and *Benedict* the Fourteenth. And from these Authorities my Account is chiefly extracted. I shall carefully distinguish Matters of doubtful or uncertain Credit, and my own Reflections will be easily discern'd from the Testimony of others.

The Founders of the *Romish* Church in *China* were three *Italian* Jesuits, who were sent into that Empire by the Superiors of their Order towards the End of the sixteenth Century; *Roger*, a *Neapolitan*, *Pasio* of *Bologna*, and *Matthew Ricci* of *Mazerata* in the Marquisate of *Ancona*. It is true, that before these, some other *Roman* Ecclesiasticks travell'd to *China*, and promis'd to found a Christian Church there. *Halde* and all the *Jesuits* are cautious of mentioning these Predecessors of their Brethren. And the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*, who are at Enmity with the *Jesuits*, give them incessant Praise. The Effect of great Partiality, Envy and Indiscretion on both sides; on the one hand a needless Caution, on the other an ill-grounded Vanity. The *Jesuits* might safely mention, and their Enemies would suffer little by forgetting them. Whatever their good Intentions might be, their Travels and Labours proved fruitless. The only Merit they have, is that of landing in *China*, before the *Jesuits*, and wishing to preach there, if they could have obtained Permission. It is certain, that the three *Jesuits*

suits beforementioned, were the first Founders of this Branch of their Church. They had learned the *Chinese* Language before their Arrival, so that they could immediately enter upon their Commission.

Pasio and *Roger* had not been many Years engaged in it, before they were recall'd. *Ricci* was therefore the only one remaining, and he carried on his Undertaking with great Zeal and Affiduity. In very few Years he had a numerous Congregation, consisting of the *Literati* as well as the Populace. He was assisted in Time by Fellow-Labourers, but whilst he lived, he was at their Head, in point of Abilities as well as Rank. He knew more perfectly than any of them, how to affect and win the Minds of all Orders of Men, and to season the Doctrine he taught according to the Palate and Genius of the *Chinese*. So that he justly merits the Title given him, by his Order, of Father and Founder of the Church of *Cbina*.

Ricci was a Man of no common Abilities. Besides a natural Complacency, Discretion and Benevolence, he had great Sagacity and Learning, was patient and indefatigable to a high Degree, ready in conforming himself to every one's Opinions and Views, and had an unbounded Zeal to promote the Interests of his Church. He was perfectly skill'd in mathematical Learning, which of all others is most esteemed in *Cbina*. This open'd to him the Hearts of the Great and Learned. He spent seven successive Years among those idolatrous Priests, whom they call the *Bonzes*, and was instructed by them in the Language, Customs and Learning of the *Chinese* *. His Parts and Temper
won

* See *Lettres edifiantes & curieuses des Missionnaires*, Tom. VIII. p. 229.

won him the Affection and Esteem of all his Teachers. At leaving this School, he was well enough vers'd in *Chinese* Learning, to be a Match for the greatest Philosophers of the Empire. He laid aside the Habit of a *Jesuit*, because he perceiv'd it brought him into Contempt, and put on that of a *Chinese* Philosopher. This improved the Reputation he had already acquired by his Accomplishments. The Philosophers of the Country embrac'd him as a Brother and Member of their Society, and the People honoured him the more, for seeing him respected by their Sages.

He wrote some Books in Recommendation of the Christian Faith, which were eagerly read, for they were written in the Language used at Court, and among the *Literati*. The principal Book he published was printed at *Pekin*, the Capital of the Empire, in the Year 1603, and is entitl'd, *Of the Divine Law*. This Piece is censur'd and extoll'd by different Parties. If we believe the Enemies of the *Jesuits*, it is abominable, in that it connects and intermixes the Doctrine of *Jesus* with the Morals of *Confucius*. As I know no more of the Book, than what is reported by the *Jesuits* and their Adversaries, I cannot give my Opinion. The Life of *Ricci* is written at large by a masterly Hand, Father *Orleans*, a *French Jesuit*. It is hardly possible to read this Life without admiring the great Abilities of the Man, tho' the Application of them may not in every Case be defensible.

But *Ricci* with all his Abilities, Learning and Experience would have been the Pastor of a very small Flock, had he pursued only the Methods of preaching and converting common to the *Romish* Clergy. The Prudence of his Society was of eminent Use to him, and seconded his Labours more effectually,

ally, than the Simplicity of the Gospel. The *Jesuit* Missionaries preach Christianity very differently from the other Monks and Ecclesiasticks. A *Dominican*, a *Franciscan*, an *Austin* Frier, or a secular Priest, when he becomes an Apostle, carries nothing with him, but a warm Zeal for the Faith, his School Learning, which is of more Detriment than Use to him, and a considerable Stock of superstitious Opinions. Besides this, many of them are willing to make Advantage of the Credulity of the People, and promote the Credit of their Religion by a pious Fraud and a pretended Miracle. This is the whole spiritual Apparatus of an ordinary *Romish* Missionary. But a *Jesuit* leaves his School-Learning at home, and instead of it carries with him some Rules of Prudence inculcated into him by his Superiors and Instructors. Of these Rules the following are the principal:

I. A Missionary, who hopes for Success, must assume the Character of a Divine, or Philosopher of the Country in which he preaches. This Conduct removes great Part of the Prejudice usually entertain'd against Foreigners. A *Jesuit* therefore, as soon as he enters upon his Office in a Heathen Country, changes his Character. In *India* he becomes a *Braman*, in *Siam* a *Talapoin*, in *China* either a *Bonze*, or a *Confucian* and Philosopher, in *Africa* he appears a *Marabou*. A poor *Capuchin* or *Dominican* retains his *European* Character, and makes that of a Mendicant Frier, consistent with that of a Preacher. Hence he is of little or no Repute, whilst the *Jesuit*, in his Mask, gains the Hearts and Attention of the People.

II. A Missionary must make it his earnest Endeavour to be favour'd at Court. In order thereto,

he must leave no Means untried, by Presents, by Respect, by Attendance, and other the like Practices, to ingratiate himself with those who are at the Head of Affairs.

III. He must, if possible, insinuate himself so far into the Confidence of the Great and Powerful, that he may be consulted in Matters of State and Government. A Missionary, who has succeeded in this, may preach on securely. There are some other Rules under this Head, which for the sake of Brevity I omit.

IV. A Missionary must conform to the Opinions and Customs of the People he is sent to, provided they be not manifestly inconsistent with the Faith he is commissioned to preach.

V. He must make use of whatever has the Appearance of Truth and Piety in the Religion of the Country where he preaches, and endeavour to reconcile it to his own Doctrine. It is not material, that this cannot be done without distorting the *Heathen* as well as the *Christian* Religion. The little Sin committed upon such an Occasion is amply atoned for by the Benefit it produces.

VI. He must not abolish, or prohibit, ancient Customs and Ceremonies, to which an ignorant People is generally much attach'd. Let the People retain the Customs of their Fathers. It is sufficient to sanctify them, that is, to separate all that is manifestly idolatrous and superstitious, and with a good Design to make the rest consistent.

VII. A Missionary must have Money, and Trade may enable him to procure it. If therefore he can privately carry on a little Commerce, he does well. It is no Disgrace to his Office, whilst he converts his Gains to the Service of God.

I might enumerate more of these Rules, but it would be needless, as the rest follow from these. If it be asked, What Authority I have to assert, that the *Jesuits* observe these Rules in their Missions? I answer, it appears not merely from the Writings of their Enemies, but from their own Conduct. As this is in all their Missions their constant Practice, it is highly probable, that Directions for those Purposes are given them by their Fraternity. Indeed most of these a *Jesuit* would hardly be ashamed to confess. Perhaps he may treat the third and the last as mere Calumny; but the rest he would call Instances of Apostolical Prudence. The most able of their Brethren have already done so. I appeal to *Fabri*, to the great *Gabriel Daniel*, to their Writings published in the *Gbinese*, and to the Letters of their Missionaries.

Ricci most diligently observed the principal of these Directions, and by their Means invited and drew many Persons of all Ranks in *Cbina* into the Church he had founded. He lived, wrote, conversed, and dressed like a *Cbinese* Philosopher and Scholar. His Learning and other Merit recommended him to the Persons in Power. He reconciled the ancient Religion of the Country, in some measure, to the first Principles of Theology, and united the Maxims of the great *Confucius* with the Words of Life deliver'd by *Jesus Christ*. He suffer'd his Converts to follow the Customs of their Fathers, and to observe, as before, those ancient Usages and Ceremonies, which were founded in the Laws of the Empire, prohibiting only whatever admitted of no Gloss or Pretence, and might affect the first Truths of Christianity.

The Religion of *Cbina* is twofold. One as ancient as the Empire itself, and in all probability

introduced by its Founders. The other is of much later Date, and imported from *India* not long after the Birth of our Saviour. The latter has Idols, Temples, Sacrifices, Priests, Monks, Festivals, and many external Rites and Ceremonies. The former is free from all these, and is, perhaps, the most gross and simple of all the Religions that ever were taught in the World. It prescribes Reverence to an invisible Being, residing in the visible Heaven, and distributing from thence Happiness and Misery amongst Mankind; but it enjoins no particular Worship to him: So that Temples, Priests, Assemblies, Sacrifices and Rites, are Things entirely foreign to it. The Emperor alone, at certain Times, offers a Sacrifice to this powerful Being in the Name of his People. The moral Part of this old System is short and easy: It consists in honouring the Servants of *Tien* or *Chang-Ti*, (for so the supreme Being is called) that is, the Spirits presiding over the Mountains, Rivers, Forests, and other Parts of the Earth, and in some Duties necessary to the Welfare of the Public, and of every particular Family. Excepting these Duties, it allows great Latitude to the natural Inclinations and Appetites of Men.

The later Religion, that Idolatry I mean, which was introduced by *FO*, or *FOE*, a celebrated *Indian* Impostor, has a considerable Party among the Populace and Women, but it is only tolerated. The wise Men, and those of Distinction, profess the old Religion, which is besides the Religion of the State, profess'd and even preached by the Emperor himself, and protected by the Laws of the Empire. *Ricci* was too wise and cautious to embrace the other Party. And this, which he did embrace, happen'd to be so circumstanced, that he
formed

formed hopes of reconciling it to the Christian Faith. He therefore signified to the People, that he was only come to renew, and, by the Addition of some essential Tenets, to reform the antiquated Religion of their Forefathers, that he preached the same *Tien* or *Chang-Ti*, whom the old Laws of their Country pointed out to them, and that his moral System was in truth no other than that, which was propos'd by their great Philosopher *Cumfu-zu* or *Confucius*, after the Example of the first Sages and Fathers of the Empire. This was naturally pleasing to a People more vain and tenacious of the Reverence due to their Ancestors, than any Nation in the World. I will not join in the Accusation, that he purposely wrested and falsified the Christian Doctrine, to adapt it to the Opinions and Prejudices of the *Chinese*. His Enemies and the Enemies of his Order have not yet clearly prov'd this Charge. But thus much cannot be denied, that he in several respects misinterpreted the old *Chinese* Faith, to render it more agreeable to Nature, Reason and true Religion.

China is the Country where the Genius of Ceremony principally resides. The People are by long Tradition and by the Laws of the Empire inured to so many Rites and Customs, that Nature seems totally suppress'd in them. Whatever is done in publick is done by Number, Weight and Measure, by a certain Rule and Proportion. A particular Council is established to take care of the Support of national Customs, and to punish the Contemners thereof. Most of them were introduced chiefly for Reasons of State, and have no Connexion either with the old or new Religion. But some few have a religious Appearance, and seem to be Consequences of certain Doctrines. The principal of these

these are the Veneration of their Ancestors and of the great Philosopher *Confucius*. Every Family in *China* is bound at certain Times to assemble in a Hall, which is call'd the Hall of the Fathers and Forefathers, and there to pay a kind of Worship, somewhat like Sacrifice and Idolatry, to their Ancestors, whose Names are written upon little Tables or Registers hung up in the Hall. They prostrate themselves before these Tables, kill Beasts, burn gilt Paper in Honour of their Fathers, and promise themselves, that Heaven will reward these Marks of Love and Respect towards those, from whom they are descended. Much the same Tribute of Respect is paid by all the *Literati* to the great Teacher of the Empire, *Confucius*.

Ricci, however disposed to indulge his Converts in the Customs and Laws of their Country, hesitated much at these Ceremonies, which seemed to amount to a spiritual Sacrifice. He deliberated eighteen Years, whether he should permit them or not? The Result of so long a Deliberation was, to tolerate them not as religious, but political Customs. This Resolution was doubtless chiefly suggested by the Desire he had, to enlarge his Flock, and to secure it from Reproach and Persecution. Whoever in *China* neglects the usual Reverence to his Ancestors forfeits the Character of an honest Man and good Citizen; and whoever neglects that paid to *Confucius* forfeits all Pretensions to publick Honours and Employments. So that *Ricci* would have made but few Disciples, and those must have been continually molested, had he prohibited this Custom. He therefore look'd about him for Arguments to reconcile the Toleration of it to his Conscience. Men are seldom at a loss in a Case like this. The Understanding is deluded by the Will, and

a slender Reed assumes the Air and Strength of a Pillar.

The Reader will judge better of the Force of those Arguments, which convinced *Ricci* of the Innocence of the Ceremonies he was willing to tolerate, by perusing them. * “ The *Mabometans*, “ said he, who are Enemies to Idolatry, perform “ these Honours to their Ancestors and to *Confucius*; therefore they are not Idolatry. ” As if *Mabometans* were Judges in *Christian* Cases of Conscience, or as if the Opinion of a *Chinese Mabometan*, that is, of a *half Mabometan*, was of Weight to determine what is Superstition and Idolatry. Again; “ The *Chinese* respect neither their Ancestors, nor *Confucius*, as Deities or Saints; their “ Reverence to their Ancestors is only to them, “ as Persons to whom they owe their Lives, and “ *Confucius* is honour’d merely as a Philosopher “ and Legislator. ” Here the Matter in Question is taken for granted. “ Those who kill the Beasts “ at these Ceremonies are not Priests, but Butchers.” This would be some Argument, were it essential to a Sacrifice, to have it slain by the Hands of a Priest. Further, “ in the Year 1384. the Emperor “ by an Edict prohibited Columns to be erected “ to *Confucius*, and that sort of Honour to be “ paid him, which is usually paid by Idolaters to “ Persons deceased. ” This is supposing, that Laws are always strictly obeyed, or that it is impossible for them to grow obsolete. He alledged again, “ that the same Honours, which are paid to “ deceased Ancestors and to *Confucius*, are likewise “ paid to the living Emperors and the great Offi-
cers

* See *Gabriel Daniel* Histoire Apologetique de la Conduite des Jesuites de la Chine, dans le III Tome du Recueil de ses Oeuvres p. 4. &c.

“cers of State.” It is strange, so judicious a Man should forget, that Marks of Honour derive their Value from the Persons towhom they are exhibited, and that consequently those offered to Persons deceased, and living, are of a very different Nature. A Man of Sense would never conclude, that because he may innocently prostrate himself before the Emperor, he may therefore with a safe Conscience fall down before the Image of a Person deceased, or before the Table, upon which his Name is recorded. Besides, the Honours done to the Emperor and his Ministers are not the same with those others; at least no Beast is ever kill'd for an Offering to the Emperor and his Mandarins. He urged in the last Place, “that these Customs were established in *Cbina* before Idolatry took place there, therefore they are not Idolatrous.” This Argument takes it for granted, that there could be no Idolatry in *Cbina*, before that of *Foe* was introduced.

However bad as these Reasons were, they satisfied the doubtful Conscience of the *Jesuit*. He permitted his Converts to reverence their Ancestors and *Confucius* after the Custom of their Country, with only some few Limitations. Whatever was not expressly required by the Laws of the Empire relating to this Ceremony, he enjoined them to omit, and at the Observation of the Rest, to lift up their Hearts to God. That is, to outward Appearance they were to worship their Ancestors and *Confucius*; inwardly, in Spirit, they were to worship God. Thus the converted *Chinese* deceiv'd the unconverted, who were assembled with them in the Hall. The Christians bowed with seeming Devotion to the Tables of their Ancestors, and thus avoided Offence, whilst they were addressing their Thoughts and bending their Souls to God.

Whilst

Whilst none but *Jesuits* were preaching in *China*, *Ricci's* Manner of converting and his Connivances proved successful. The Christians, however oppressed in some Parts, increased by these Means exceedingly. But their Tranquillity was disturbed by the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*, who came in the Year 1630 to assist the *Jesuits*, in cultivating the Vineyard they had planted. The new Labourers, being entirely unacquainted with the *Jesuitical* Rules of converting, were astonished, when they saw Christians prostrate before *Confucius* and the Tables of their Ancestors, and boldly declared, that their Conscience obliged them to condemn so superstitious and idolatrous a Practice. A warm Controversy ensued betwixt them and the *Jesuits*. Neither Party being disposed to yield, the Matter was refer'd to the Decision of their supreme Judge at *Rome*. The Enemies of the *Jesuits* were Plaintiffs. A Dominican Frier, *John Baptista Moralez*, set out for *Rome*, and laid before the Congregation *de propaganda fide*, his own and his Brethren's Doubts concerning the *Chinese* Ceremonies tolerated by the *Jesuits* among the Profelytes. The Congregation, as usual, called in the Opinion of many Divines on the Subject of this Complaint, and at last determined, that those Ceremonies were superstitious and intolerable. As the *Dominican* had represented the Hall of the Ancestors as a Temple, and the whole Ceremony as Idolatry and Sacrifice, they could not well pass a milder Judgment. Pope *Innocent* the tenth confirmed it on the 12th of *September* in the Year 1645. and commanded all Preachers of Christianity in *China*, under Pain of Excommunication, to conform to this Decree, till the holy See should determine otherwise. The *Jesuits* in *China* received this Injunction with

Veneration, and laid it aside with Contempt. This is their usual Manner of treating those Decrees of the Bishops of *Rome*, which contradict the Customs, Maxims and Opinions of their Society. They are bound more strictly, than any other Order, to obey the Pope, and no Order obeys him less than they. It may be accounted for among other Reasons by this, that their Superiors, and their learned Brethren, are esteemed by them to be better Judges of what is useful and pernicious to the Church, than the Popes and their Councils. To this Injunction, at least, they paid so little Regard, that several Years passed before they sent a Counter-Representation to *Rome*. In the mean time they permitted what was forbidden by the Decree, and thought themselves justified, because the Decree was grounded on a false Report. Their Disobedience however occasioned much Disquiet and Offence. At length, therefore, they judged it necessary to send one of their Brethren to *Rome*, to solicit the Repeal of the Decree obtained by the *Dominicans*.

Martin Martini was the Solicitor. He discharged his Commission with the greatest Dexterity. Instead of applying to the Congregation, who had pass'd the former Sentence, and who he foresaw would hardly retract their own Judgment, he went immediately to the then Pope *Alexander the Seventh* himself, and represented to him, in a Writing at large, that those *Chinese* Customs were free from Idolatry and Superstition, and tended only to the Peace and Welfare of the Empire. The Pope left the Decision of the Matter to the holy Office or Court of Inquisition, undoubtedly at the Solicitation of the *Jesuit*, whose Business it was to keep it out of the hands of the Congregation *de propagandâ fide*. The Event answered his Wishes. The holy Office

Office rejected the Rites, which the *Jesuits* had rejected, and permitted those which they had permitted. Their Judgment was approved and confirmed by the Pope, on the 23d of *March* 1656. The *Jesuits* at first received this favourable Decision as a Shield, to be made use of in Case of Necessity. They did not publish it in *China*, but retained it privately, by way of Answer to any future Aggressors. But in time their Caution abated, and their Shield was converted into a Sword. They produced the Decree imported by *Martini*, and maintained it to be a Rule for the Conduct of all the *Romish* Clergy in *China*, since it annulled that Decree, which had been sent by the Hands of *Moralez*. This Indiscretion renewed the War. The *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* importuned the Pope and his Ministers with fresh Complaints and Remonstrances, protested in the most solemn Terms, that the Ceremonies in Question were the worst of Abominations, and desired that the holy Office would inform them, whether the former Decree of Pope *Innocent* the Tenth, was indeed annulled by this new one produced by the *Jesuits*? The Inquisition gave an Answer, which might seem suspicious or forged, had we no Authority for the Genuineness of it, besides that of the Enemies of the Church of *Rome*. But the infallible Testimony of Pope *Benedict* the Fourteenth, who recites it in his famous Bull, *Ex quo singulari*, &c. renders the Truth of it beyond all Dispute. The Inquisition answered, "That the former Decree of Pope *Innocent* was by no means annulled by this of Pope *Alexander*; that both were to be observed, each according to its Circumstances, and according to the Tendency of those Questions and Doubts

“Doubts which had occasioned it.”* The two Decrees, which were both to be in some measure valid, were as different as Light and Darkeness. The one condemns the *Chinese* Ceremonies, the other permits them. And both were to be observed by the Missionaries in *China*. There are but two Solutions of this Difficulty. Either the holy Office meant, that if the *Dominicans* had made a true Representation of the *Chinese* Customs, then the Decree obtained by them should be in force, and take place of the other; but if the *Jesuits* had truly represented the Nature and Tendency of these Customs, then the Decree imported by them should be valid. Or if this was not their Meaning, it could be no other, than that every one might follow his own Opinion; whoever was persuaded, that the Honours paid to *Confucius*, and to their Ancestors, were idolatrous and superstitious, might adhere to the first Decree; and whoever judged them to be innocent and indifferent might follow the second. Whether we admit this, or the other Sense, the Answer of the holy Office amounts to nothing, and leaves every Missionary in *China* to act according to his own Persuasion and Conscience. This is the Practice at *Rome*: When two powerful Parties contend about Matters of Religion, the Judgment pronounced is commonly interpretable in favour of either

* I choose here to transcribe the very Words of Pope Benedict the Fourteenth; “Respondit sacra Inquisitionis Congregatio, præfatum decretum adhuc vigere habitâ ratione rerum, quæ fuerunt in dubiis expositæ, neque illud fuisse circumscriptum à decreto sacre Inquisitionis, quod Anno 1656 exaravit: imo esse omnino observandum juxta quæsitâ, circumstantias & omnia ea, quæ in antedictis dubiis continentur. Declaravit pariter eodem modo esse observandum prædictum sacre congregationis decretum anni 1656, juxta quæsitâ, circumstantias & reliqua in ipsis expressa.”

either side. Such are the Decisions of that visible Head of the Church, who pretends to Infallibility and extraordinary Illumination! This Answer, which left both sides in possession of their own Opinion, was given in the Year 1669, and *Clement* the Ninth, who was then Pope, made no Scruple to honour it with his Apostolical Sanction.

In the same Year commenced the golden Age of the Church in *China*. It had been long and severely persecuted. At the Death of the Emperor *Xung-Chi*, the first of the *Tartar* Family now on the Throne, his Successor *Cang-bi*, or *Cam-bi*, was not of the Age for Government. During his Minority, his Regents conspired with the Nobles to extirpate the Christian Doctrine, which had then spread very far. The Execution of this Design was begun in a Manner, that struck Terror into every Christian Teacher and Hearer in *China*. *John Adam Schall*, the celebrated *German* Jesuit, who was then seventy four Years of Age, at the Head of the *Chinese* Mission, and in a considerable Post at Court, was in the Year 1664 thrown into a Dungeon, and narrowly escaped a most cruel Death. The next Year it was unanimously resolved by all the Ministers of State, that the *Christian* Law was false, and dangerous to the Empire, and therefore it was forbidden under Pain of Death. Upon this the Christians, and their Pastors, endured a Variety of Sufferings. In 1669 the young Emperor took the Reins of Government himself, and immediately the horrid Storm against the Christians ceased. This Prince had uncommon Talents: He was particularly the Patron of Arts and Sciences, and hence the Church derived its Prosperity during his long and glorious Reign. Most of the *Jesuits* in *China* were well versed in those Parts of Learning and Mechanicks, which

which *Cam-bi* esteemed. He therefore invited them to Court, availed himself of their Advice in Council, gave them considerable Employments with large Salaries, and even intrusted them with a Share in the Government. This Favour of his to the *Jesuits* procured for the *Church* all the Protection it stood in need of, and promoted its Increase. It flourished considerably more, when several *French Jesuits* arrived, who by their engaging Address, by being conversant in the *Chinese* Language, as well as that of the *Tartars*, by their Skill in Mathematical Learning, in Politics, in Mechanics, in Medicine, and in other Branches of Knowledge, entirely won the Emperor's Heart. They soon discover'd the Monarch's Inclinations and Views, and by employing all their Genius and Sagacity in pleasing and entertaining him, at last became necessary to him. They were his Instructors, whom he daily attended to, his Friends, his Physicians, and his Counsellors; they serv'd him as Painters, Turners, Watchmakers, Founders, Accomptants, Astronomers, and Masters of the Ordinance. In short they directed every Thing at the Court of *Pekin*. The Christian Faith and its Professors shared in this extraordinary Prosperity of the *Jesuits*. The Emperor, to gratify his Favourites, published in the Year 1692 that celebrated Edict, by which the Christian Religion was declared to be good and salutary, and all his Subjects were permitted to embrace it. At their Request he sent an Embassy to the Pope, built them a magnificent Church within the Walls of his Palace, and commanded all his Vice-gerents, and Ministers, to act with Tenderness towards the Christians. There was but one Instance, in which he disappointed them: They flattered themselves with the Hopes of persuading him at last to be a Christian;

and he greatly encouraged these Hopes by attending closely to their Instruction, by praising their Doctrine, and by his signal Favours to them, their Fellow-Labourers and their Followers. But he died without the Pale of the Church in the Year 1722. As far as could be conjectured from his Life and Actions, he was of that Persuasion, which among the *Tartars* is called the Faith of the great *Gengbizkam*. This Religion consists of some few Tenets, which excepting the Command of the Sabbath, bear great Affinity to the ten Commandments of *Moses*.

But the Christian Church in *China*, in the midst of this visible Prosperity, during the Reign of *Camhi*, continued internally divided and torn. The *Jesuits* pursued their own Manner of converting, and the other Missionaries were offended at it, and preached a very different Gospel. Hence arose two Congregations, which hated and despised each other. The *Jesuitical* Christians honour'd their Ancestors and *Confucius*: The rest abhorred this Practice as a Species of Idolatry. The latter treated the former as pretended or half Christians, and these again treated them as insolent Contemners of the Laws of the Empire. The Disorder was incurable, because the last Answer of the holy Inquisition had left both Parties at Liberty to act as they thought fit. The *Dominicans*, and their Associates, had not Interest to procure a fresh Decree, and the *Jesuits* were too prudent to desire one. The former therefore endured with regret an Evil they could not redress, and waited for a favourable Opportunity to revive the Contest they could not continue. In the Year 1684, Fortune favour'd them with such an Opportunity. A Society of Clergy had been instituted at *Paris* in 1663, for the Propagation of Christi-

Christianity among the Infidel Nations*. The Members of this Society provide for the Education and Instruction of Youth, in a House appropriated to the Purpose, in order for their Mission as Apostles of Christ to those that have not yet heard of the Gospel. The Members themselves accept this Office, if call'd to it by the Head of the Church, or by those, who, under him, have the Care of the Conversion of the Heathens. These Missionaries are celebrated at *Rome*, as zealous, faithful and indefatigable Men, and frequently the Bishops or Legates of the Pope into the Infidel Countries, are chosen from their Body. Some of them arrived in the Year 1684 in *China*. The most distinguish'd among these, was *Charles Maigrot*, a Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, whom the Pope had dignified with the Title of Apostolical Vicar, and whom the *Jesuits* themselves confess to have been a Man of great Piety and Integrity. He became afterwards Bishop of *Conon*. The new Missionaries were barely arrived in *China*, when the *Dominicans* and their Associates, who had hitherto been forced to Silence and Submission, laid before them their Complaints against the *Jesuits* and their Converts. They were heard with Attention and Favour. But it was proper to attack the *Jesuits* with Caution. *Maigrot* and his Brethren took several Years to consider the Matter in Dispute; at length, after a full Examination, they joined the Party against the *Jesuits*, and begun with declaring, that the *Chinese* Words *Tien*, and *Chang-Ti*, were improper to denote the true God, whom *Christians* adore, since they signify no more than the visible Heaven; and in the next Place, that no *Christian* could, with a safe Conscience, comply

* *Gallia Christiana*, Tom. VII. p. 1039. Congregatio Sacerdotum externarum missionum.

comply with the *Chinese* Custom of honouring *Confucius* and their Ancestors.

This Declaration was the Rupture which occasion'd that long and bitter Animosity between the *Jesuits* and their Fellow-Labourers in *China*, transmitted thro' many Changes to the present Time. *Maigrot* used every Argument and Remonstrance to bring the *Jesuits* over to his Opinion. But it was a vain Expectation, that a Body of Men would be flexible, who possess the Heart of the greatest Monarch on Earth, enjoy Affluence, Dignity and Respect, and are besides, in their own Opinion, so much more wise and meritorious than other Men. They persisted in their Conduct, and threw out Menaces of the Emperor's and the Pope's Displeasure. *Maigrot* was so little dishearten'd at this, that it rather animated him. He commenced the War, and ventured to become the Aggressor in the Year 1693. A Manifesto of his was publish'd, in which, by Virtue of his Apostolical Office, he interdicted, to all Christians and their Teachers, the Use of the Names *Tien* or *Chang-Ti*, and the Worship of *Confucius*, and their Ancestors, under Pain of Excommunication. This might be truly stiled a Piece of Spiritual Heroism; that a Stranger, who wanted both Money and Friends, and was neither a Bishop nor Plenipotentiary from the Pope, should dare to bid Defiance to Men, who enjoy'd all the Intimacy of Friendship with the Sovereign of the Country, and that he should venture this, without applying to his Principal at *Rome*, and by his own Authority supersede a Decree of the holy Inquisition, and that confirmed by a Pope! Religious Zeal makes no Difficulty of surmounting ordinary Rules; this seems to be his only Excuse. He was sensible himself, that his Conduct would require much Apology.

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In the same Year therefore, in which he publish'd his Injunction, he sent it to *Rome* with a Letter to the Pope, and an humble Petition, that Judgment might be pass'd at *Rome*, whether he had done well or ill. In his Letter to the Pope he complained strongly of the *Jesuits*, and assured his Holiness that it would draw Tears from his Eyes to see the Mischief and Abominations introduced into the Church in *China* by these Ecclesiasticks. These Papers and Complaints were seconded very powerfully, in the Year 1696, by the personal Appearance and Application of *Charmot*, a Fellow-Labourer of his. He earnestly solicited the Pope, and the Court of Inquisition, for a due Examination and judicial Decision of the Affair, and was vigorously assisted in his Solicitation by the Enemies of the *Jesuits*, that is, by a very considerable Number of Persons of Rank and Abilities in all Parts and Countries of the Romish Communion. The Matter was delayed for some Years at *Rome*, doubtless because the *Jesuits* employed all their Friends and Interest to prevent an Inquiry. At last Pope *Innocent* the Twelfth, who then filled the Chair, was prevailed with, and appointed in the Year 1699 a Committee of the most learned and principal Members of the holy Office, maturely to examine and adjust this Dispute. But he died in 1700, before the Committee had Time to make any Progress in it.

His Successor, *Clement* the Eleventh, immediately upon his Promotion to the Papal See, ordered them to proceed. He was more favourably inclined to the Society of the *Jesuits* than his Predecessor. And had he followed his Inclination, he would have saved them their Anxiety about the Event, by dissolving the Committee. But the Pope is not always at liberty to indulge his

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own Humour. The Affair was become too important to be laid aside. The Church of *Rome* was alarmed, and all *Europe* waited impatiently to see on which side the Victory would be conferr'd. Both Parties employed the ablest Hands to set forth their Cause in public Writings. The Society at *Paris*, to which *Maigrot*, *Charmot*, and the other Combatants of that Party belonged, warmly espoused the Cause of their Members, and printed a strong Address to the Pope, in which they represented the *Jesuits* in *China* as Deceivers and Corrupters of the Faith: These, on the other hand, delivered a Paper, which commanded Attention and Respect, and seem'd alone more powerful, than all the Writing and Complaints of their Adversaries. The great Emperor *Cam-bi* sent a Testimony under his own Hand, that the Customs rejected by *Maigrot* were mere political Ceremonies, upon which the Peace and Welfare of the Empire in some measure depended. And a thousand *Chinese*, Believers as well as Unbelievers, Learned and Unlearned, Rich and Poor confirmed upon Oath their Monarch's Testimony. Never was an Accusation opposed by more specious and respectable Evidence: There was now no Room to hinder the Affair from taking its Course. After six Years had been spent in consulting and deliberating, Judgment was at length pronounced. On the 20th of *November* in the Year 1704, the holy Office decreed, "That the two
 " *Chinese* Words *Tien* and *Chang-Ti* should no
 " longer be applied to God, but that instead of
 " them the Word *Tien-Chu*, which signifies Lord
 " of Heaven, should be introduced; that the
 " Tables upon which was written in *Chinese* Letters
 " *King-Tien*, or the Honour of Heaven, should
 " be removed from the Christian Churches; that

“ Christians should by no means assist at those
 “ Sacrifices, which are offered in Spring and
 “ Autumn, at the Time of the Equinox, to Con-
 “ fucius and their Ancestors; that they should like-
 “ wise absent themselves from those Houses and
 “ Temples, which are built in Honour of *Confu-*
 “ *cius*, in order to pay to that Philosopher the
 “ Worship due to him from the *Literati* of the
 “ Empire; that they should thenceforward upon
 “ no Account pay that Worship, which is paid
 “ by the *Chinese* to their Ancestors, where or in
 “ what Manner soever it be offered; and in the
 “ last Place, that those Tablets of their Forefa-
 “ thers, upon which was written in *Chinese* Let-
 “ ters, *The Seat of the Soul or Spirit of N.* should
 “ be removed from the Houses of all Chri-
 “ stians.”

These severe Injunctions were softened by some
 little Indulgences. The new Converts were per-
 mitted to appear along with their Relations in the
 Halls of their Forefathers, and to be Spectators of
 the Ceremonies there performed, but without par-
 taking in them in the least. The Inquisition judg-
 ed, this might be done to avoid Hatred and
 Bitterness, especially after a previous Declaration,
 that they were Christians, and disapproved of the
 Custom they were to attend. They were farther
 indulged in hanging up the Tables of their An-
 cestors in their Houses, without any other Inscrip-
 tion but the Name of the deceased, and a Declara-
 tion affixed, containing the Christian Faith con-
 cerning departed Souls. And they were allowed to
 retain such of the ancient funeral Rites, as were
 free from Superstition and all Appearance of it,
 provided they were first instructed by the Bishops
 and other principal Divines, which of those Cere-
 monies

monies might be esteemed innocent. These trivial Indulgences were insufficient to soften the Resentment of the *Jesuits* at the unexpected Decree.

Clement the Eleventh had two Years before this, in 1702, appointed a Legate with almost unlimited Powers, to visit the new Congregations of Papistical Christians in *Asia*, particularly the *Indian* and *Chinese*, and by wholsom Laws and Regulations to accommodate the Differences arisen among them*. The Person fix'd upon, was *Charles Thomas de Tournon*, of an ancient and noble Family in *Lorraine*, a Divine, who by his Piety and Probity had acquired the general Esteem and Affection of the Court of *Rome*. The Pope himself, to convey the higher Authority to his Office, consecrated him Patriarch of *Antioch*†. It is common at *Rome* to create Patriarchs, Archbishops and Bishops, as merely titular, as theatrical Emperors and Kings, I mean, that they only represent certain Patriarchs, Archbishops and Bishops. *Tournon* was one of these nominal Patriarchs, and had not the least Jurisdiction in the City, or Territory, from which his Title was borrowed. He embark'd on the fifth of *August* 1703, and landed at *Pondicherry* on the Coasts of *Coromandel* on the sixth of *November* in the same Year. Here he staid till the eleventh of *July* in the next Year, and arrived in *China* in 1705. The *Jesuits* received him with all the Marks of Honour which a Legate of the Pope could expect from the Subjects of his Master. They even exceeded their Duty: They procured him Access to the

* See his Commission and further Accounts of him in *P. Norbert's Memoires Historiques sur les Missions des Indes Orientales*, Tom. I. p. 111.

† *Du Halde* is much mistaken in calling him Patriarch of *India*; but this is not his only Mistake.

the Great at Court, and an Audience of the Emperor, permitted the most honourable of their Converts to attend him in his public Entries, and prevailed with the Emperor to distinguish him by various Favours from all other Ambassadors. But this Respect lasted only whilst they had Hopes, that he would at least have found out a Medium betwixt them and their Adversaries. The Moment he declared against *them*, a terrible Storm arose against *him*. *Tournon* was of that Party in the Church of *Rome*, who are called the *Rigids*, and therefore naturally an Enemy to the *Jesuits* and their Doctrine, which is more lax and moderate. It might be easily foreseen, that one of this Character would not favour them, and their Manner of converting. He signified as much soon after his Arrival, but for some time kept his Zeal within certain Bounds. Whilst he was prudent, they continued obliging and respectful. But his Prudence failed him as soon as he had an Account from *Europe* of the Judgment of the Inquisition against the *Jesuits*. In the Year 1707, he published a strict Ordinance in the Name of the Pope, agreeably to the Decree of the holy Office, and under Pain of Excommunication prohibited all that was prohibited in that Decree. This so embitter'd the *Jesuits*, that they determined he should feel the whole Weight of their Resentment. They and their Partizans first appealed from him to the Pope, and thereby evaded the Censure of Disobedience. Next they represented his Procedure to the Emperor, as a Violation of his Prerogative. Indeed it is hard to acquit him of a Crime like this. *Cam-bi*, as was related before, had sent a Writing under his own Hand to *Rome* to disculpate the *Jesuits*, and attest, that the *Chinese* meant by the Word *Tien*,
not

not Heaven, but that infinite Spirit, who dwells in Heaven, and governs the Universe; and that the Ceremonies permitted by the *Jesuits* were not religious, but political, and ancient Customs of the Empire. And here a Stranger, a Legate of an *European* Bishop, boldly and publickly opposes the Emperor, and in his own Dominions, without his Knowledge, makes a Law to prohibit the Subjects from Practices enjoined by the Laws of the Empire. No Sovereign Prince would suffer a Conduct like this to pass with Impunity. It is doubtless, that *Tournon*, pious as his Meaning was, far transgress'd the Bounds of Prudence and Respect. He was, in truth, not qualified to discharge reputably and usefully the great and important Commission he was intrusted with. His good Disposition was under the Influence of a narrow Spirit and weak Understanding, of which his Writings, Letters, and Injunctions, printed by *Norbert* and others, furnish abundant Proof: They contain dry and insipid Thoughts, so swell'd, indeed, by pompous Expression, that the careless and injudicious Reader can hardly distinguish their Flatness and Impotence. *Cam-bi* was exceedingly provoked, when the *Jesuits* informed him, that the *European*, to whom he had been so gracious, had presumed to withstand him and his Edict, and to know more of the Religion of his Country than himself. He therefore, immediately, published a strict Mandate, by which all *Romish* Ecclesiasticks in *China* were forbid, under severe Penalties, to teach any thing contrary to the Laws of the Empire, and to the ancient Traditions of the *Chinese*. Most of them obeyed. The few, who paid greater Regard to the Patriarch's Injunction, were imprisoned, treated with great Severity, and banished the Empire. *Tournon* himself was

was order'd immediately to quit the Country, or to be punished as a Traitor. He did not wait for the Repetition of this Order, but hastened to *Macao*, there to embark, and avoid the Fury of the Emperor, or rather of the *Jesuits*. But whilst he was preparing for his Departure, it was recollected at the Court of *Pekin*, that if he was suffered to return to *Rome*, he would certainly make heavy Complaints of his Persecutors. A fresh Order was issued to secure his Person and detain him a Prisoner at *Macao*, till the Return of two *Jesuits*, whom the Emperor dispatched to *Rome*. The unfortunate *Tournon* was forced to change his Character of an Apostolical Legate and Lawgiver, for that of a State-Prisoner, and to pass four Years in great Trouble and Anxiety, under a strong Guard, in the House of the Bishop of *Macao*. His Enemies the *Jesuits* were his Keepers, and they doubtless were not negligent of their Charge. It is possible, that their Adversaries have considerably aggravated his Distresses and Indignities in Prison. They did not probably so far forget the Prudence essential to their Order, as to treat a Legate of the Pope, like a common Malefactor. And they could never have been pardoned at *Rome*, had they been entirely unmindful of their Duty to the Pope and him. But thus much is certain, that whatever little Respect they may have shewn him, was mix'd with various Instances of Bitterness, Contempt and Mortification*. *Clement* the Eleventh was amazed when he heard

* *Clement* the eleventh, in the Bull of Excommunication he published against the Bishop of *Macao*, who was among the most bitter of *Tournon's* Enemies, describes his Sufferings in the following Words; *Innotuit nobis quod Carolus Thomas Tournonius— tametsi tunc temporis in civitate Macaonensi, non quidem à paganis*

heard of the Fate of his Legate, and thought the best Method of alleviating his Misery was to raise him to the highest Dignity next to his own. He honour'd the Prisoner with a Cardinal's Hat, in hopes that his merciless Keepers would treat a Cardinal with more Civility and Respect than a Patriarch. But the new Cardinal and the Authority he affected, were Subject of Ridicule at *Macao*. His Troubles continued till a severe Fit of Sickness put an End to his Life on the eighth Day of *June*, 1711. The Adversaries of the *Jesuits* pretended all over *Europe*, that he had been poisoned, and that the Poison was administer'd to him at *Pekin* by *Pereyra* a *Jesuit* †. But this Rumour has rather the Air of Calumny. To what Purpose can they be supposed to have imprison'd him at *Macao*, and prevented his Voyage, if they were assured, that he carried Death in his Bosom. The Motion of the Ship and other Inconveniences of so long a Passage must have hastened the Effect of the Poison, and soon put an End to his miserable Life. It is Reproach sufficient to the *Jesuits*, that they cannot clear themselves of the Imputation of extreme Injustice and Violence exercised upon a Legate of the Pope, a Cardinal, and a Man of Piety. The Body of the deceased Cardinal was, after some Years, conveyed to *Europe*, and his funeral Obsequies were performed at *Rome*, amidst the Tears and Lamentation of the Pope and all his Court. *Clement* the Eleventh, in a celebrated panegyrical Oration, which he spoke

paganis, sed ab officialibus & ministris Christianis—multorum militum diurna nocturnaque custodia, ut captivus detineretur, aliisque acerbissimis & plane incredibilibus injuriis & contumeliis, ipsis exhorrescentibus Ethnicis, afflictus reperiretur—nihilominus, &c. See *Norbert's Memoires*, Tom. I. p. 304.

† *Anecdotes de la Chine*, Tom. I. p. 88.

in Memory of him, in a full Congregation of Cardinals, extols him as a Saint and a Martyr*. And if the *Jesuits* had less Power at the Court of *Rome*, than they have, he would probably before now have been admitted into the Kalendar of that Church. Their Enemies are waiting for a convenient Opportunity to solicit the Canonization of this great Sacrifice to their Resentment and to his own Indiscretion.

The Overthrow of Cardinal *Tournon* was of no use towards the Recovery of the Jesuitical Cause; it rather inflamed Matters more. The Pope, before he received Advice of the Imprisonment of *Tournon*, had approved, and in every respect confirmed his Injunction. It was therefore necessary to carry on the same Measure. The holy Office assembled on the twenty-fifth of *September* in the Year 1710, in presence of the Pope, and came to a new Resolution, or rather confirmed and improved that formerly made. They rejected the Appeal to the Pope, with which the *Jesuits* in *China* had warded off the Cardinal's Injunction; and decreed, that, without farther Exception or Objection, the Judgment passed in the Year 1704, and the Injunction of Cardinal *Tournon* should remain in full Force. They prohibited besides, under the most severe Ecclesiastical Penalties, the Publication of any Books or Pamphlets concerning the *Chinese* Ceremonies, and declared previously, that all such as should appear from the Press, should be rank'd among the List of prohibited Books †. This seems

* It may be found among the other Speeches of this Pope in P. Norbert's Memoires sur les Missions Orientales, Tom. II. p. 6.

† The Title of this Decree runs thus: Declaratio super omnimoda ac inviolabili responforum aliàs in causâ rituum seu cere-

to be a clear and strong Decree; but it was not strong enough to humble the mighty *Jesuits*. Extensive as the Papal Power is, it cannot reach them at the Court of *Pekin*, in the Emperor of *China's* Palace*. The Decree was immediately sent to the Bishop of *Pekin*, who resides at the City *Linzingteou*, and he was ordered forthwith to cause it to be delivered to the *Jesuits*. It arrived towards the End of the Year 1713, and in *January* 1714, the Bishop dispatched his Vicar-general *Charles Castorani*, a *Franciscan* Monk, to deliver it into the Hands of the Court-*Jesuits*. *Castorani* executed his Commission with great Humility, and was received with extraordinary Insolence. They told him without Ceremony, that if he should presume to read this Decree, or any way to divulge it, they would complain of him to the Emperor. He understood their Meaning, and having no Ambition of Martyrdom retired privately, well satisfied with experiencing no other Effect of their Resentment, but Contempt †.

The *Jesuits* invented various Apologies for this fresh Instance of Disobedience. But it was at length determined at *Rome*, to disregard their Pretences and humble their Pride. *Clement* the Eleventh was so provoked upon the first News of this obstinate Rebellion of his beloved Sons, as he calls them, that he immedi-

ceremoniarum Sinensium à sacrâ congregatione daturum, & à sanctissimo approbatorum cum aliis ordinationibus. *The present Pope has inserted it entire in his last Bull, Ex quo singulari, &c.*

* *The present Pope in his Bull just mentioned complains thus: Nec decretum hujusmodi ad difficiles animos subjiciendos valuit.*

† *Caroli Castorani Notæ & Observationes in Bullam Benedicti XIV supra ceremonias & ritus Sinicos, p. 35. Non sine meâ injuriâ, says he, ad prædictum Dominum Episcopum rediit.*

ately proceeded to the celebrated Bull *Ex illa die*. It was drawn up with Expedition, and issued out on the nineteenth of *March* in the next Year 1715*. This famous Bull answers in *Asia* to the same Pope's Bull *Unigenitus* in *Europe*. The former controverted, the latter defended by the *Jesuits*; the former proved the Source of great Confusion among the *Papists* in *Asia*, the latter in *Europe*. Both have been the Occasion of an Expence, Trouble and Detriment to the Papal See, of which it is not easy to foretell the End. Never was Pope so unfortunate in his Bulls as *Clement* the Eleventh. The Constitution *Ex illa die* is in some measure a Contrast to that called *Unigenitus*. It redresses as it were by its Zeal against the lax and indulgent Maxims of the *Jesuits*, all the Grievance occasioned by the Constitution *Unigenitus*, which favoured them and their Doctrine. Hence the *Jesuits* are as much offended at the former, as the *Jansenists* at the latter. The Pope begins with reciting all that had been done in the *Chinese* Controversy. Next he sets forth, with Expressions of Grief, the many artful Inventions, wherewith the *Jesuits*, whom he does not mention, had presumed to invalidate the last Decree of the Holy See, clear and limited as it was. To obviate at once and for ever this unaccountable Insolence, he commands in the strongest Terms a Pope is capable of, all the Clergy in *China*, and the Monks in particular, under Pain of that

* It is intitled thus: Clementis Papæ XI. Præceptum super omnimoda, absoluta, integra & inviolabili observatione eorum, quæ aliàs à Sanctitate sua in causa rituum seu ceremoniarum Sinensium decreta fuerunt: cum rejectione quarumcunque rationum, seu excusationum ad ejusmodi decretorum executionem declarandam allatarum, ac præscriptione formulæ juramenti per Missionarios illarum partium præsentis & futuros hæc in re præstandi.

that Excommunication, which none but the Pope himself can remit, except in the Hour of Death, strictly to observe as sacred, the Decrees hitherto passed by the Inquisition, and the Ordinance of the Cardinal *Tournon*, and under no Pretence whatever to transgress them. With the same Rigour and Caution he enjoins all Ecclesiastics, who should be sent to *China*, and other *Asiatic* Countries, to take an Oath to obey his Commands without any Reserve, and that no Person whatever should be admitted to the lowest Office, without having previously taken this Oath. To secure the Observation of it more strongly, the Oath was not only to be taken *vivâ voce*, but to be subscribed by every Ecclesiastic, and the Oaths thus subscribed were all to be transmitted to the holy Office at *Rome*. In the last Place the Pope commands, with the highest degree of Caution and Severity, that no ancient Indulgences, no general or particular Rights and Privileges, no Tradition, no Evasions, whether already invented, or thereafter to be invented, should avail in the least against these Constitutions, and that they should remain in Force as an eternal and irrevocable Law. It was concluded with an express Order, that this Bull should be sent and notified to all the Clergy, and especially to the *Jesuits*. It is needless to recite the Oath at large. The Juror was to oblige himself exactly, absolutely, inviolably and without any Evasion to obey the Bull *, and acknowledge himself worthy, in Case of Disobedience, of the Punishment there threatned. There is not one among all the Decrees of the Bishops of *Rome* so accurately and cautiously worded, or so minutely guarded against every possible Exception and

* *Exactè, absolutè, inviolabiliter & absque ulla tergiversatione.*

and Evasion. The Lawyers, who prepared it, exhausted their whole Stock of such Words, as might be effectual to disarm those Men that study to transgress under the Colour of Law.

An *English* Ship carried over this terrible Bull to *China*, and it was dispersed amongst the *Romish* Clergy of the Empire, before the *Jesuits* knew of its Arrival. Had these been earlier apprized of it, the Emperor would probably have sent a Countermand to meet and annul it. It was necessary however, in Obedience to the Pope's Order, to present it to them, and notify it in their Churches at *Pekin*. This was the Ruin of the Bull. Honest *Castorani*, by his Bishop's Command, undertook this dangerous Office, and unfortunately for himself executed it with Success. He arrived at *Pekin* on the fifth of *November* in 1716, and on the same Day without any previous Notice to the *Jesuits*, read the Decree he was charged with, in three of their Churches. But he was ill rewarded for his Pains. On the third Day after his Arrival, an Officer of State, by the Emperor's Order, caused him to be fettered with a Chain of extraordinary Weight and Strength at his Neck, Hands and Feet, and thus loaded to be thrown into a Dungeon, as a Traitor who had dared to introduce foreign Laws into the Empire. His Troubles lasted seventeen Months. Sometimes he was indulged with a certain Degree of Liberty, and again shut up in close Confinement, sometimes sent to *Canton*, and then recalled to *Pekin*. At last he obtained his Liberty, upon Condition, that he should carry the Bull back to his Bishop, and not dare to divulge it any farther*. This secured only the Ca-

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* *Castorani* notæ in Bullam *Benedicti XIV.* Sect. ii. p. 35. &c.

pital against the thundring Bull; to defeat the Terror of it in the rest of the Empire, his Imperial Majesty by a severe Edict notified to all Papists, that he would immediately banish them from his Dominions, and cause their *Chinese* Converts to be put to Death without Distinction, if they paid more Regard to the Pope than to him, and attempted to execute *Romish* Laws. And these Menaces were not merely verbal. It appeared in some Places, that the Government was in earnest, and would not suffer itself to be insulted with Impunity,

The *Jesuits*, who were the original Founders of this and much more Mischief, lamented it no less than those who felt the Weight of it. They complained heavily in their Writings and Conversation, that the Court of *Rome* was under the Influence of Persons neither discreet nor experienced, that Bulls were transmitted to *China*, which tended to desolate the Lord's Vineyard. "When will his Holiness," said they, and our Enemies who mislead him, "awake and learn Discretion? Not, it is to be feared, till they find it too late. We wash our Hands; we have deliver'd our Souls from the Burden. Let the Blood of the poor Christians in *China*, whom this Bull perhaps will bring to a fatal End, fall upon the Councils that dictat'd it. We have done our utmost to soften the Emperor's Resentment. We have implored and intreated him. But he is inexorable in Matters, that affect the ancient fundamental Laws of the Empire."

These Complaints however did not exempt the *Jesuits* from the Duty of obeying the Bull, and every Precept it contain'd. The Subjects of the Pope, and the *Jesuits* as much as any, are oblig'd to submit to his Ordinances, tho' all the Kings and Infidels upon Earth should oppose them. The
Supremacy

Supremacy he assumes, as Vice-gerent of Christ, would be merely titular indeed, if the Laws and Menaces of Heathen Kings had Power to annul and invalidate his Apostolical Precepts. The *Jesuits* therefore not knowing how to palliate their Disobedience in the Eyes of the Emperor, resolved to seek for some subterfuge in the Bull itself. But this seem'd impossible to find in a Decree penned with so much Caution and Subtlety, as this *Ex illa die*. However *Jesuitical* Sagacity surmounts all Difficulties. The Evasion, which the Bull itself will not afford, is discovered in the Title. It was inscribed, *Præceptum de omnimoda*, &c. This single Word furnished the *Jesuits* with all they wanted. "A *Precept*, said they, is no *Law*. The Pope himself calls his Bull no more than a *Precept*. "Undoubtedly a *Precept* from him claims the most "profound Respect; but it is not an indisputable "Article of Faith which must be implicitly acquiesced in. We are therefore not bound tenaciously to adhere to this Bull." This Artifice of theirs will appear like a Piece of Slander. But it is attested by a Hand of great Authority in the present Case, of the highest Authority to the *Jesuits* themselves. The present Pope *Benedict* the Fourteenth is my Author, and to obviate all Doubts on this Head, I have quoted his own Words in the Note *.

The Consternation occasioned at *Rome*, by this unexpected and disagreeable News from *China*, may be

* His Words in the Bull *Ex quo singulari*, &c. are these: Nihilominus inobedientes & captiosi homines exactam ejusdem Constitutionis (Clementis XI.) observantiam se effugere posse putarant, EX RATIONE, QUOD ILLA PRÆCEPTI TITULUM PRÆFERT, quasi vero non indissolubilis Legis, sed Præcepti mere ecclesiastici vim haberet.

be easily imagined. It was now apparent, that all Orders and Constitutions would be vain, and the *Jesuits* prove invincible, unless the Emperor could be gained, and a Protection obtained for the obnoxious Bull from him. The Pope therefore resolved to send a Legation to the Emperor, to intreat him, that he would permit the Clergy to observe his Bull. The Legate was *Charles Anthony Mezzabarba*, a *Milanese*, who died Bishop of *Lodi* some Years ago. His Holiness created him Patriarch of *Alexandria* to add Lustre and Dignity to his Commission. He embarked at *Lisbon* March 25, 1720, landed at *Macao* September the twenty-sixth of the same Year, and re-embarked for *Europe*, with the Body of his Predecessor Cardinal *Tournon*, on the thirteenth of *December*, 1721. It is not above eight or nine Years ago, since the World has had a circumstantial Account of his Negotiations, Sufferings and Dangers, published by his Direction. The Editor was *P. Viani*, his Confessor and Fellow-Traveller*. All that was known of his Success before that Time was, that he had conducted himself with more Prudence, and therefore met with better Treatment than *Tournon*, and that he in some Measure explained and softened the Bull of

* *Istorie delle cose operate nella China da Monsignor Gio. Ambrosio Mezzabarba, Patriarca d' Alessandria, Legato Apostolico, in quell' Impero et di presente Vascovo de Lodi. Scritta dal Padre Viani suo Confessore e Compagno nella predetta Legazione. Opera data adesso la prima volta alla luce. In Parigi. Appresso Monsu Briasson. 1739. Though the Title dates it from Paris, the Book was without doubt printed privately in Italy. A large Extract of it may be seen in the Bibliotheque raisonnée, Tom. XXV. P. I. p. 101, and P. II. p. 326. See likewise P. Norbert's Memoires sur les Missions Orientales, Tom. II. p. 256, &c.*

Clement the Eleventh according to the Humour of the *Jesuits*. Indeed the Choice of him was more judicious, than that of the Cardinal. *Mezzabarba* was a Man of sound Judgment and quick Apprehension, perfectly knew the World, possess'd all the Art and Finesse of an *Italian*, was never disconcerted in the most sudden Circumstances of Danger, and always deliberated before he spoke. Without departing in the least from his Dignity, he paid all the Respect due to the Person of the Emperor, and in the midst of his Zeal against the *Jesuits*, expressed Marks of Reverence to him as Sovereign of the Country, and to his Substitutes. The Emperor received him most graciously, and gave him frequent Audience. But notwithstanding the Honours that were shewn him, he was in continual Fear and Danger of his Life. He complains in his Pastoral Letter, of which we shall soon have Occasion to take notice, that his Residence in *China* was attended with Fear and Trembling, because he knew not how to speak the Wisdom of this World*. And indeed he might probably have found it difficult to escape Imprisonment, or perhaps even Death, had he not, in his greatest Extremity, signified to the *Jesuits* the Powers he had to moderate the obnoxious Bull by some favourable Explanations. He was never admitted to an Audience at Court without some bitter Mortification. *Cam-bi* was lively, ingenious, and much disposed to Raillery. He frequently made his Sport of the Pope, the Legate, the Bull and the *Romish* Faith itself. Sometimes he spoke with Warmth

* Quia non sapientiam hujus sæculi locuti fuimus, in timore & tremore multo fuimus apud vos.

Warmth of *Tournon*, *Maigrot*, and the other Opponents of his Friends the *Jesuits*. *Mezzabarba* was obliged to be cautious and respectful in his Answers to the Emperor's Jest's and Menaces. But he was entirely disappointed in the principal Subject of his Legation. The Emperor subscrib'd the Bull, in red Ink, with his *Ci*, that is his authoritative Declaration concerning it. "The Bull, says he, in my Opinion concerns only the common Europeans, and does not at all affect the great and venerable Doctrine of the *Chinese*. It contains many Absurdities and Falshoods, and the best Step we can take to put a final End to these Disputes, is, to prohibit the *Europeans* from preaching their Law in our Empire." The Legate had nothing farther to solicit, but Leave to return to *Europe*, and inform his Holiness of the Emperor's Opinion and Resolution. He continued to be variously mortified for some time, both by the *Jesuits* and at Court, and was at last permitted to depart.

He was detained at *Macao* six Months after his Return from *Pekin*. Part of this Time he spent in writing that celebrated pastoral Letter to the *Romish* Clergy in *China*, to which alone may be attributed all the Praise conferred on him by *Du Halde* and the rest of the *Jesuits*. This Piece contains the eight Indulgences or Limitations of the Bull *Ex illa die*, &c. under the Protection of which the *Jesuits* have for some time past, without Hindrance or Molestation, violated it. I beg leave briefly to relate the History of these Indulgences from the Words of the present Pope *Benedict* the Fourteenth, who hath repealed them.

Whilst *Mezzabarba* was at *Rome*, preparing for his Voyage, some Doubts and Queries, concerning the Delivery of this Bull, had been laid before two Persons, who had resided long in *China*. These two were probably *Jesuits*. The Pope mentions neither their Names, nor their Order. He seems displeas'd at them, yet studies to conceal his Displeasure. They delivered in an Answer to the Queries and Doubts propos'd to them. The Answer was sent after the Legate, who was then departed, that he might make use of it at his Discretion, as the Circumstances of Times and Affairs should require. The Pope expresses himself with the utmost Reserve and Obscurity. He seems afraid to divulge the Secret of these Queries and Answers. But it is easy to discern his Meaning without uncommon Sagacity. The *Jesuits*, who apprehended great Danger from a fresh Legation to *China*, took care by their Connexions at *Rome*, to procure a Person who might raise certain casuistical Difficulties and Queries concerning the Bull, and to have the Decision thereof left to their Brethren or Friends. It is easy to conjecture both the Doubts and the Answers from *Mezzabarba's* Indulgences. After this, Methods were used to persuade the Pope, that it would be adviseable to send both Answers and Queries after the Legate, with full Powers to make use of them in case of necessity, and mitigate the Severity of the Bull. The Pope however was cautious enough, neither to confirm, nor add to this Writing. Hence, as *Benedict* the Fourteenth urges, the Apostolical See retained a Right, either to approve or condemn the Contents thereof, as should seem good and expedient. *Mezzabarba* was very unwilling to produce this secret

Part

Part of his Commission. He insisted, as long as he could, with Vehemence, upon the Reception and Observation of the Bull without any Reserve or Limitation. But when he was so closely beset both by the Court and the *Jesuits*, as to be in Danger of his Life, his Fears prevailed, and incited him to confess, that he had an Order from the Pope to mitigate Matters in some Respects. They took him at his Word, and insisted, when he came to *Macao*, upon his performing the Promise made at *Pekin*. Had he declined it, he might have met with the Fate of his Predecessor, and ended his Days in a Prison. *Benedict* the Fourteenth plainly declares, that he was tortured into a Compliance with their Requests*.

His Pastoral Letter to the *Romish* Clergy in *China*, which was dated at *Macao* November 4, 1721, begins with a loud and heavy Complaint of the Sufferings and Anxieties he underwent in *China*. Then follows a moving Exhortation to the Clergy to be studious of Peace, and obedient to the Commands of the holy See. "These Commands, adds he, are contained in the Pope's Bull, and I neither can, nor will in the least invalidate from their Force." But as Doubts had arisen concerning several *Chinese* Customs, he desires to take notice of some few Particulars, which may be tolerated. First, he permits the *Chinese* Christians to hang up in their Houses, Tables with the Names of their Ancestors inscribed, and to make use thereof, provided a Declaration be affixed to them, and they be guarded against Superstition. In the next place, he permits

* In his angustiis se positum intellexit, ut coactus fuerit in publicum emittere permissiones octo.

permits all such ceremonial Honours to the deceased, in use among the *Chinese*, as are free from Superstition and even from the Imputation of it. He permits in the third place, the Honour paid to *Confucius*, so far as the same is political, and particularly deems it lawful to burn Incense, light Candles and place Meats before the Tables, upon which only his Name was written, and an explanatory Declaration annexed. His fourth Indulgence permits Incense and Lights to be offered at Funerals, provided only that a Note be deliver'd in, explaining the true Intention of the Person offering them. Next he permits Christians to prostrate themselves before the Tables of *Confucius* and the Forefathers, and even before the Coffins of their own Kindred. In the sixth place, he indulges them in offering in Honour of the deceased, at their Coffins and Tablets, Sweetmeats, Fruits, Flesh and other Meats, provided it be done without any Prejudice to the Faith. From this he proceeds to tolerate all Prostration, on *New-year's-day* as well as at other Times, before that Table which is called *Koten*. Lastly, he permits Lights and Incense before these Tables, and Dishes of Meat to be served up at Graves.

The *Jesuits* could have wished for no more, and more could not be done to defeat and invalidate the Bull. The Legate was sensible of this, and being unwilling to expose the Pope, and the Weakness of his Decree to all the World, added in the Conclusion of his Letter, a strict Injunction to all Ecclesiastics in *China*, to the *Jesuits* in particular, under Pain of Excommunication, not to translate this Letter either into the *Chinese* or *Tartar* Tongue, nor to communicate it to any but those who came in the Office of Missionaries to *China*.

The Indulgences contained in this Piece could not be entirely withheld from the People, but the Clergy were charged to dispense them cautiously, and reserve them for the highest Exigency.

At *Mezzabarba's* Return to *Rome*, *Clement* the Eleventh was deceased. *Innocent* the Thirteenth succeeded him. The new elected Pope was enraged at the Legate's Report of his fruitless Negotiations, of his Perils and Sufferings. In the first Heat of his Resentment he resolved to abolish the Society of *Jesuits*. But the Remonstrances of some prudent Men abated the Violence of this Flame, which however they were not able totally to extinguish. The Pope commanded the General of the Order to recall all his *Jesuits* from *China*, that the Refractory might be brought to condign Punishment, and forbid the Increase of the Society by new Members, till further Notice from him *. What could be done in these Circumstances? There was but one Expedient left, the Promise of Obedience, and they had the Comfort, in the mean while, of hoping that Time would extricate them from this great Distress. Their Hopes were gratified sooner than could be expected. The Death of *Innocent* vacated the See of *Rome*, and relieved the anxious *Jesuits*. His Successor, *Benedict* the Fourteenth, the present Pope proved much more tractable. He accepted every Promise that was made him; the *Jesuits* recovered their former Situation, and the Affairs of *China*, in which the Confidants of his Holiness did not find their Account, lay dormant for a considerable Time.

Whilst

* Journal Universel Tom. VII. p. 460.

Whilst these Matters were transacting at *Rome*, the Church in *China* lost, in the Person of her Protector, all her Tranquillity and Happiness. The great Emperor *Cam-bi*, the Patron and Disciple of the *Jesuits*, especially those of *France*, died on the twentieth of *December*, 1722, and before his Decease placed the Crown, he was obliged to relinquish, upon the Head of *Yong-Tching* his Fourth Son. The Emperors of *China* have, by the ancient Laws of the Empire, a Right to elect for a Successor from among their Sons, him who seems best qualified for a wise and happy Reign. The *Jesuits*, by their Power over the Heart of *Cam-bi* had contributed not a little to the Election of *Yong-Tching*. He had discovered so early an Inclination to them, and to the Christian Cause, that they formed better Hopes of him, than of all the other Sons of the Emperor. But they became sensible of their Mistake as soon as he mounted the Throne. His People admired in him all the good Qualities of his Father, except his Partiality to the *Jesuits* and their Faith. *Yong-Tching* continued to esteem them, and retained them at Court and in Pay, as ingenious Artists, Painters, Watchmakers, Astronomers, Geometricians, and Physicians. But he neither admitted them to a Share of his political Cares, nor of his Time, nor of his Affection. They remained in his Palace, but in no other Condition, than that of Mechanics and Officers, kept for certain Purposes of Convenience and Amusement. This gave Encouragement to those among the *Chinese*, who had been obliged in the late Reign to stifle their Dislike of the Christians and their Faith. The Emperor hearkened with Attention to all their Representations. He unexpectedly re-

pealed

pealed the Edict published by his Father in Favour of the Christian Religion, prohibited his Subjects from embracing the Law of the *Europeans*, and permitted his Governors of Provinces and Officers of State to persecute the Christians and demolish their Churches. It is needless to add, that they made use of this Permission. A blind religious Zeal, that has been long under a painful Restraint, is naturally apt, when indulged, to break out with additional Violence. The Emperor himself headed, and by his Example animated the Party against the Christian Faith. He ordered all Romish Ecclesiastics in his Dominions into Custody in the Cities of *Canton* and *Pekin*, to prevent any farther Exercise of their Function. Some time after, they were yet closer confined, upon his being informed, that they continued to discharge their Duty in private. At length all but the *Jesuits*, who resided at *Pekin*, were banished to the little Town of *Macao*, which is in some measure subject to the *Portuguese*, and lies on the Sea-Coasts, in the remotest Part of the Empire. The *Jesuits*, as their sole Dependence was not upon preaching, reading Mass, or hearing Confession, suffered least by this dreadful Storm, and took all Opportunities to soften the Emperor's Displeasure, and apologize for their persecuted Brethren. But the only Answer they had was a gracious Repulse, and they were forced to acquiesce in a Connivance for themselves, and the Privilege to carry on their spiritual Labours at Court, and in the Capital, without Interruption. Their Adversaries imputed all this Mischief to them, pretending that they were detected in a Conspiracy against the Emperor, and thereby provoked this Persecution of the Christians.

But the Charge is highly improbable. The Emperor would hardly have entertained at his Court, and have distinguished, from the rest of their Brethren, by his Favour, a Set of Men, whom he knew to have formed Designs against his Government and Life. The *Jesuits* on the other hand derive this Calamity from the Bull *Ex illa die*. And doubtless they seem in this Instance to have more Reason on their side. It is possible, that *Yong-Teking* grew impatient at the Disputes occasioned by this Decree between the *Romish* Priests, and his *Christian* Subjects, and so, to prevent all farther Animosity, prohibited the *Christian* Religion itself.

It is usual for Persecutions, if not to appease intestine Controversies in the Church, at least to effect a Cessation of Arms. The foreign Enemy pursues both contending Parties indifferently, engages all the Attention, which before they employed against each other, and converts their redundant Spirits into Fear and Anxiety. By these Means he unites the Minds of the persecuted, better than all Mediators or Lawgivers. But the Sufferings and Adversities of the Church in *China* had not this happy Effect. The War among the Clergy was carried on with the same Life and Vigour, when they were imprisoned and beset by their Enemies, as in the Times of Peace and Liberty. The Indulgences of *Mezzabarba* extended the Wounds they were meant to heal. The Adversaries of the *Jesuits* opposed these Indulgences as warmly, as the *Jesuits* did the Bull itself, and absolutely refused to receive or acknowledge them as valid. *Francis Sarazeni*, Bishop of *Lorima*, even circulated a Pastoral Letter, prohibiting upon Pain
of

of Excommunication, the Observation or Introduction of those Indulgences *. How strangely Men are blinded by their Passions! This was doing the very thing for which the *Jesuits* had been so bitterly reproached. They were condemned for refusing immediate Obedience to the Injunctions of *Tournon* and *Maigrot*. And certainly *Mezzabarba* was equal in Dignity to *Tournon* and superior to *Maigrot*; consequently his Indulgences claimed the same Respect at least with their Injunctions. This inconsiderate Piece of Obstinacy so inflamed the *Jesuits*, that they inconsiderately plunged themselves into a fresh Offence, great enough to revive the Memory of all their former Transgressions, and entirely ruin their Cause at *Rome*. *Mezzabarba* had expressly prohibited the Translation of his Pastoral Letter, or the Publication of the Indulgences it contained. The *Jesuits* ventured to violate this Command. They dispersed his Indulgences among all the *Chinese* Christians, and endeavoured to impose them upon those, to whom they were obnoxious. The Assistance of an eminent Bishop was requisite for this Purpose. They obtained that of the new Bishop of *Pekin*, *Franciscus de Purificatione*, who was promoted in the Year 1731. This Prelate perceived soon after his Arrival, that the Good-will of the *Jesuits* at *Pekin* was of more Consequence to him, than the Favour of the Pope. They influenced him to charge the Clergy of his Diocese, in two public Instruments addressed to them, dated *July* the sixth, and *December* the twenty third in the Year 1733, upon Pain of Degradation, to pay as sacred a Regard to the Indulgences

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* Castorani observationes in Bullam Benedicti XIV. p. 40.

of Mezzabarba, as to the Bull *Ex illa die*, and publicly to read to the People in all Churches, on the four most solemn Festivals of the Year, both the Contents of the Bull, and the Reservations added to it by Mezzabarba*.

This was no less than a public Challenge. The Combatants on the other side hastened to Arms. Castorani, Vicar to the Bishop of Pekin, and heretofore a Martyr to the Bull *Ex illa die*, who had spent thirty three Years in his Function in China, told his Bishop to his Face, that he would never pay him Obedience in this Point. The Example of so venerable a Man diffused a Spirit of Rebellion among the Clergy. At length it became ripe enough for a Resolution to dispatch the good old Castorani to Rome, in order to complain of the Jesuits and the Bishop, and solicit the Abrogation of Mezzabarba's Indulgences. Perhaps the Jesuits and their Adherents made their Sport of the Age and Simplicity of this Ambassador. He confesses himself to be neither eloquent, nor learned, nor sagacious; and those little Pieces of his, that have hitherto appeared in Print, confirm the Truth of his Confession. They discover nothing but a zealous, honest *Franciscan* Friar, neither infected by the Air of the Court and a Knowledge of the World, nor corrupted by the Vanity of Learning and Science. But his Want of Parts and Penetration was amply supplied by his Zeal, Integrity, Experience, Constancy, gray Hairs, the Reputation of a Confessor, and seventeen Months of Suffering on Account of the Bull *Ex illa die*.

A pious

* Clementis Papae XII. Rescriptio annullatio & cassatio
† See Castorani observat. and the Bull of Benedict XIV. intitled *Ex quo singulari*, &c.

A pious Simplicity has often got the better of worldly Prudence. *Castorani* arrived at *Rome* about the End of the Year 1734, in the Papacy of *Clement* the Twelfth, to whom he immediately opened his Commission. The Pope left the Matter to the Examination of several Cardinals, and after ten Months Intreaty, Attendance and Solicitation, as *Castorani* himself relates, his Holiness by a Brief, dated *September* the twenty-sixth 1735, absolutely revoked and annulled the two Letters of the Bishop of *Pekin*, who was just then deceased*.

This was *Castorani's* first Victory. But he did not rest here. His principal Point was to invalidate the Indulgences of *Mezzabarba*. He therefore proceeded in his Undertaking with inexpressible Zeal, and solicited the Pope, that the Examination of this Affair might be withdrawn from the Congregation *de propagandâ fide*, and submitted to the holy Office or Inquisition, to whose Cognizance by Right it belonged. His Request was granted. This Change of his Judges was of great Consequence to him. The *Jesuits* had more Patrons and Friends in the Congregation than in the Inquisition, where their old Adversaries the *Dominicans* prevail. As soon as he had put his Cause into the Hands he wished to have it in, he left nothing undone to prosecute it with the utmost Vigour. The Account he gives himself of his importunate and indefatigable Application is so natural, that one cannot but admire his Integrity.

A pious

* *Clementis* Papæ XII. Revocatio, annullatio, & cassatio duarum Epistolarum Pastoralium bon. mem. *Francisci* Episcopi *Pekinensis* nuper defuncti circa res *Sinenses* editarum.

grity; and he seems to have effected at least as much by unwearied Importunities, as by Strength of Reasoning. He was incessantly begging, attending, writing, remonstrating and instructing. Even the Pope himself was not a Day free from his Company. He was constantly attending the Cardinals, the Assessors, and the Counsellors of the holy Office. Not a Clerk of the Court was overlook'd in his Solicitation. Notwithstanding all this, his Progress was not equal to his Endeavours. The Pope was willing, that, in an Affair of this Importance, the Judges should determine nothing hastily. He particularly enjoined, as his Successor informs us, that all the Clergy residing in *Rome*, who had been in *China*, and all the young *Chinese*, who were come to *Rome* for Instruction and Education, should be heard, and judicially examined. This required a considerable Time, and *Clement* the Twelfth did not survive the Inquiry.

Benedict the Fourteenth, who now fills the Chair, was elected in his Room. This Prelate is said to be less favourably inclined to the *Jesuits*, than to any other Order under his Jurisdiction. His Conduct hitherto has confirmed this Opinion of him. Poor *Castorani* however seems to have found it a difficult Matter to bring him over to his Side. He even subjected himself to a severe Penalty, if ever they should convict him of Deceit or Misrepresentation. At length, after seven Years Impatience, the happy Day appeared, which he had been so earnestly labouring for. *Benedict* the Fourteenth, in the Year 1742, issued the famous Bull, which begins with the Words *Ex quo singulari*, &c. It was finished on the eleventh of

of *June*, and issued out the ninth of *August**. The only Thing omitted in this severe Law, to expose and mortify the *Jesuits* and their Adherents, is the mention of their Name. But it is easy to apprehend whom his Holiness points at, when he speaks of a disobedient, crafty, malicious and insidious Set of Men. He revokes, annuls, abolishes, rejects and totally condemns the Indulgences of *Mezzabarba*, as Tenets extorted from the Patriarch under the Apprehension of a violent Death, never approved by the holy See, and contradictory to the Bull of Pope *Clement* the Eleventh, and commands them to be consider'd no otherwise, than as if they had never been granted. He denounces his heavy Displeasure and all the Punishments which the Church usually inflicts upon the Transgressors of her Laws, against the Clergy of every Rank, and the *Jesuits* in particular, if they should presume to depart in the least Degree from the Constitution *Ex illa die*. He enjoins the Superiors of every Order of *Monks* immediately to expel those Members of their Society, who should dare to violate his Ordinance, and to recal them to *Europe*, that they might be duly punished. In the last Place he prescribes an Oath,

It was published at Rome from the Printing-Office of the Apostolical Chamber, under the Title, Confirmatio & innovatio Constitutionis, incipientis: Ex illa die; à Clemente Papa XI. in causâ rituum seu caeremoniarum Sinensium editæ, nec non revocatio, rescissio, abolitio, cassatio, annullatio ac damnatio permissionum super iisdem ritibus seu caeremoniis in quadam Pastoralî epistola Caroli Ambrosij Mediobarbaræ, Patriarchæ Alexandrini, olim Commissarii & Visitatoris Apostolici in Sinarum imperio contentarum, cum præscriptione novæ formulæ juramenti per Missionarios illarum partium præsentis & futuri præstandi.

Oath, by which all Missionaries in *China* oblige themselves strictly to adhere to the Bull of *Clement* the Eleventh, and by no means to suffer their Converts to observe any of the Ceremonies permitted by *Mezzabarba*. The Conclusion of the Bull is with some Authority said to be penn'd by the Pope himself. The Language of it is strong, edifying, pathetic, Apostolical, and well worthy of a great Prelate. " We hope in God, says he, among other Things, " that the Preachers of the Gospel in *China* will banish from " their Breasts that groundless Apprehension, " that the Conversion of Infidels will be in the " least retarded by a strict Observation of our " Décrees. The Conversion of Heathens depends principally upon the Grace of God; " and the Grace of God will infallibly assist the " Labours of those Ministers of the Gospel, who " preach the Truths of the Christian Religion " boldly, and *in that Purity, in which they are " delivered to them by the Apostolical See, being " ready to lay down their Lives for the Honour " of the Gospel, according to the Example of " the holy Apostles and other eminent Martyrs, " whose Blood, so far from retarding the Progress of Christianity, rather improved the Vineyard, and produced a plentiful Harvest of Believers.*" Next he puts them in mind of the Nature of their Call. " Be mindful, as you are " true Disciples of *Jesus Christ*, that he hath " not sent you to worldly Joys, but to a difficult " Combat; not to the Possession of Honours, " but to Reproach and Contempt; not to an inactive but laborious Life; not to indulge your " Ease, but to bring forth much Fruit with Patience."

“ tience.” In order to understand the meaning of this last Admonition, the Reader must represent to himself the Court *Jesuits* at *Pekin*, dress’d in the sumptuous Robes of *Mandarines*, with a Dragon on their Breast, and enjoying all the Honours, Dignities, Privileges, Revenues and Conveniences, which the Emperor’s Favour or their own Services could procure them. To Missionaries in these Circumstances, so full of the Power and Wisdom of this World, the Exhortation of the Pope seems in the highest degree expedient.

This latter Part of our Memoirs must be Matter of great Admiration to those, who read it attentively. *Castorani* a poor Mendicant Frier, whom the *Jesuits* had caused to be fettered with nine Chains, engages in a Contest with the most powerful Society in the Church of *Rome*, with that Society, before whom the Pope himself and Kings have been made to tremble, and not only gains the Victory, but exposes and humbles them in a Manner they had never before experienced. Such is the Mischief the meanest and most impotent Enemy is capable of effecting, when either despised or too heavily oppressed!

We seem now to be arrived at the End of the *Chinese* Controversy, which has lasted upwards of an hundred Years. And doubtless this must have terminated it, had any other Order in the Church of *Rome*, but that of the *Jesuits* been the Parties concerned. But this Society is not so easily dishearten’d by Bulls from the Bishops of *Rome*. They have always a Fund of Inventions in reserve, whereby to evade or repair all the Damage a Pope can inflict. It is currently reported, that they pay no more Regard to this Bull of *Benedict* the fourteenth, than to that of *Clement* the Eleventh, and

continue to permit their Converts to do that which the Pope so expressly forbids. Another *Franciscan* Deputy is arrived at *Rome* within the last Year or two, from *China*, loaded with authentick Evidence and Testimony of the Contumacy of the *Jesuits*, and of the Calamities they bring upon their Opposers. Perhaps this may produce a third Bull against them, and the third Bull may possibly hurt the two former by its Vehemence. The *Roman* Theatre is subject to many Changes, and it is a Thing not unusual entirely to drop the best Laws, in order to save the Pains and Trouble of executing them. Matters seem at least to be ripening for a new Scene in this celebrated Drama. The *Jesuits* are gradually insinuating themselves into the strong and advantageous Situation they were in at the Court of *Pekin*, in the Reign of the Emperor *Cam-bi*. His Successor *Yong-Tching*, who persecuted the Christian Religion, and favoured the *Jesuits* merely for his own Purposes, died in the Year 1737. *Kien-Long*, one of his Sons, mounted the Throne in his stead. He was but twenty-five Years of Age, when the Empire fell into his Hands, and began his Reign with various Acts of Clemency. The *Bonzes* were the only Body of Men that experienced his Displeasure. He expressed his Zeal against them in a public Writing, in which he cautions his Subjects against their Vices and Deceits*. He gently revoked the Orders issued by his Father against the Christians and their Teachers, and restored the Church in *China* in a great measure to her former Prosperity and Peace. And as to the *Jesuits*, he gave them fresh Encouragement, embraced eagerly every Opportunity of

* Lettres edifiantes & curieuses ecrites des Missions etrangeres, Tom. XXIII. Preface, Page iv, v, vi.

of shewing them Favour, and did this, to an extraordinary degree, of his own accord without any Solicitation of theirs. This Disposition of his to those cunning and ingenious Ecclesiastics is said to improve with his Years. What will become of their Antagonists, and of the Bull *Ex quo singulari*, if they gain as absolute an Ascendant over the Heart of this Monarch, as they enjoyed over that of his Grandfather?

To this Prosperity the *Jesuits* received an Accession about three Years ago, which they had long wished for, and solicited in vain at the Court of Rome. They have made it their Endeavour for many Years past, to get all the Bishopricks in the Heathen Countries into their own Hands, that they might reserve to themselves the sole Power over their Converts, and have a Check upon the other Missionaries, who are not of their Society. Some of the vacant Sees they have been promoted to thro' the Interest of the Kings of *Portugal*, who have obtained the Power of nominating the Bishops of *Asia*. The Popes have constantly resisted their most pressing Applications for the Bishopricks in *China*, particularly for that of *Pekin*. His present Holiness is doubtless of the same Opinion with his Predecessors in this Respect. Notwithstanding this, in the Year 1745, he promoted a *Jesuit* to the See of *Pekin*, with all its extensive Jurisdiction. This Prelate was a *Portuguese*, named *Polycarp de Souza*, recommended with the warmest Importunity by *Don Emanuel de Sampajo*, the *Portuguese* Ambassador. And the Pope, tho' he seems to fear as well as to hate the Society of *Jesuits*, yet upon many Accounts honours his *Portuguese* Majesty; therefore the same *Benedict* the Fourteenth, who had so heavily mortified that Society by his Bull *Ex quo singulari*, did

did what none of his Predecessors thought it prudent to do, accepted the Recommendation of a *Jesuit*. What can be expected in these Circumstances? The *Jesuits* being at present as powerful in the Church, as at the Court of *Pekin*, it is easy to conjecture the Fate of their Adversaries, and of the Bull, in which they are so effectually exposed.

The attentive Reader will draw many useful Inferences from the Facts here related. How sick and feeble is the Head of the Church of *Rome*! How powerful and refractory are the Orders, over which she pretends to an absolute Sway! How little Regard is paid to the Pope by that Society, which is bound to pay him the greatest! How much Division and Discord do we observe in a Church which boasts of her Unity and Peace! How miserably distracted is the Court of *Rome*! How many Arts are invented to elude the strongest Decrees of the Pope! How frequent is the Change of those Constitutions, which ought to be immutable! How inconvenient and defective is the Government of that Church! — Certainly if our Saviour subjected Christians in all Parts of the Earth to the Dominion and Inspection of a single Bishop, he has laid a Duty upon one Man, to which an hundred are not equal, and has chosen one of the most imperfect Forms of Government.

Gottingen April 6, 1748.

John Laurence de Mosheim.