



Mgr. Pallu.

THE FRENCH FOREIGN MISSION
IN SIAM
DURING THE XVIIITH CENTURY.

A LECTURE GIVEN BEFORE THE SIAM SOCIETY
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by

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Some years ago, an article in *Blackwood's Magazine* aroused my interest in the career of Constantine Phaulkon, a Greek, known to the Siamese as Chao P'ya Wichayen, who played an important part in the negotiations for an alliance between Siam and France which culminated in the French expedition to Bangkok at the end of P'ra Narai's reign.

During the years 1930 and 1931, I collected all the data bearing upon this subject which I could find in the libraries of Europe. The result has been to convince me that a key to the failure of the French adventure in Siam is to be found in the antipathies which existed in that country between the French Foreign Missionaries and the Jesuits between the years 1662 and 1688.

Although it may be admitted that but for the presence of the French Missionaries in Siam, the French adventure might never have occurred, nevertheless it is apparent that their connection with the expedition into which the adventure developed was just as fortuitous as the accident which caused their first establishment to be made in Siam instead of in China and Cochin-China, as was originally intended.

In this paper I propose to give a brief sketch of the origin of the French Foreign Mission and of its establishment in Siam, drawing upon two main sources:

a) An Italian account published in Rome in 1677 by the Propaganda Fidei, entitled "*Relazione delle Missioni dei Vescovi.....agli Reyni di Siam etc...*"

b) Two French Manuscripts, one at the Paris Archives Nationales,¹ the other from the pen of Fr. Verjus, S. J. at

1. Arc. Nat M. 204.

the Quai d'Orsay.¹

In addition to the published works on this subject I have made full use of the letters and documents² preserved at the Mission headquarters in Paris, of which a selection has been included in the book by Lucien Lamay,³ in order to illustrate the methods adopted in establishing the Mission in Siam, as well as to explain the circumstances under which this body of devout evangelists became entangled in political intrigue.

The origin of this entanglement will be traced to (1) the Missionaries' desire that French ships should visit Siam, (2) their ambition of converting King Pra Narai to Christianity. It will be seen that their failure to achieve this ambition led to their eclipse in the negotiations between France and Siam, and to the substitution of Phaulkon's allies, the Jesuits, in their place, as intermediaries between the two Courts.

In conclusion, Phaulkon's relations with the Foreign Mission and with the Jesuits will be examined in order to explain the virulence of his attack upon the former in his Memorandum to the Pope, as well as the attitude of reserve shown by the Mission's leaders at the time of his fall.

I will preface this study with the relation of a few important facts which I have collected concerning Constantine Phaulkon.

The year 1647 is given as the date of his birth by the *Elphtheroudakis Encyclopedia* of Athens, 1650 by other authorities. Fr. Maldonato,⁴ the principal contemporary Jesuit in Siam, records a statement of Phaulkon himself to the effect that his father's name was Gerakis. Maldonato says that Phaulkon's father was of Venetian origin and Governor of the Ionian Island of Cephalonia, where Phaulkon was born. The Italian Bishop of Argoli, a Venetian, in a letter written from Siam in 1684,⁵ confirms the claim to Venetian origin.

At the present day, the Mayor of Argostoli, chief town of

1. Q. d'O. Met D. II. 19. 21.

2. M. E. vol and Page.

3. *Histoire de la Mission de Siam*, Paris 1914.

4. Prop. Fid.—Ser. Ref. IV. p. 11.

5. „ do „ „ III. p. 355.

Cephalonia, is a Gerakis, and relatives are mentioned on good authority in Marseilles and Alexandria.

Gerakis, however, is a common name in modern Greek; it means "Falcon", and the Geraki in Italy transcribe their name as "Falcone". Constantine, on the contrary, always signed his name *Phaulkon*, replacing the Latin letters *F* and *C* by the Greek *Ph* and *K*.

It is uncertain whether the family was Catholic or Orthodox by religion, but the probability is that they were Catholics, since in his memorandum[§] to the Pope Phaulkon states that he had sent a Franciscan cleric to Europe with instructions to rebuild the Church in which he was baptised in Cephalonia, also to obtain certain favours for his family from the Republic of Venice, which was then in possession of Cephalonia.

The existing family church of the Geraki at Metaxata, in the island, may be the one to which he refers.

The family fortunes must have been dilapidated, for Phaulkon was shipped as a cabin-boy on an English vessel while still young, and spent all his early days in English ships, where he was known as "*Conse*" (short for Constantine).¹

He is mentioned in 1670 among the crew of the English ship "*Hopewell*" in which George White sailed to India.²

In 1678,¹ he was mate of a ship belonging to the East India Company at Bantam in Java, and sailed in it to Siam when Burnaby was transferred there to retrieve the fortunes of the E. I. Coy. at that place.

Burnaby¹ was aware of Phaulkon's ability and linguistic talents, transferred him from the ship to his staff in Siam, and sent him on an errand to Singora which was then in revolt from Siam and in need of arms which Phaulkon tried unsuccessfully to smuggle.

In 1679³ he figures in the Dutch E. I. Coy.'s records as the only energetic member of the English trading colony at Ligor (Nakôn Sri Tammarat).

§ See Appendix, p.

1. M. E. vol. 887 English Catholics protest: *Mémoires en forme de lettre d'un Anglais catholique au R. P. Pierre d'Orléans S. J. sur l'histoire de M. Constance*.

2. I. O. Masulipatam records.

3. Hague, Kol. Arc. 1304.

The attempt at Singora ended in shipwreck and disaster; but Phaulkon was so successful in appeasing the Siamese for Burnaby's participation in the gun-running venture, that the latter permitted him to accept an offer of service with the Siamese, trusting thereby to benefit by his help in negotiating the business of the English merchants with the Treasury.¹

Since he died in 1688, his whole period of service with the Siamese cannot have exceeded eight years, during which time he rose from the humble position of clerk to the Treasury to that of King's favourite and dictator of Siamese policy.

Correspondence between the Agents of the East India Company in India and in Siam which has been published in *A Record of Relations* leaves no doubt about the cynical opportunism which he adopted in order to consolidate the position in the King's favour, which he is said to have won originally by exposing the fraudulence of certain Indian Mohammedan contractors to the Court.

Having attained supreme power, he laboured to conserve it by means of the alliance with France which King Pra Narai was anxious to conclude.

As negotiator for Siam with France, he came into conflict with the French Ambassador de Chaumont² and the Envoys La Loubère and Céberet,³ who had behind them the moral support of the French Missionaries. He disregarded their antipathy, however, relying upon his relations with the Jesuits to maintain his popularity with the French Court.

He was thus tempted to take sides with the Jesuits in their long-standing quarrel with the Bishop and members of the French Foreign Mission which will be discussed in this paper.

The Jesuits⁴ converted him from the Anglican faith, which he had acquired during his association with the English, to Catholicism. One of their number, Fr. Tachard, wrote an eulogy about him which I have not seen. It appears to have formed the subject of Fr. d'Orléans' account of his life: "*Histoire de M. Constance*"

1. M. E. *loc. cit.*

2. de Choisy's *memoires*-See Launay.

3. Lanier.

4. Vat. Arc. Carpegna 32.

published in 1690, as well as of the English version contained in *Churchill's Voyages*¹ under the title "*A full and true Relation of The strange and wonderful Revolution which occurred in The Kingdom of Siam.*"

Among the archives of the French Foreign Mission in Paris is a manuscript containing the protest of an English Catholic contemporary of Phaulkon, against the distortions of the truth which the Jesuit's eulogy contained. The gun-running incident was suppressed, as was natural during Phaulkon's life-time—the ship-wreck, with which it ended, being represented as occurring in India, and as the prelude to a miraculous meeting with a Siamese nobleman, also victim of a shipwreck, who is represented as the author of Phaulkon's rise to favour at the Siamese Court in return for assistance then rendered to him by Phaulkon.

Fr. Thoma,² the Portuguese Jesuit who effected Phaulkon's conversion, refers to the disorderly life of the convert prior to his entry into the Catholic Church: this reference lends some weight to the assertion of the English Catholic that his conversion and marriage were the price Phaulkon had to pay to satisfy the leading members of the Portuguese community at Ayūt'ia, among whom he was then living, for his earlier sexual irregularities in their midst.

In any case, Phaulkon appears to have adopted his new faith with all the proverbial zeal of the convert, rewarding the Jesuits, who converted him, with the warm and loyal feelings which he evinced for King P'ra Narai, George White, and Burnaby—all of whom he regarded as his benefactors.

It will be necessary to go back twenty years, to 1662, the year when the first French Missionaries landed in Siam, in order to appreciate the circumstances which caused estrangement between the Jesuits and the French Missionaries. This estrangement explains how it was that Phaulkon, as the champion of the Jesuits, found himself in constant opposition to the Frenchmen with whom he had to deal, when working to achieve his Master, P'ra Narai's, ambition for an alliance with Louis XIV, then at the zenith of his power.

1. vol. viii, p. 95.

2. Vat. Arc. Carpegna 32.

coincided with the closing of Japan to foreigners, had two results:

Until the second half of the XVIIth century, all the Catholic Missions in the East were under Portuguese protection and the *personnel* was composed mainly of Portuguese and Spaniards.

The pioneers were members of the various religious orders, chief among whom were the Jesuits, who followed in the steps of Francis Xavier, the Spanish apostle of the East Indies (1506-52) and co-founder of the Jesuit Order with Ignatius Loyola, another Spaniard, whose acquaintance he made when they were students together at the University of Paris.¹

Francis Xavier founded Missions not only in the Portuguese Indies, (Goa, Malacca, etc.) but also in Japan, and died near Canton in an attempt to enter China. During the early years of the XVIIth century his followers spread over the Indo-Chinese peninsula, and when Pra Narai came to the throne of Siam there were Jesuits as well as Dominicans established in the Portuguese colony at Ayutthia. They were also present in Cambodia, Cochin-China, Tonkin, and in parts of China.

The Jesuits had laboured in Japan with considerable success for 100 years, from the middle of the XVIth to the middle of the XVIIth Century.

Arthur Lloyd, in his "*Creed of Half Japan*" says that "at first they were warmly welcomed for the reason that wherever the priests went, the merchants followed with guns and implements of war dear to a warlike people." Owing to the influence which they gained in the early years, the Shoguns Nobunaga and Hideyoshi made use of them to counter-balance the intolerant sect of the Nichirenist Buddhists. In consequence, they became unpopular with the Buddhists who supported the Shogun in persecuting them when he no longer had use for their services. Later on, when Ieyemitsu decided to banish all foreigners from Japan, he had the support of the merchant classes who favoured the exclusion of foreign goods from Japan, and the foreigners who sold them having learnt to imitate these goods successfully in Japan itself.

Nevertheless, an appreciable number of converts had been made to Christianity, and the persecution of Christians, which

1. Füllop Müller.

Japanese Christians emigrated to neighbouring countries, and in some of these lands converts were subjected to a measure of restraint. These results, combined with the expulsion of the Catholics from Malacca upon its capture by the Dutch in 1641, impressed the Catholics in the East with the necessity for increased effort in the mission field.

In 1652 a French Jesuit, named Fr. Alexander of Rhodes, came home to plead at Rome for reinforcements. Pope Innocent X instructed him to search for suitable candidates. He discovered three in France, MM. Pigne, Laval de Momorency and Pallu, a Canon of St. Martin's of Tours. The Pope wished for an international corps, but only French candidates were forthcoming. Either for this reason, or on account of Jesuit opposition, the scheme was dropped, and Fr. Alexander was sent off to Persia by the head of his Order.

Canon Pallu, however, continued his search under the reign of the next Pope, Alexander VII, to whom he received an introduction from the French Cardinal Bagny. In 1659, Canon Pallu's efforts were rewarded by the foundation of the French Foreign Mission and by his consecration as Bishop of Heliopolis and Vicar Apostolic of Tonkin and the neighbouring provinces of China. The Mission headquarters at Paris are still on the original site in the Rue du Bac, on the south bank the Seine, near the west end of Boulevard St. Germain, and cluster round Mgr. Pallu's original block, behind which is a large, shady garden. The impression which this place made upon me during my frequent visits to it in September 1931 was that a tradition of austere devotion to the Faith still survives there in an age when these qualities are not common in Europe.

The institution of a purely French Mission depending upon a revenue raised principally in France was an innovation not entirely satisfactory from the international point of view either of Rome or of the Jesuits, whose influence in the direction of Roman policy was growing, although it was less strong in France in 1658 than it was 25 years later at the time of the Franco-Siamese negotiations, when the Jesuit Fr. La Chaise was Louis XIV's confessor, and the Court was dominated by Madame de Maintenon's pro-Jesuit clique.¹

1. Sisley Huddleston.

In 1680, Rome² attempted to internationalise the Mission by requiring every Missionary to accept the supremacy of the Pope over all temporal powers in the despatch and control of Missions, but shirked the practical course of financing it. All that Rome contributed to the Foreign Mission was a beggarly allowance of 1,000 écus³ per annum for some years up to 1689; and of this sum 400 écus was allotted for the maintenance of four Franciscans waiting in Siam for an opportunity of proceeding to China.

The budget⁴ framed by Mgr. Pallu allotted fr. 1,000 to a Bishop, fr. 500 for a European Missionary, fr. 250 for a native Missionary and fr. 50 for a college pupil. (Reckoning fr. 25 to the £, fr. 500 for a European Missionary is equivalent to the £20 per annum at which Mr. Fitz Needham was engaged in 1671 by the East India Coy. as an accountant with some skill in limbering and clock work; while Thomas Copping, Curate of Wansted, was allotted the Chaplaincy of Bantam in 1675 with an emolument of £50 per annum, which may be compared with £40 allotted to a French Bishop.)

During the early years of the Mission, Louis XIV contributed 1,000 écus yearly (fr. 5,000) but the grant appears to have been discontinued after the death of the pioneers.

Another difficulty which confronted the Papacy in sanctioning the organisation of the French Foreign Mission was the antiquated claim of Portugal, based upon Papal decrees of the XVIth Century, to the right of visa over all Catholic priests in the East. It was hoped that by giving to the leaders of the French Mission the title of Vicars Apostolic, responsible directly to the Pope himself, Rome would avoid a clash with Lisbon. For the same reason, territorial titles were withheld from the Bishoprics to which the leaders of the French Mission were promoted; in the place of territorial titles, the titles of the ancient Bishoprics of Asia Minor were revived from the oblivion into which they had lapsed a thousand years before, when overthrown by the first wave of Mohammedan conquest.

2. Formula Turamenti O. d O.-I.O. II. 17.64.66.

3. Prop. Fid. Scr. Ref. II. 440-1.

4. Launay. p. 108.

5. I.O. London to Bantam, 21 Sept. 1671.

6. „ C.M. 29. Dec. 1675.

Unfortunately these expedients were unavailing to spare the susceptibilities of Portugal, which was a dependency of the powerful Spanish Throne from 1581 until 1665; neither did they placate the Jesuits who, by reason of their origin, were intimately associated with Spain. Orders were issued in Lisbon in June 1661 that the French Bishops were to be arrested wherever they were found in Portuguese territory in the East, and that they were to be sent home to answer for their failure to obtain the King of Portugal's sanction before they left Europe.

It was thus in the face of imminent opposition that the first three field-workers set sail from Marseilles on 27th Novr. 1660.¹ A slow voyage round the Mediterranean ports brought them to Alexandretta in 43 days. From Alexandretta they travelled overland *via* Aleppo to Bagdad, where they rested 12 days before proceeding to Basra at the head of the Persian Gulf. The overland journey from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf occupied 2½ months: it was then April, and there was no prospect of finding a ship for India until the end of the S. W. Monsoon in October. They therefore filled in the six months of enforced delay by taking a trip up to Ispahan and down from there to Ormuz at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, where a year after leaving France they embarked on an English ship for Surat avoiding Goa, with its threat of Portuguese enmity. The journey overland across India from Surat to Masulipatam took 41 days; then a month's sail round the Bay of Bengal brought them to the Siamese port of Mergui on 28th April 1662.

The party consisted of Peter Lambert de la Motte, Bishop of Berytus and Vicar Apostolic for Cochinchina and five provinces of China, James de Bourges and Francis Deydier, priests.

Two years later, de Bourges wrote² that their original intention was to disembark at Syriam in Burma and make their way into China *via* the Irrawaddy and a march of 25 days from Ava to the Yunnan frontier. This plan was rendered impracticable by the incursion of Chinese troops into Burma in pursuit of survivors

1. For the Journey, see M. E. 121. p. 626; 876. p. 117. & *Voyage de Mgr. de Bértye* 127.

2. M.E. 209, p. B.

of the Ming dynasty, who, after their expulsion by the Manchus, had been allowed to settle at Sagaing.¹

The party therefore changed its objective from China to Cochin-China, which they proposed to reach *via* Siam. The journey from Merguy to Ayüt'ia was delayed by an accident to the Bishop's dug-out, which caught on a snag while ascending the little Tenasserim river to Jalinga, and sank with the luggage. Most of the cases were recovered, but the passports were lost and de Bourges had to return to Tenasserim in order to obtain new ones. On reaching the Gulf of Siam, they were obliged to tramp up the coast as far as Petchaburi before finding a boat to convey them to Ayüt'ia, where they landed in the Portuguese settlement a year and nine months after leaving France.

The final stage of the journey to Cochin-China had to be abandoned owing to the unrest which then prevailed in the lands to the east of Siam. Ever since 1651 the Annamites had been interfering in the affairs of Cambodia. They deposed its King, Rann Thupdey Chan, in 1659 because he had adopted Mohammedanism,² and overran the Mekhong delta, which is now known as Cochin-China, though that name was then confined to what is now Annam.²

The French Missionaries therefore found themselves stranded at Ayüt'ia, having been deflected from their first objective by troubles in Burma, and from their second one by unrest in Cambodia. Thus their settlement in Siam was quite unpremeditated.

At Ayüt'ia they were welcomed by ten Portuguese and one Spanish priest whom they found serving a Christian community estimated at 2,000 souls. The eleven priests included four Jesuits, two Dominicans, two Franciscans and three ordinary priests.

The French visitors were unfavourably impressed by the lack of evangelistic effort shown by this large body of ecclesiastics: unfortunately they made the mistake of showing their feelings openly. We read:³ "Mgr. Lambert's zeal led him to advise his hosts of "certain shortcomings; whereupon they imagined that they were

1. See also Sir Geo. Scott, "*Burma*".

2. Maspéro, "*Un empire colonial français*,"

3. M. E. v. p. 490.

"insulted, and with one accord decided to break off friendly relations "with them."

In early life Mgr. Lambert had practised as a barrister at Rouen, and this training may have tempted him to enter into dangerous discussions. His portrait reveals a fiery nature. Although Mgr. Pallu wrote of him that "while fearless, he knew when to yield "a point, and was a past-master in finding a way round a thorny "subject," yet, to judge by results no less than by the advice which he received from Paris "not to try to achieve the impossible by a general "Reformation," there can be little doubt that he approached the Portuguese in the spirit of a zealot rather than of a statesman.

Lamnay considers that national antipathy was at the root of the trouble, tracing its origin to the anomalous privileges accorded to Portugal in the preceding century. Fr. Vachet says that any reference to the power of his Sovereign in the hearing of a Portuguese was sufficient provocation to inspire him to commit acts of physical violence in order to sustain his proof of it.

Whatever chance the French might have had of winning friends in the Portuguese settlement was lost irreparably in December 1662, within three months of their arrival, when the Portuguese received from Goa a copy of the orders from Lisbon for the arrest of French Bishops found in Portuguese territory.

Bishop Lambert had got wind of these orders during his journey, and the knowledge of them may not have disposed him to be patient with the idle priests whom he found in Ayut'tia. In any case, the arrival of these orders added fuel to the irritation with which the idlers regarded the newcomers. The storm of opposition became so strong in December 1662 that the three Frenchmen found it prudent to move across the river and accept the hospitality offered them by the Dutch merchants, who warned them to expect violence from their late hosts.

¹ While sheltering in the Dutch Settlement, the Missionaries discovered some Christian refugees from Japan living in the adjacent

l. M. E. i. p. 42.

„ 249 „ 13.

„ v. „ 190.

Japanese quarter, and divided their time between ministrations to these refugees and a study of Annamite in preparation for their journey to Cochin-China.

There was an Annamite settlement due west of the Portuguese, with a river frontage facing the south shore of Ayüt'ia island. Here the Frenchmen found a number of Christian families who had emigrated to Ayüt'ia: these Annamites invited them to settle in their midst. They accordingly moved over from the Dutch to the Annamite quarter, where they built a bamboo chapel at Ban Plahet, near the site of the later permanent buildings, among the ruins of which stands the modern Catholic Church at Ayüt'ia.

In October 1663, after an abortive attempt to reach Cochin-China, Bishop Lambert despatched de Bourges to Rome with an appeal for support against Portuguese obstruction which at times developed into open threats of violence. Vachet¹ in fact describes a savage defiance hurled at the Bishop by a young Portuguese nobleman, whose noisy threatenings so enraged the Annamites that they chased him down stream and compelled him to seek shelter with his friends.

Three months later, on 27th January 1664, Bishop Pallu arrived in Ayüt'ia, bringing with him a layman, de Chamesson and four more priests, Chevreuil, Hainques, Brindeau and Laneau. The two former had left France in September 1661 in company with Bishop Cottolendi who died in India, leaving them stranded there until Bishop Pallu picked them up.

Bishop Pallu decided to establish the eastern headquarters of the Mission at Ayüt'ia, which appealed to him as a convenient centre from which to direct missionary effort in Burma, Cochin-China and South China as well as in the provinces of Siam. From 1664 onwards the French Mission took definite root in Siam. Bishop Pallu remained for a year at Ayüt'ia organising the establishment and endeavouring to effect a truce with the Portuguese and Jesuits, who relented to the extent of inviting the French clergy to take part in a Lentern procession and later on accepted the Frenchmen's invitation to support them at the first annual festival of the Mission

1. M.E. 110. p. 58.

on Joseph's day—the Mission having adopted the name of their first convert, Joseph.

The reconciliation was not permanent. After Bishop Pallu's departure, agents¹ from the Archbishop of Goa arrived at Ayüt'ia and actually excommunicated Bishop Lambert for conducting a confirmation in the Dominican church at the request of the Dominican Fathers. It then became apparent that no peace could exist until the Pope exacted respect from Portugal for his own chosen representatives—the Apostolic Vicars.

Bishop Pallu spent eight years away from Siam, returning there from Europe for the second time in 1673, armed with a Papal decree of the 7th November 1669 which authorised the Vicars to perform all episcopal functions in all lands outside Europe which were not subject to the rule of Catholic princes. Even this was not immediately effective; for the General of the Jesuit Order delayed until 1674 before issuing orders that all Jesuits should submit themselves to the Papal Vicars. In the same year, Mgr. Pallu had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the Spanish authorities in the Philippines as the result of a shipwreck which he met with on his way to take up work in Tonkin. He was sent in chains to Europe *via* Mexico and only released as a result of strong representations from Paris and Rome to the Court at Madrid. The ill-usage meted out to Mgr. Pallu by his enemies only served to convince the Pope of the need for yet stronger action in order to curb the claims of Portugal.

On his third and last visit to Siam in 1682, Bishop Pallu brought with him the text of the famous Oath² which the Pope ordered his Vicars to administer to every priest in their diocese, acknowledging the sole right of Rome to despatch Missions, and requiring all priests to obtain the Vicar's sanction before officiating.

This order placed the Portuguese and Jesuit priests in Siam definitely under the control of the French Bishop in Ayüt'ia: it was not gladly accepted. There are references to an attempt on the part of two Dominicans to wriggle out of taking the Oath on the score of

1. Launay p. 10.

2. Q. d'O. *loc. cit.* *appendix.*

non-permanent residence in Siam; on one occasion Bishop Laneau¹ was reprimanded by Rome for permitting a Jesuit to practise in Siam for a short time without taking the Oath; later on, when he was held hostage by the Siamese for the return of the ships and Siamese hostages taken by the departing French garrison, he reported to Rome how various Portuguese priests availed themselves of his captivity, to flout the Pope's authority.^{1a}

Yet another instance of the grudging submission of the Jesuits is the use which they made of their convert Phaulkon to malign the French Missionaries. A Jesuit, Tachard, carried Phaulkon's Memorandum² to the Pope written in January 1688, a date which may be regarded as the culminating point in the quarrel between the rival factions among the Catholics in Siam. Before the end of that year, Phaulkon, the Jesuit's protégé, had been executed and the French Missionaries imprisoned as hostages for the garrison, and in danger of their lives.

It was only in the face of these adversities on both sides that a better feeling at last prevailed. From his prison, Bishop Laneau was able to write to Rome his grateful recognition of the sympathy and help afforded him by the head of the Jesuits in Siam, Fr. Maldonato. This Father's own letter confirms it.³

If only this same good feeling had existed a year or two earlier, the history of the French adventure in Siam might have been very different.

STAFF ACTIVITIES.

For the first four years after Mgr. Pallu's first visit, Bishop Lambert consolidated his position in Ayūthia with the help of his six Priests. Between the years 1668 and 1684 no less than 32 new recruits arrived together with two laymen who served for a short time, de Chamesson as Bursar, and René Charbonneau as Doctor. One non-Frenchman, Antonio Perez is mentioned—the son of a Portuguese from South India.

1. Prop. Fid. Ser. Ref. IV. 268.

1a. Appendix. p. 21.

2. Vat. Arch. Carpegna 32.

3. Prop. Fid. Ser. Ref. V. 104.

Provincial stations, each with its Church and school were opened at *Tenasserim* and *Puket* in the south, *Lopburi* in 1673, at *Bangkok* in 1674, *Pitsanulok* in 1675 with a sub-station at *Sūk'olai*. From that station Frs. Genou and Joret went over to *Burma*¹ and established themselves at *Syriam*, near the site of the modern *Rangoon*, working amicably with the half-cast Portuguese clergy whom they found there.

Cambodia and *Cochin-China* were also supplied with Missionaries by *Ayū'tia*, which thus became the centre of Catholic expansion in Further India, inspired with the purpose of educating a native Ministry, in accordance with the instructions issued at Rome when the Mission was founded in 1659:

“The motive inspiring the Curia in its despatch of Bishops to the Far East was to foster every opportunity and every means for training the youth out there to acquire such aptitude for Holy Orders that ultimately they would assume full charge of the Christian community in those parts under your guidance. This therefore is the goal which you should ever keep before you—to bring in, teach, and in due course promote as many suitable candidates as possible for the Priesthood.”

THE COLLEGE.

Ayū'tia commended itself to Bishop Pallu as the best centre for establishing a training College on account of the religious toleration enjoyed in Siam, its good climate and low cost of living.

The plan of the College was always a Lower School where little boys learnt the elements, and an Upper School for the aspirants to Holy Orders.

The Mission archives contain several accounts of the College written between 1683 and 1687: there is also an account by an ex-pupil, Anthony Pinto, son of a Portuguese by a Siamese mother. Pinto accompanied the Second Siamese Embassy to Rome, and left this account² behind, which is preserved at the Propaganda and

1. M.E. 862. p. 421.

880. 549.

881. 362.

2. Prop. Fid. Scr. Ref. IV. 76.

corresponds with the French records.

According to Bishop Laneau's list there were 13 pupils in the upper school and 45 in the lower grade in 1688. Tonkinese and Annamites are in a majority, but the list includes one English, two Dutch and two French boys in the motley company of orientals and half-castes. In 1716 the numbers had dropped to 30 and included little Constantine, Phaulkon's grandson.

The accounts show a gradual evolution from the austere rule inaugurated by Bishop Laneau. The hours 10-11.30 a. m. and 3.30-5. p. m. were always devoted to lectures; but in 1716 the hour for rising is 5. a. m. instead of 4. a. m. followed by only half an hour's study before Mass, 7-7.30 a.m. in place of the lengthy devotion and meditation in Chapel until early Mass, which formed the curriculum in Bishop Laneau's time. The greatest innovation in 1716 consisted in an hour's manual labour, carrying earth, digging out ponds, etc., after 5. p.m. followed by half an hour's bathing in the river. Bed-time was at 9.30 p.m.; but lights were kept burning all night, and the house-master patrolled the dormitories two or three times.

In 1679 or 1680 the college was moved out from the city to Mahāprām, a short distance up the Ant'ong branch of the river on its right bank, where the pupils were able to study in cooler surroundings, undisturbed by the distractions of the city. In 1686 a letter¹ from the Bishop mentions a visit which Phaulkon paid to the college, as a result of which it was moved into the city into new buildings erected by him on low-lying ground which required a gang of several thousand men to fill in. Temporary buildings of sawn wood were put up and entitled "*Constantine College*", but when the Missionaries were released from detention after Phaulkon's death, they re-occupied the Mahāprām site, and in 1722 with the proceeds of a gift from Paris they put up a new wooden building on posts four feet from the ground, to be clear of floods. The lower storey was divided into two class-rooms and another room, above which were 50 cubicles, each capable of sub-division into two single-berth cabins, in case of need.

1. M.E. 879. p. 515.

¹ Latin was the only medium of communication permitted. No grammar was taught until the boys had acquired a vocabulary and could make themselves more or less understood. The Annamites found it difficult to follow rapid conversation, and their pronunciation resembled that of English and Irish boys.

Phaulkon's memorandum to the Pope gives the impression that he regarded the College at Mahāprām as a rather mangy institution. But the Bishop preferred that his pupils should live a simple life in order that when they returned to their homes they should not pine for a standard of comfort higher than that which their homes could provide. He wrote:

"The diet, judged by European standards, will appear rather 'dull'; but we have judged it worth while not to depart entirely 'from native standards of diet, in order to obviate the discomfort 'which would be entailed by a return to them on leaving school.'"

THE CHURCH AND SEMINARY.

² Fr. Aumont has left an account of the main establishment which took the place of the first rough habitations after the Mission had won the notice of King P'ra Narai and obtained his sanction and co-operation in the construction at Ban Plahet, known comprehensively as the *Seminary*. The outlines of the foundations are still visible outside the walls of the XIXth century church.

HOSPITAL.

In a country where most of the male population devotes part of its boyhood to monastic life while obtaining its education, and where a considerable number remain on through life as Buddhist Monks, thereby avoiding the corvées imposed on laymen in lieu of taxation, the Missionaries found it hard to propagate the Christian religion. In 1704,³ Bishop de Circé admitted that while 1,200 babies were baptised annually, hardly any adult Siamese were converted. The pioneers spent much time in house to house visitations, comforting the sick and baptising the moribund. In 1676 Mgr. Pallu reported

1. M.E. 854 p. 175.

2. " 222.

3. M.E. 882. p. 153.

to Rome¹: "The Missionaries saved many souls by the custom they had of touring the city in the guise of physicians to heal the sick." In 1669, a small hospital was founded near the Church to accommodate three or four patients, who increased as the years went on. In 1672 there were 15 patients; in 1678, two separate wards for men and women housed 20-30 patients, while 200-300 out-patients were treated daily.² There is mention of a Swiss physician, who may be the young Burgundian René Charbonneau, already noticed. In 1682 the staff at Ayüt'ta had orders to assist at the morning dressings as observers, to gain experience in treating surgical cases. In that year an epidemic of smallpox gave enlarged opportunities for house to house visitation, in recognition of which the King of Siam presented the Bishop with a gilded chair, similar to the one used by the Buddhist Patriarch, but he refused the Bishop's suggestion that he should endow 200 beds on the grounds that such institutions had no place in Siamese custom.

RELATIONS WITH THE COURT.

In 1664 or 1665, immediately after Mgr. Pallu's first visit to Siam and his decision to settle there, the Mission received a visit from a Court Officer, who mentioned the interest aroused by the charitable works of the Frenchmen. His attention was attracted by the school when he learnt that small boys would be welcomed as pupils. This was reported to the King, and his sanction was given for ten Siamese boys to attend the school. Permission was given at the same time to the Missionaries to move freely about the country and to preach their religion wherever they wished.³

Bishop Lambert accepted this opening as an opportunity for establishing contact with the Court. Since Court etiquette prevented him from applying for an audience with the King in person, he wrote to the Minister of the Treasury on 29th May 1665, requesting him to transmit a letter to the King.⁴ In it he addressed P'ra Narai as God's representative in Siam, and begged him to accept a written

1. Prop. Fid. Ser. Ref. II. 537.

2. M.E. 877. pp. 654-5.

3. M. E. 121. p. 684.

4. M. E. 121. p. 684.

token of the respect which the Bishop and his colleagues were debarred by Court etiquette from conveying to the King in person. In recognition of the Royal favour which entrusted the education of ten young Siamese to the College, the Bishop offered to maintain two instructors permanently in Siam in order "to teach all things appertaining to international intercourse, and so to pass on the torch of learning received from the hands of God." He affirmed that "their one aim was to render God service and to help their fellow men, believing that their fate after death was dependent upon their success in so doing." His letter ended with the request for the grant of a building in which to perform the Christian rites.

The result of the letter was the grant of a piece of land at Ban Plahet, beyond the west end of the Annamite settlement, together with a promise of materials for building a Church.¹ In 1666, the Missionaries embanked this land 6 ft. to protect it from floods. They there erected their first solid building—a ground floor of brick and mortar with an upper story of sawn timber to serve as a chapel pending the construction of a Church.

In 1667, in order to remind the King of his promise of a Church, the Bishop sent him a set of engravings depicting the life of Christ and the Apostles. In October 1667, Bishop Lambert wrote to Mgr. Pallu that the King on receipt of these pictures asked for a separate explanation to be written out for each picture. This occupied Fr. Laneau for two months, and soon afterwards the long expected timber for the Church was delivered.²

About this period, Fr. Laneau was sent for by the paralysed brother of the King to examine his hands and feet, which had been crippled for twelve years, and to inform him whether they could be cured through the medium of Christianity. Fr. Laneau succeeded in holding the Prince's attention, and was asked to repeat his visit and finally to follow the Prince up to Lopburi.³ The Brahmans encouraged the Missionaries to offer up special prayers for the Prince's

1. M. E. 121. p. 687.

M. E. 858. p. 131.

M. E. 876. p. 143.

2. M. E. 857. p. 221

3. M. E. 121. p. 753.

recovery, which they said would interest the King in Christianity. The Missionaries maintained that the Prince's recovery would depend upon the measure of faith shown by the Prince, and when some improvement was observed in the Prince's circulation, they claimed that their prayers were being answered.

The Court thereupon broke off all relations with them; nevertheless the Missionaries built strong hopes upon the interest shown by the King in their sacred pictures and in their charitable works. They did not realise that evangelism is not a common form of meritorious action in Buddhist eyes, or that the spectacle of foreigners braving the dangers and discomfort of a journey half round the world was calculated to arouse feelings of surprised curiosity rather than grateful admiration, even in a ruler as enlightened as P'ra Narai. To those well acquainted with Siam it would not seem surprising that the King, having satisfied his curiosity, should avail himself of the foreigners' philanthropy for the good of his people, without ever for one moment contemplating the adoption of their creed. To the newcomers from France, however, P'ra Narai's interest appeared significant, and Mgr. Lambert's letters to Mgr. Pallu in 1668 are full of satisfaction and hope.¹

The result was that the idea of converting the King of Siam to Christianity took a firm hold in Paris, and while experience gradually taught the elder missionaries in the field to moderate their ambitions, younger ones, such as Vachet during the visit of the Siamese envoys K'un P'ichai and K'un P'ichit to France, appear to have encouraged the notion. It formed the key-stone to de Cham-mont's embassy to Ayüt'ia, and was only exploded finally when the failure of that embassy from the French point of view became known.

Another matter which brought the Mission into relations with the French Court and foreign policy was the very natural desire of its members to see French ships in the Menam side by side with the Dutch and English vessels upon which they depended for maintaining communications with home. The wars between

1. M.E. 851 p. 246.

„ 857 p. 221.

France and Holland rendered this line of communication precarious, while the overland journey—as experienced by the pioneers—was so hazardous and so slow that it was never attempted as a means of obtaining mails or supplies for hospital and school.

Ships leaving Europe in the spring for the Cape would there catch the South-West Monsoon and reach Ayūṭ'ya in little more than six months. French ships, however, did not proceed further east than Madagascar until 1668, when the first French settlement was made at Surat. The advantages to the Mission of having a French trading centre at Ayūṭ'ya were so obvious that, when news reached Bishop Lambert of the contemplated extension of French trade to India, he wrote home on 17th October 1667 :

“I have heard of the plans which our gracious King has formed for establishing trade in the East and I submit that this city [Ayūṭ'ya] is a most useful centre for such a purpose. A suggestion to that effect might be submitted to H. M. urging him to follow the successful example of the Dutch and send an Ambassador to make arrangements for the trade which could be conducted with this country, and at the same time invite the King to accept the Christian religion.”¹

This letter marks the inception of French political interest in Siam. The motives which animated the Missionaries in appealing to the Foreign Office were cogent enough, without the added spur of nationalist sentiment which inspired Frenchmen in that century² and which must have been sharpened by the senseless antagonism of the Portuguese.

MR. PALLU.

Mgr. Pallu was in France when Bishop Lambert's letter was received, and to his efforts it was due that interest in Siam became a feature of French eastern policy. He was a man of outstanding character and ability, well equipped to conduct negotiations with Princes after his success at Rome in 1659 which led to the foundation of the Mission.

1. M.E. 857. p. 222.

2. Sisley Huddleston; *Louis XIV.*

Acting upon Bishop Lambert's suggestion, he succeeded in winning Louis XIV's interest, and returned to Siam on his second visit, the bearer of a letter from Louis to P'ra Narai written in Paris on 31st January 1670, together with a letter from Pope Clement IX. Both letters express thanks to P'ra Narai for the favours he has bestowed on the Missionaries, and Louis adds the assurance of his appreciation in advance for any further favours which they or other French subjects may receive.

These letters enabled Mgr. Pallu to present himself to the Siamese Court as envoy of the two most powerful rulers in the western world. Such an introduction might be calculated to raise the prestige of the Mission in Siam and to bring the Bishops into close relations with the Siamese Court.

Bishops Pallu and Lambert were received in public State audience by P'rai Narai at Ayüt'ia on 18th October 1673. For the first time in Siamese history a foreign envoy was permitted to face the King, and to remain seated on a carpet instead of prostrate, face to the ground. This modification of ancient Siamese custom was a notable concession which raised French prestige above that of the other European nations. It was followed by an invitation to join the Court at Lophuri in November during which they were received in audience not only in the palace but also at the elephant kraal (Paniet) where the King engaged them in a long conversation concerning Louis XIV.

It then became evident that Siam reciprocated French political interest. In order to obtain Louis' alliance, P'ra Narai was willing to cede a port in the Peninsula to France, to be named after Louis the Great, and to be the residence of one of his representatives. The advantage to Siam of the proximity of a friendly foreign garrison is obvious, especially in the town of a vassal of doubtful loyalty. P'ra Narai hoped to obtain this advantage by the offer of privileges to the Missionaries and traders; and for the last fifteen years of his reign it was the dominating motive of Siamese foreign policy.

¹The Bishops wrote a joint letter to Louis XIV on 8th November 1673 reporting their success and the probability that a



AMBASSADEURS DE SIAM

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Reception of the Siamese ambassadors by Louis XIV at Versailles.

Siamese embassy would be despatched to France the following year.

The fact that the first Siamese embassy to France did not sail until 1680 was due probably to the war between Holland and France which made it hard for the Siamese to obtain passages. The fact remains, however, that the Bishops, in reporting their success and P'ra Narai's desire for Louis' friendship, appear to have assumed that P'ra Narai was interested in Christianity and in the Most Christian King, whereas sundry incidents reported in their letters leave no room for doubt that P'ra Narai's interest in Louis was an interest in the powerful monarch rather than in the Most Christian King.

On 4th July 1682, Mgr. Pallu returned to Siam for the third and last time—bound for China where he died. He again came in the character of envoy, bringing letters from Louis XIV and the Pope which were accorded a public state reception, as in 1673. I have not found copies of these letters; but presumably they introduced the French traders who settled in Siam in October 1682.

Mgr. Pallu found more than one change at Ayūth'ia. His colleague, Bishop Lambert, had died in 1679, and Fr. Louis Lameau was at the head of the Mission in Siam as Bishop of Metellopolis. Bishop Lameau had been consecrated in 1673 and had then served as interpreter at the State Audiences. In 1682, the young Greek, Constantine Gerakis or Phaulkon, was right-hand man to the Minister of the Treasury and acted as interpreter at the audiences; furthermore,¹ in the spring of that year, he had been re-converted from the Anglican to the Catholic faith by the Jesuit Fr. Thomas.

Mgr. Pallu availed himself of Phaulkon's services, and did all in his power to effect good relations with the Jesuits and the Portuguese, with both of whom Phaulkon had close ties. ²His advances met with only moderate success, but Phaulkon showed himself friendly, undertook to hold the king to his promise of building the Church, and provided the old Bishop with his passage from Siam to China.

1. Vat. Arch. Carpegna 32.

2. M.E. 878. p. 489.

When Mgr. Pallu left Siam for the last time, his policy of interesting the French Foreign Office in Siam had obtained fruition. The French East India Company had just opened an agency at Ayūt'ia, while the eagerness shown by P'ra Narai to obtain an alliance with France and the French garrison in one of the tributary states in the Peninsula was interpreted by the sanguine churchmen as affording a prospect for the introduction of Christianity, if not of the King's conversion. Even P'ra Narai's desire for an alliance with France can be traced to the influence upon him of the glowing accounts of Louis' power which he heard from the Missionaries at a time when the encroachments of Dutch power in Java and the Celebes gave him cause for anxiety.

The Siamese policy of seeking an alliance with France was already mooted before Phaulkon ever came to Siam; before he rose to power it had been embarked upon quite definitely by the despatch to France in 1680 of P'ra P'ip Pat supported by Luang Wisān Senton, and K'ūn Nakōn Wichai, and conducted by Fr. Gayme, one of Bishop Laneau's most promising assistants.

News of the loss at sea of this embassy decided P'ra Narai to despatch two minor officials, K'ūn P'ichai Walit and K'ūn P'ichit Maitri, accompanied by two more Missionaries, to take copies of his earlier letters sent in 1680. The Missionaries were Frs. Vachet and Pascot; and from the latter¹ we learn that he was Phaulkon's nominee, chosen against Bishop Laneau's wish. Pascot's letters give the impression that he was a neurotic, and likely to make trouble; and Mgr. Laneau reported to Paris that he agreed to the despatch of Pascot, since it would be necessary in any event to send him away to Europe. This was in 1684, the same year in which the English trader Barron had appealed to Bishop Laneau and to an Ambassador from Portugal to the Siamese Court, complaining of Phaulkon's vexatious treatment of foreign merchants, in the hope of getting him discredited at Court.² A letter from Fr. Clerges relates how Phaulkon came round to the Mission

1. Prop. Fid. Scr. Ref. II. 436.

2. M. E. 861. p. 190.



De Chaumont's reception by King Pra Narai.

and complained of the incident, insisting upon the use of terms of respect such as Excellency for himself and Imperial Majesty for his master—a clear indication that relations between Phaulkon and the Mission were not very cordial in 1684. As time went on, Phaulkon's only friend in the Mission appears to have been the physician Fr. Paumard.

Vachet has left a full account of his Mission to Europe.¹ His Siamese charges gave him a lot of trouble owing to their boorish behaviour, but he appears to have been well satisfied with the result, since he was able to convince de Seignalay, Colbert's successor, of Siam's eagerness for French friendship and of the possibility of obtaining Pra Narai's conversion to Christianity in return for an alliance.

By this time, Jesuit influence was strong at the French Court. A Jesuit, Fr. de la Chaise, was confessor to Louis XIV. He sent for Vachet and put some searching questions to him on the subject of affairs in Siam. It is significant that when the great French embassy headed by de Chaumont set out for Siam, a party of six Jesuit astronomers (bound ultimately for China) accompanied the expedition.

One of these astronomers was Fr. Guy Tachard, of whom de Choisy,² de Chaumont's accessor, writes that during the voyage the crew enjoyed more of Tachard's company than the passengers did. He had previously served in the Jesuit Missions of Central America, and knew how to win human sympathies. On arrival at Ayūthia he set himself to cultivate an intimacy with Phaulkon acting as his secretary and confidant.

³ Céberet relates how Tachard two years later gave proof of his blind devotion to Phaulkon by actually taking his orders to the kitchen for supper to be served. It seems as if Tachard was working on behalf of the Jesuits to supplant Bishop Laneau as intermediary between the French and Siamese Courts.

1. Archives of M. E.

2. *Voyage de Siam.*

3. Lanier. *Etude historique sur les Relations de la France et du Royaume de Siam 1662-1713.*

At the French Court, the Jesuits were already powerful: in Siam, the lack of cordiality between Phaulkon and the Missionaries after Mgr. Pallu's departure in 1683 left an open road for Tachard to gain Phaulkon's ear by pandering to his vanity and to his sensitiveness to criticism and disapproval. The Abbé de Lionne's letters made no secret of his disapproval of Phaulkon in spite of the generous recognition which Bishop Laneau gave of Phaulkon's zeal for Christianity.

Then came de Chaumont's failure to obtain the King's conversion, the suggestion for which first emanated from the Missionaries. Their prestige naturally suffered when this plan had to be shelved, though it is doubtful whether in practice it ever received a fair chance, since Phaulkon insisted on ousting the Bishop as interpreter between the King and de Chaumont, deliberately distorting his translation of de Chaumont's speeches in order to minimise all references to the King's conversion: furthermore,¹ de Chaumont's memoir makes it clear that Bishop Laneau himself considered the demand for the King's conversion to be premature, and approved of Phaulkon's advice to de Chaumont not to make the issue of the negotiations dependent upon this demand.

Nevertheless, the policy was associated with the Missionaries, and its ill success naturally reflected upon them. Even before de Chaumont sailed for Siam, La Bruyère had criticised the policy, asking how it was that Orientals accepted the presence in their midst of Christian priests with a tolerance which western races would never extend to Buddhist emissaries from Siam.

While de Chaumont's embassy ended in failure for the policy of the Mission, it represented a great success for Siam and for Phaulkon, who obtained de Chaumont's agreement to the alliance which Pra Narai coveted with France, without surrendering anything more definite in return than (1) a vague offer of privileges for the Mission which were never published, and (2) suggestions for a French settlement and garrison at Singora.²

1. Arc. Nat. K 1368. No. 98.

2. de Choisy's memoir, M.E. 8. p. 1.

Tachard went back to France with de Chaumont, bearing Phaulkon's secret suggestions,¹ which were to be conveyed to Louis through the Jesuits. They envisaged the conversion of Siam, not through the medium of the King, as the Missionaries had proposed, but by introducing French Catholics into positions of importance in the palace and in the provinces; among these agents Jesuits might be included provided they came in the guise of laymen; upon them Phaulkon depended for the establishment of Christianity in Siam.

Tachard won Louis' support for this plan.² By the year 1689 no less than a hundred gentlemen had been enrolled for service in Siam, but had to be disbanded when news came to France that Phaulkon had perished in a revolution in June 1688. The plan, however, was developed privately, and it is doubtful even whether Louis' own Ministers were admitted fully into the secret.

The official negotiations which followed de Chaumont's return to France were directed towards improving upon Phaulkon's suggestions for material and religious privileges in return for the alliance.

The Missionaries took no hand in these negotiations; in fact their letters express a hope that the offer of Singora would be accepted by France, and disapproval at subsequent developments;³ in fact, they took a back place in political affairs until the sickness of P'ra Narai led to Phaulkon's fall.

Their⁴ services were then required by the Usurper P'ra P'et Racha in order to negotiate for the disposal of the French garrison, which—acting upon the Bishop's advice—had stood aside from the intrigues at Court to establish the succession to the throne, and refused Phaulkon's summons for assistance.

During the last years of Phaulkon's life, while the Missionaries were excluded from the political arena, it so happened that they enjoyed the services of a priest, the Abbé de Lionne, whose antecedents, as the son of the French Ambassador to Rome, marked him down as specially fitted for the role of negotiator.⁵ De Lionne's

1. M.E. 879, p. 151.

2. Tachard's letter to P'raklang, March 1689, M.E. 880, p. 380.

3. M.E. 850, p. 97.

4. *Relation des Révolutions*. Amsterdam 1691.

5. M.E. 853, pp. 72, 101, 162, 305, 319, M.E. 856 pp. 123.

letters leave no doubt of his political acumen and ability; but unfortunately for France, no use was made of it until after Phaulkon's fall.

He was selected as interpreter to the Siamese Mission which went to France in the ships which took de Chaumont home, and in which Tachard also travelled. But when they reached France, he found that no interest was taken in him, and that Phaulkon's Jesuit friend Tachard usurped his place in the discussions with the French politicians and merely utilised him to interpret at the State Reception of the Siamese Envoy P'ya Sun'ton (Kosa Pan) by Louis XIV.

The ships which brought P'ya Sun'ton back to Siam in 1687 with de Lionne and Tachard, also carried two Envoys from Louis XIV, the merchant Céberet and the lawyer de la Loubère with 600 French soldiers. ¹ La Loubère was the bearer of the answer of the French Court to proposals for commercial and religious privileges offered by Siam to de Chaumont in return for the alliance which France extended to Siam.

La Loubère² was instructed to refuse the offer of Singora as a French base, and to insist upon the appointment of French Governors at Bangkok³ and Mergui, where the French garrison was to reside. These demands were to be submitted to Phaulkon by Tachard, who was expected to obtain sanction for them from him: in case, however, of any unlooked for change of sentiment on the part of Siam towards France, the instructions committed the French force to an attack on Bangkok, in spite of the prejudice which this would entail to the cause both of Christianity and French commerce.

De Lionne's letters show that the Missionaries were not only left out of any share in these negotiations, but also that he anticipated that they would lead to disaster. Describing his voyage back to Siam, he wrote:³ "At Batavia, Tachard transhipped to another vessel, which set sail at once, in order to reach Siam ahead of the fleet. On disembarking, he went straight to Phaulkon. I do not know what passed between them: all I know is that when our ship

1. Lanier.

2. Etienne Gallois: "*L'expédition de Siam*,"

3. M.E. 850, p. 99.

“reached the Bar, Tachard came on board and told me privately that Bangkok was to be given to the French; that is to say, they were to be stationed there under certain conditions fixed between Phaulkon and Tachard. Either these conditions were not carried out or else they were unacceptable to the French, for ultimately the Envoys broke with both Phaulkon and Tachard. However, as it was a matter solely between these gentlemen and one of which I had no exact knowledge, I will refrain from discussing it;—all I can say, for this was common knowledge, is that Tachard took the lead in everything.”

PHAULKON'S QUARREL WITH THE MISSION.

It seems probable that the demand of the French in 1687 for Bangkok and Mergui as French garrison towns came as a surprise to Phaulkon, but that he succeeded in turning it to his own advantage, while rendering it possible of acceptance by the Siamese through the stipulation that the garrisons must take an oath of allegiance to Siam. On this point¹ Phaulkon was immovable, in spite of the dislike for it which the French envoys and soldiers expressed; and he carried it out in spite of their opposition, by obtaining the support of Desfarges, the General in command of the expeditionary force—an elderly man, opposed to taking unnecessary risks.

Phaulkon's triumph was complete on the day when the French officers tendered their allegiance to him as the King of Siam's representative at Bangkok; but it cost him the friendship of the French colony, as well as that of the Envoys Céberet and La Loubère.

Lanier's quotation from Tachard's MS. journal reveals the important fact that Tachard also had a feud with these Envoys. Thus both Phaulkon and the French Jesuits found themselves opposed by almost the whole French community in Siam, who not only resented Phaulkon's domination as humiliating to their pride, but feared² to be associated with him in the eyes of the Siamese, who—

1. Lanier.

2. Launay's reproduction of de Lionne's letters.

M.E. vol. 853. pp. 72. 101. 162. 305. 319.

„ 856. pp. 123.

M.E. „ 880. p. 15 for his estimate of Phaulkon.

it was evident—were merely waiting for a favourable moment to disown him.

De Lionne's¹ MSS. show clearly that the Missionaries shared these feelings very strongly: it was natural therefore that their leader, Bishop Laneau, as the senior and most respected member of the French community, should be the object of Phaulkon's spite and resentment, particularly since relations with Phaulkon's allies, the Jesuits, were constantly subjected to a strain by their opposition to the Oath which the Pope required that the Bishop should administer to them.

Tachard, on leaving Siam for France at the beginning of 1688, carried with him letters from Phaulkon to the Pope² and Curia of the 2nd and 3rd January 1688 with a³ Memorandum on the state of the Missions in Indo-China. Copies of these documents were shown to Prince Damrong in Rome in 1930 at the Vatican, while the original letter from Phaulkon to the Pope, written in Portuguese and discovered by me at the Propaganda Fidei in Piazza di Spagna at Rome last year, is here reproduced. These documents are witness of Phaulkon's attempt to damage Bishop Laneau, representing him as a confirmed enemy of the Jesuits. There is evidence at the Propaganda that they were discussed by the Curia and that the latter refused to be drawn into taking sides in the quarrel.

It is clear, however, from Bishop Laneau's final letter, that the Jesuits had succeeded in damaging the Mission's reputation in Europe. In commending his flock before his death to the fatherly care of the Holy See, Bishop Laneau adjured the Cardinals to accept the oath of a dying man and to believe⁴ "that never was a "fraternity more devoted to the Holy See than the Siam Mission is "and will ever remain; that not a single member is contaminated "with Jansenism or any other heresy; that not one of them would "not prefer to end his days at home, in spite of insinuations current

1. Launay's reproduction of de Lionne's letters.

M.E. vol. 853, pp. 72. 101. 162. 305. 319.

„ 856. p. 123.

M.E. „ 880. p. 15 for his estimate of Phaulkon.

2. 3. Appendix.

4. Launay. end vol. I.

“to the effect that some came to Siam in search of an easy life, and others for worldly gain.” (Appendix A. B. C.).

Critics of France insinuate that France favours French Missionaries as a means of preparing the way for mercantile and political action. These pages show that the French Foreign Mission originated in circumstances unconnected with French politics, and depended for maintenance upon the contributions of the charitable—Louis XIV's annual donation of 1,000 écus ceasing with the death of Mgr. Pallu.¹

It was the Missionaries themselves who invited the traders to come to Siam, and they who urged Louis to send out an important embassy to P'ra Narai. The motives which prompted them would have appealed to any pioneers situated as they were. Their eagerness to convert P'ra Narai led them into mistaking his favours, conferred upon them as subjects of Louis whose alliance he desired, for favours conferred upon them as Christian evangelists.

It was the hope of converting Siam which led them to support the Siamese policy of an alliance with France; but the French Government, so far from co-operating with them, gave its support to their opponents, the Jesuits.

The Jesuits must share with their tool Phaulkon the responsibility for the errors of French policy in Siam which culminated in the military occupation of Bangkok with troops placed under the control of this unpopular Greek.

The Missionaries foresaw that these errors would involve them and all Frenchmen in disgrace with the Siamese;² yet when the crash came, they were untiring in their efforts to negotiate for the disposal of the French garrison. The garrison failed to carry out in full the terms which Bishop Laneau negotiated for it with the Siamese and for which he and his staff stood security. In consequence, the Missionaries were kept in confinement by the Siamese for eighteen months and suffered persecution until the Siamese obtained satisfaction.³

1. Latumay. vol. 1.

2. See de Lionne's letters, quoted above.

3. Ser. Ref. V. p. 104. F. Maldonato's a/c.

M.E. 862. p. 379.

„ 880. pp. 311-613.

„ 680. p. 139.

No better example could be given of the disinterested patriotism which inspired the French Missionaries than Bishop Laneau's letter, written to Louis XIV on 18th May 1690 when he was released from confinement:

"We have no regrets for having exposed ourselves to imprisonment by accepting bail for the garrison, thereby securing their free departure, in which Your Majesty's honour was so much at stake. If need be, we would do the same thing again. Our sole regret is to see the name of God despised and French prestige brought so low."

The life ¹ of Bishop Laneau is an epitome of the early days of the Mission—a life of unrelenting toil for the welfare of his faith and of his country.

During his university career at the Sorbonne he met Mgr. Pallu who engaged him for the Foreign Mission. He sailed for Siam at the age of 25 and spent the remaining 34 years of his life there.

In 1686 de Choisy ² described him as a tall, fine-looking man, who might be taken for 60 instead of 49, adding: "a quarter of a century in the Mission field is bad for the complexion."

His natural inclination led him to prefer pastoral to political work. In matters of diet and dress his habits were austere: if Rome would have allowed it, he would have adopted the robe and rule of the Buddhists whom he hoped to convert to Christianity.³

It is significant that nearly all of his numerous letters preserved at Rome and in Paris reveal worry over the lack of unity among Catholics outside his Mission. Almost his happiest letter was written in 1690 while he was held prisoner by the Siamese (⁴ "furtim e carcere scribo") and isolated from politics as well as from the malice of Jesuits and Portuguese.

When Bishop Lambert ⁵ proposed him as candidate for episcopal rank, Bishop Pallu expressed doubt whether he was strong enough for the post of leader, and Gazil de la Bernadière wrote of

1. See Launay.

2. *Voyage de Siam*.

3. Ser. Ref. IV. 57.

4. " " V. 195.

5. See Launay.

him as "a simple soul with only average brain power".

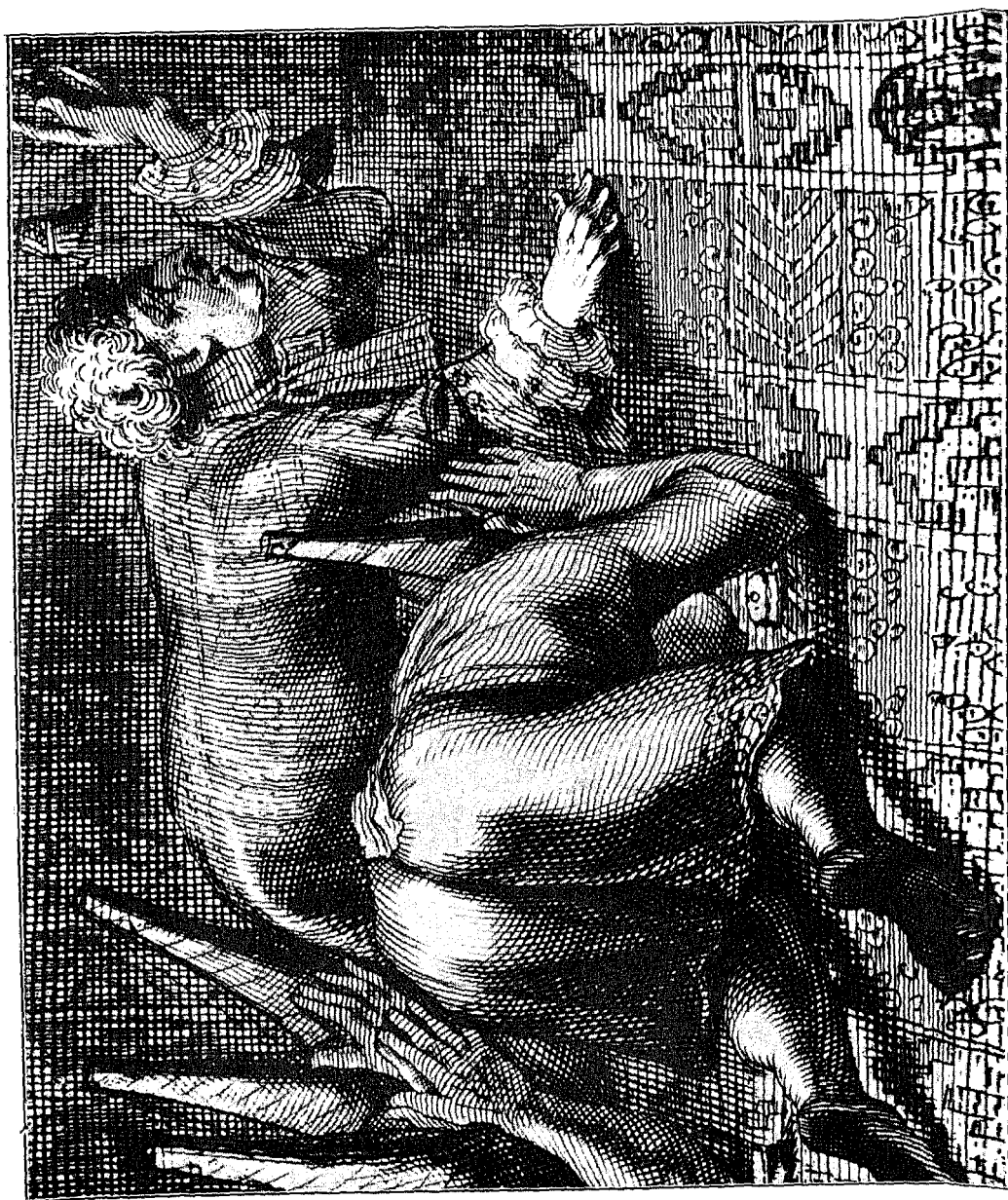
Nevertheless, it was his leadership which carried the Mission through the troubled times that followed the death of P'ra Narai, and won for the Bishop the respect of that King's successor,¹ who began his reign by persecuting the Mission.

If Mgr. Laneau lacked the brilliance of Phaulkon, he had the "advantage of being a good man, and—as Launay says: "In the "judgement of Eternity, virtue ranks before cleverness, and to be good "is more important than to be great."

1. M.E. 881. p. 619.



Detail of de Chaumont's reception.



Detail of de Chammont's reception.

APPENDIX.

References in the Notes to Manuscripts.

M. E. for papers in possession of the Missions Etrangères					at Paris.
Q. d'O.	"	"	"	"	French Foreign Office at Paris.
Arc. Nat.	"	"	"	"	French State Archives at Paris.
Ser. Ref.	"	"	"	"	Propaganda Fidei in Rome. "Scripta Referita."
Vat.	"	"	"	"	Vatican Archives in Rome. "Carpegna Collection."
I. O.	"	"	"	"	India Office in London.
Kol. Arc.	"	"	"	"	Colonial records at The Hague.

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APPENDIX.

INTRODUCTION.

The Propaganda Fidei at Rome possesses the original copy in Portuguese of the letter which Phaulkon sent to the Pope on 2nd January 1688 to explain the object of the Memorandum which he had entrusted to Fr. Tachard.

Phaulkon came down to Paknam to bid farewell to the French Envoy La Loubère and to Tachard, and he dated his letter from the Bar.

The Vatican possesses a copy of this letter in Italian, also a copy of the Memorandum in the same language; but the original of the Memorandum has not been traced. It was probably written in Portuguese in the same way as the letter.

The paper on which the letter to the Pope is written consists of a panel in white, reserved for the script, above which there is lotus-leaf ornamentation in gold, and the panel is surrounded with a gold framework. The letter is at the lower end of the sheet, the remainder of which consists of a dappled-green background, decorated with large flower-sprays picked out in gold and white. The flowers resemble those commonly used in Persian designs.

There was much intercourse between Siam and the Moham-medan States in Persia and India in the XVIIth century, and it is probable that Paulkon obtained the paper from one of these sources.

The Memorandum is a clever presentation of the grievances of the Jesuits against the French Foreign Mission. It is divided into five portions:

1). An account of the Christian origins in Tonkin and of the exclusion of the Jesuits from that land, which led the Tonkinese converts to appeal to Phaulkon for the return of the Jesuits, and Phaulkon's failure to obtain this from Bishop Laneau.

2). Account of the troubles in Annam, where the converts were forbidden to receive absolution from non-juring Jesuits, and punished for so doing.

The reluctance of French priests to settle in Cambodia is mentioned as the reason why that country is less troubled by them

than the other two kingdoms; while in South China their arrival was too recent to have led to serious disturbance.

3). A survey of the Mission Stations in Siam, together with ten observations upon the conduct of the French.

4). Details of Phaulkon's quarrel with Bishop Laneau, arising out of the latter's insistence upon administering the Oath to three Dominicans from Goa.

5). Suggestions for composing the religious strife.

The Oath which was such a subject of contention is reproduced in the original Latin together with a brief abstract of its essential features in English.

Phaulkon's letter to Mr. Fermanelle, Secretary of the French Foreign Mission in Paris, was written the day before his letter to the Pope denouncing the conduct of the French foreign Missionaries in the East. It contains no mention of the quarrel between Phaulkon and the Missionaries. It is written in flattering terms, possibly as a reminder of the debt which the Mission owed to Phaulkon for his patronage.

The letter bears on the reverse side a well preserved impression of Phaulkon's personal seal—a falcon among the Lilies of France, surmounted with a coronet to which he was entitled as Chevalier de l'Ordre de St. Michel.

Bishop Laneau's letter to the Pope explains the Bishop's attitude in the dispute with Phaulkon which the latter describes in the last part of his Memorandum.

The Bishop's duty, as Vicar Apostolic or Papal Representative, required him to exact the Oath from all Priests officiating in his diocese. A few years earlier, the Bishop had used his discretion to grant the very exemption for which Phaulkon pleaded in vain on behalf of the Dominicans in 1687. For doing so he received a severe reprimand from Rome in a letter dated December 1686, on receipt of which he wrote the letter here reproduced.

In it he admits that he used his own discretion on the occasion in question, and explained to the Pope the necessity which sometimes compels the Papal representatives in distant lands to act

upon their own judgement; he regrets that his action has not been approved, and he places his resignation in the hands of the Pope.

Both letter and Memorandum must have reached Rome simultaneously. Whatever their combined effect may have been, it is worth remembering that a letter exists, written by the Pope to Bishop Laneau in 1696, the year of the Bishop's death in Ayüt'ia. It is a generous recognition by the Pope of Mgr. Laneau's services, and an encouragement to him to persevere to the end.

Those who have read the numerous letters of Bishop Laneau and of his Missionaries will read the Memorandum with incredulity, since the letters leave no doubt at all of the essential goodness and zeal of the Bishop and of most of his helpers.

This conviction is fortified by the references to them contained in the Memoirs of Chevalier de Forbin—a soldier, sailor and man of the world, who came into contact with them in Siam in 1686.

Forbin makes no secret of the occasional human shortcomings which he observed among some of the priests. Such failings are liable to occur in any community, and his admission of them rather lends weight to the tribute which he pays to the character and work of the majority of the members of the Foreign Mission in Siam.

ITALIAN VERSION AT THE VATICAN (CARPEGNA 32) OF THE
 LETTER FROM PHAULKON TO POPE INNOCENT XI,
 WRITTEN IN PORTUGUESE AND PRESERVED AT THE PROPAGANDA FIDEI
 (Scr. Ref. V. 13.)

Santissimo Padre,

Havendo saputo all' arrivo del Padre Taciar a questa Corte l'honore che La Santità Vostra haveva fatto alla mia lettera con accettarla, hebbi un grandissimo dispiacere che l'indispositione del medesimo Padre in Parigi l'havesse impedito di andare da mia parte a bacciare i piedi all S. V. e rappresentarle Le particolarità delle quali l'havevo incaricato molto importanti al servizio di Dio Nostro Signore, e alla propagatione della Sua Santa Fede in questa Oriente: poichè ben conosco il zelo e paterno affetto della S. V. non solamente in quel che tocca a questi parti ma ancora a quel che tocca a tutto l'universo, come altresì l'obligatione che ho avanti Iddio Nostro Signore di non passar sotto silentio nessuna a ciò spettante che venga a mio conoscenza. Il che supposto, spero che tutto quel che tratterò sopra questa materia sarà ben ricevuto ed approvato dalla S. V., nel che io confesso che non mi interesso per poco. Del resto col considerare che non si tratta di altro che del servizio della Santa Madre Chiesa, spero che la Materia da se medesima sia per procurarsi dalla S. V. un favorevole rescritto.

Ah Santissimo Padre, se La S.V. potesse vedere lo stato in cui si trova questa Chiesa e il canale che sta aperto alla propagatione della Santa Fede in questa maggior parte del Mondo senza violenza alcuna, anzi con somma dolcezza e soavità tanto grande che posso assicurare La S. V. no havessi la mira ad altro che ad una pietà sincera disinteressata da tutte le cose del Mondo, ed a togliere la confusione ed i scrupoli delle conscienze di tutta La Christianità di ques' Oriente, La Sua Santa Pietà prenderebbe per certo quelle misure che conven-gono alla gloria di Nostro Signore, poichè dove non è pace ne unione, poca speranza n'è della presenza di Dio.

La pietà di Beatissimi Pontefici antecessori della S. V. è stata grandissima. Con tutto ciò so che quei che havevano l'autorità dai Pontefici non han dato alla Santa Sede quelle ampie notizie che con-

venivano alla pace ed unione necessaria per il buon esempio alle anime nuovamente convertite al conoscimento di Dio, ma che al contrario le loro richieste non hanno mirato ad altro che ad accrescere la Loro potenza per dar da intendere ai popoli delle cose che La S. V. conoscerà dalle conseguenze, il quale abbastanza mi costò dal dispiaccio che ricevei quando intercedei per la pace e per la pietà che conveniva.

Ho da rappresentare alla S. V. troppo più che possa comprendersi in una lettera, e così mi dimetterò ad un memoriale consegnato al sopradetto P. Taciar, segnato di mio mano per rappresentarlo alla S. V. con ogni rispetto e sommissione, e non dubito che abbia l'effetto che conviene al servizio di Nostro Signore, alla gloria della S. V., alla pace e quiete delle coscienze di migliaia di anime in quest' Oriente, le quali oltre molte havranno questa singolare obbligazione di pregare Dio N. S. per la longa vita della S. V.

Il Rè mio Signore non ha voluto differire di corrispondere ai Brevi della S. V. e così ha nominato il sopradetto P. Taciar per Suo inviato straordinario per salutare da Sua parte La S. V. e di assicurarla della Sua protezione e soccorso per tutti i religiosi e Christiani essistenti non solo nei Suoi regni ma ancora in tutto l'Oriente, come ancora per informare La S. V. della Sua ottima volontà; del che La S. V. gusterà molto.

Il sopradetto Inviato presenterà alla S. V. da mia parte alcune cose di quest' Oriente alle quali prego la S. V. di far l'onore di accettarle, il che mi sarà di sommo gusto e consolatione; ed assicuro La S. V. che i suoi annuali comandi non mi saranno minori.

Non ho altro a domandare che con somma humiltà la Sua Santa benedittione. L'Iddio conservi La S. V. per consolatione di tutta la Christianità—questo è il desiderio di che è, Beatissimo Padre.

Della Santità Vostra,

Molto humile figlio, molto ubbidiente, e molto obbligato servitore,
Dalla Bara di Siam.

2. Genn. 1688.

C. PHAULKON.

E. Krauskopf

Phaulkon's signature and seal.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE ITALIAN VERSION OF PHAULKON'S
LETTER TO THE POPE, DATED 2/1/1688, AT THE VATICAN.

(CARPEGNA 32.)

Most Holy Father,

Upon the arrival of Father Tachard at this Court, I learnt of the honour which Your Holiness had conferred upon me by accepting my letter; and I felt deep regret that this Father should have been detained at Paris by ill-health, and prevented from going to Rome on my behalf to kiss the feet of Your Holiness and to communicate matters of great importance both for the service of Our Lord and for the spread of his Holy Gospel in this part of the East.

In charging him with this mission, I had in mind both the keen fatherly affection of Your Holiness for these lands and for the whole world, also the duty I owe to Our Lord God not to pass over in silence any matters affecting it which may come to my notice. I trust therefore that Your Holiness will accept with approval all that I write on this subject, in which I admit I am deeply concerned; and I rely upon the nature of my communication (which concerns the welfare of the Holy Mother Church) to secure for me a favourable reply.

Could you but see, Holy Father, the present state of the Church here, and the road that is open for spreading the Holy Gospel in this, the greater portion of the Earth, without appealing to force but with all gentleness and kindness;—(for I protest that my aims are pure and free from all worldly matters, being focussed upon the removal of the doubts and confusion that afflict the consciences of all Christians in this part of the East)—Your Holiness would doubtless take such steps as would be conducive to the glory of God; since where Peace and Unity are absent, there is small hope of God's presence.

Most eminent has been the piety of Your Holiness' predecessors, Popes of ever blessed memory: notwithstanding this, I know that their Delegates have failed to furnish the Holy See with such full reports as are desirable in the cause of that Peace and Unity so necessary by way of example to those newly converted to the knowledge of God, and that on the contrary, the

aim of all their claims has been solely to augment their own power by influencing popular opinion in matters which Your Holiness will learn from the sequel, as I learnt full well to my own cost when my mediation in the cause of peace and proper decency was dismissed.

I have more to submit to Your Holiness than can be contained in a letter; I am therefore having recourse to a Memorandum which I have signed with my own hand and entrusted to Father Tachard to pass on to Your Holiness with all respect and submission: I have no doubt that it will be effective in God's service for the honour of Your Holiness and for the peace and repose of thousands of consciences in these Eastern lands, whose special duty it is to pray God to grant Your Holiness a long life.

The King, my Master, desirous of replying directly to the letters of Your Holiness, has appointed the aforesaid Father Tachard as his special Envoy to greet Your Holiness with the assurance of his help and protection for all Christians, not only in his kingdom but in all the East, also to convey an assurance, which Your Holiness will much appreciate, of his very good will.

The same Envoy will offer to Your Holiness on my account sundry objects from this part of the East, which I beg Your Holiness to do me the honour to accept. This, I protest, will afford me as much pleasure and comfort as do the yearly orders which I receive from Your Holiness.

• Nothing remains for me but to pray with all humility for Your Holiness. That Your life may be preserved to be a comfort for all Christians is the prayer of

Your Holiness'

Most humble son, and most obedient and most obliged servant,

C. PHAULKON.

• Written from the Bar of Siam,

2nd January, 1688.

TO
OUR HOLY LORD AND FATHER

POPE INNOCENT THE XITH

FROM

LORD CONSTANT PHAULKON.

Since Your Holiness is pleased to take such special interest in disseminating our Holy Faith, and cherishes such tender feelings for the Christian Community in this part of the East; since also a knowledge of all the circumstances relating thereto cannot but contribute, to the formation of conclusions and decisions worthy of the Glory of God, I for my part crave permission on behalf of the large Christian Community in Tonkin to submit certain matters in due order to Your Holiness, for the proper understanding of which I should explain to Your Holiness the former conditions enjoyed by these poor creatures and the origin of the desperate straits to which they have been reduced.

It is well known that the Fathers of the Company [of Jesus] were the first to preach the Gospel in Tonkin, and were for many years practically the only labourers in that Vineyard of the Lord, in which—as their Records relate — they were the victims of much persecution.

In the end, Fr. Fuciti was taken into favour by the King and by the greater part of the Royal Family, with the result that he was allowed to wear clerical dress, and the privileges he enjoyed were reflected up on his Church and Flock; furthermore, the respect in which the Jesuits were held was such as to warrant great hopes for the conversion of the entire population.

For reasons only known, as so often happens, to God's own infinite Providence, it pleased God to permit the Bishop of Beritus together with Mgr. Pallu to come in lay attire among the people with whom the Portuguese reside in Siam, and to be expelled from the settlement with much loss of dignity and mortal danger. After suffering much inconvenience, they [the Bishops] had recourse to the

expedient of obtaining credentials from the King of France, which took the form of a simple letter of introduction.

They spent six months haggling with the Siamese Court over the procedure required for the reception of this letter. The agreement which they finally made was that the aforesaid Gentlemen should carry the letter into a pavilion, where it was to be opened in the presence of the whole Court¹ excepting the Royal Family.

The next day, the letter was carried to the Royal audience chamber in a great golden bowl, and deposited upon a silver table, distant several paces from the throne.

The Bishops removed their shoes, and having put on new slippers at the entrance to the hall, proceeded to take their seat upon a carpet. Between them and the King stood the silver table on which was the letter and the presents which they brought from Europe.

A similar reception was accorded to the letter from Your Holiness.

His Majesty observed the favourable and gracious terms in which the Bishops were recommended to Him by Your Holiness and by the Most Christian King. He was pleased to take them under his protection and to bestow favours upon them on every occasion, as is known both to your Holiness and to His Most Christian Majesty.

Thus assured of support, the Bishops took counsel concerning Tonkin and Cochin-China. Having taken copious advice, they fitted out a small vessel for Tonkin under the command of a Frenchman named Domenil. [Dumesnil.] As however they set out somewhat late in the season, they were carried out of their course as far as Land's End [of the East where Manila is situated.] Here, as all the world knows,² Mgr. Pallu, Bishop of Heliopolis, took ship for Spain.

They, [the Bishops], being failed in their [first] attempt, made terms with an English trader plying between Siam and Tonkin. This man carried some of their Missionaries to Tonkin wearing the

1. Lit: "family."

2. He was arrested for landing in Spanish territory without a permit and sent to Spain in chains.

dress of laymen.

The latter straightway sought by sundry methods to suppress the Jesuit Fathers rather than to extend the [limits of] the Faith and to baptise the natives. Finding, however, that the Christians stood firm in their allegiance, they had recourse to Rome, and sent false information to the College of Cardinals with such success that Fr. Fuciti and his colleagues were withdrawn. The latter were despoiled of their Churches, and of their houses, furniture, and all they possessed; they were also prohibited from re-entering Tonkin or Cochin-China by any route.

The King sent to Macao and threatened that city with his vengeance unless Jesuits were sent him.

Shortly afterwards, the Vicars began to ordain certain Christian [converts] to aid them in their Missionary work.

The next event was that the European Missionaries were denounced as being French traders,¹ and it was only with much difficulty that the Bishops were allowed to leave the city.

The result is that the only Ministrations available for these poor lambs are those of peasant priests, who lack the training and practice needed to perform their Ministry, and commit countless solecisms, which are not fitting to be mentioned to Your Holiness and which I should blush to relate even in private.

Such procedure in the guidance of the flock would occasion grave disorder even among the best Christians of Europe, and much more among natives whose faith is still in the bud. Can the reverence due to our Holy See in heathen lands be preserved intact, when Ministers are discovered living such lives?

It is a fact that at this moment more than 200,000² persons refuse Confession, Communion, the hearing of Mass, and the performance of the cultural duties incumbent upon them; and when they are overtaken by death, they invariably call in vain for the customary assistance.

1. Because of their lay dress. Ser. Ref. IV. 57.

The Bishop suggested wearing yellow robes, like the Buddhists, but Rome vetoed the idea in March 1685.

2. In the text—200m.

For these reasons they felt compelled to send four Catechists to implore me to intervene on their behalf with the Bishops to despatch a Jesuit Father to console them; and, if I could not procure it, to put them in the way of obtaining a passage to Europe, in order that they might prostrate themselves at the feet of Your Holiness and unfold the wretched condition of their consciences, and beg for the proper and customary assistance.

When informed of this, I insisted upon the presence of one of the Bishop's Missionaries at the interview which I accorded to these Catechists.

After listening to the exposure of their case—as already stated—and though strongly impressed by its justice, I urged them to submit to the orders of the Holy Mother Church. I told them that such submission would afford Your Holiness a real pretext for assisting them in the way they desired, while their present headstrong action only served to prejudice the Apostolic See against them and against the Jesuit Fathers. I urged that since all Ministers are Ministers of Christ, it is unseemly to draw distinctions between the sacraments administered by individuals, which sacraments should be received in deep humility, if they are to be pleasing to God; and that the shortcomings of the aforesaid Ministers can do them no injury in their devotions, and can only hurt the Ministers themselves.

They replied with much reserve that they knew this full well, but that the Christians were so disgusted by the evil exhibition that they were incapable of receiving such counsels unless accompanied by a change [of staff]. They urged repeatedly that in any case the Missionaries from Europe were powerless to heal the wounds caused by the instructors they themselves had chosen.

I stated my conviction that if the Christians would submit to Your Holiness, their prayers would obtain from Your Holiness both a reversal of the Interdiction against the Jesuits, and the despatch of many members of that order to console them.

They replied that for their part they would much appreciate such a gracious favour, but that the Christians were so incensed against those who had separated them from their original Ministers, whom they looked upon as their very Fathers, that, unless a Jesuit

returned to instruct them, there was no prospect of a settlement, but rather of increased disorder. They therefore humbly begged me on behalf of the dissatisfied Christians either to obtain the Bishop's permission for a Jesuit to be sent to them pending the pleasure of Your Holiness to apply a remedy, or else to assist them to go in person and lay themselves at the feet of Your Holiness and crave protection for their constituents together with the concession of that which would bring solace to so many thousand souls, a large number of whom were passing to the life beyond without the benefit of any Sacrament.

These words, Most Holy Father, made so deep an impression upon my mind that I was at a loss for a reply, since I felt compelled to procure their request, supported as it was by such a reasonable appeal to the justice of their case.

I said, therefore, that I would discuss the matter with the Bishop, and that I was certain that he would be good enough to afford them relief and save them from having to confront all the dangers of the deep merely to obtain the performance of what would be held by Your Holiness to be a binding duty.

Knowing however that the King of France had definitely forbidden the French Jesuits¹ to take the Oath drawn up by the "Propaganda"; fearing also that if I approached the Bishop on the subject, he might make his consent dependent upon the willingness of the selected Envoy to take the Oath, I felt unable to reply, even conditionally, until I had sounded Fr. Fontenai, the leader of the six French Jesuits, concerning his intentions.

The following day I sent for Fr. Fontenai and explained the circumstances of the Christian flock in Tonkin, telling him that it would be an easy matter for him to bring to the Christians in Tonkin the succour that they crave, an action which would be welcome both to Your Holiness and to the King his master. His reply was that though ready to perform all the duties incumbent upon him, he was nevertheless unable, in defiance of the "Propaganda's" prohibition, to

1. Six Jesuit astronomers, including Tachard, came out with de Chaumont's embassy in 1685, and twelve more in 1687 with La Loubère.

send a Jesuit to Tonkin.

Meeting the Bishop a few days later, I informed him of all the aforesaid troubles, but said nothing about the steps contemplated in the event of his refusal to help.

I brought forward every conceivable argument in support of the justice of the case; but all that I got in reply was that the transference of a Jesuit was outside his jurisdiction.

He gave vent to his impatience with both Jesuits and Catechists, minimising the numbers of those who are affected, and asserting that it was possible that things might mend of themselves, since they were less desperate than I represented them.

I submitted to him the many sources of information I possessed apart from the Catechists. These he could not deny; but he remained firm, and swept away all my arguments with the reiteration that it was outside his jurisdiction to send a Jesuit to Tonkin.

I made no secret of my surprise that His Grace, as Controller of the Mission in Tonkin, had sent no report on the position of affairs there, where more than 4,000 Christians were dying every year unshriven, more particularly since the limits of his jurisdiction forbade him to apply the remedy indicated.

I added that the return of the Jesuits was called for in the interest both of justice and of present needs; and told him that Your Holiness and the Propaganda had been previously misinformed, and that if His Grace denied to so many souls the consolation they required, I personally should complain of it to Your Holiness.

He admitted that there was nothing to prevent me from writing a complaint, but he doubted whether my letter would ever get as far as Your Holiness.

I told him that I could not believe that Rome was so impervious to the reception of the truth, as he made out; and that where the salvation of a single soul was involved, such behaviour would merit the Divine disapproval, and all the more where so many thousand souls were involved.

I urged that the distress of all these new converts, who only needed the presence of one of God's Ministers to satisfy them, constituted an elementary duty for His Grace towards God, and that

it was worth his while to ponder on the offence and injury which our Holy Religion would suffer in the natives' estimation, when they observed the uncompromising harshness of the leaders of the Church and the lack of harmony amongst them.

I charged all this on his conscience and held him answerable before God for it, stating my conviction that the goodness and kindly zeal of Your Holiness would instantly apply the needed balm as soon as the trouble was known.

In conclusion, I showed my disappointment at the discovery that all the favours I had showered upon the Church out here had not won me a concession which depended so completely upon him.

Every imaginable argument which I could adduce in the cause of justice and commonsense, supported by precedents drawn from sacred and profane history, was powerless to extract anything more from him than a repetition of his previous answers.

Not only did the Bishop refuse my so just request, but his dependents took it upon themselves to raise their voices against the Fathers of the Company of Jesus, threatening that their General would be called upon in Rome to account for their actions out here, firstly for agitating to go to Tonkin in spite of the prohibition, secondly for alienating the sympathies of a Minister of the King: which I frankly assure Your Holiness is the reverse of the truth.

Some days afterwards, when the Bishop was about to proceed to Ayüt'ia, he asked Fr. Fontenai to tell me that, on thinking it over, he felt he owed me some degree of satisfaction in the Tonkin business. Although compelled to proceed to Ayüt'ia, he promised, when there, not to forget his obligation. This he confirmed from Ayüt'ia in writing some days later by the hand of Mr. de la Vignée. On returning to Lopburi, he told me that if I could wait until the next sailing of the fleet after this one, he might be able to allow one or more Jesuits to go to Tonkin, but that under existing circumstances it was dangerous.

On the arrival here of the twelve French Jesuits, I felt it my duty before God, and therefore on behalf of Your Holiness, to endeavour to obtain the despatch of some of these Fathers to Tonkin, as the Bishop had promised. At the same time, I determined to ask

the Bishop his opinion in the presence of Mr. Céberet—the Envoy of the Most Christian King—and of all the leading ecclesiastics.

I omit the account of that discussion, and leave it to Fr. Tachard to relate it to Your Holiness. It will then be seen that the Bishop, though he promised to consult with Fr. Tachard, never mentioned the matter to him at all; just as though the souls which were perishing were of no account. When I taxed him with the question whether those souls should be allowed to perish, his answer was: “If it is their wish so to perish, what can we do?”

Seeing therefore that no hope remained through that channel of bringing consolation to those poor Christians, I determined to allow their representatives to go and prostrate themselves at the feet of Your Holiness, and to crave a blessing and a gracious favour which will bring relief to all those souls who will ever be constrained to pray for the health, long life and happiness of Your Most Holy Person.

Knowing with all the world Your Holiness' zeal and renown, I have nothing to add on this subject, but feel serene and confident in the protection of Your Holiness, who will order affairs in that kingdom to the Glory of God and of Your Holiness, since I hold it my duty merely to inform Your Holiness of the true version of what has happened, and to carry out the orders that it may please Your Holiness to give me.

Cochin-China¹ is likewise in a sorry plight; but with this difference that, whereas in Tonkin there is unwillingness to attend Confession until the Jesuit Fathers are re-admitted to the country, in Cochin-China Confessions are made to Clerical Missionaries, with whom in many cases proper relations subsist. But of a truth, these French Clerics and especially the Apostolic Pro-Vicar, make the most astounding demands. They require that Christians who have confessed to a Jesuit should repeat their Confession to them, as though the original Confession was not a Sacrament, and therefore invalid. The individual has to stand at the head of the Altarsteps with his face to the congregation and implore God's pardon

1. The present country of Annam was known as Cochin-China, a name applied later to the Mekhong delta when overrun by the Annamites.

for having confessed to a Jesuit, and declare that his Confession was invalid.

Many of the common people have obeyed this order; but many others, comprising the best and most influential persons, refuse, saying that if they make a second confession, it is in the belief that the sins already confessed to the Jesuits will by virtue of this second confession receive absolution, without any declaration in public.

Others, goaded by the scandalous madness of the Pro-Vicar, have committed actions displeasing to him; but when they repented and went to him for absolution, it was such that occasionally he and his Ministers are found in the Galleys.*

They have written all this to many people such as their friends and the Lord Bishop who receives suggestions¹ from one quarter that he intercede, from another that he should grant [their desires], from yet another that he issue a personal appeal for peace and quiet to relieve the conscientious objectors. But it is all to no purpose, in spite of the fact that I have often and most tactfully asked the Bishop only to deign just to relieve the Pro-Vicar from his charge, and to put an end to the abuses of which the Christians were complaining.

I believe the Lord Bishop did give orders regarding the latter, but for the former request he excused himself on the grounds that as the man was Pro-Vicar, he could not be removed, though selected and appointed by His Grace himself.

The same people made the same complaints year by year, and always with the same result, until finally in disgust with the shepherds given them they have become unwilling either to confess or to receive Communion.

May Your Holiness be pleased to examine the two enclosures entitled *Cochin-China*, which explain the conditions upon which the welfare of the Christians in Cochin-China depends.

The present Pro-Vicar was preceded first by Mr. Vachet, and before him by Mr. Courtaulier. Your Holiness may infer the type

* The text appears to be corrupt: "Fu tale l'assoluzione che poche volte si trova nelle Galere e soi ufficiali."

1. The text is corrupt: "Che udendo da uno di intercedere."

of men they were from the fact that they were removed on account of the scandals they occasioned.

Some years ago, the Lord Bishop of Heliopolis took letters of introduction from Europe to Cochin-China, but met there with a reception far different from the welcome accorded to him in Siam; and this, in spite of the fact that his Followers are eager to be well received in those lands—as I only wish they were, but I know that they are not.

China. [The French], being but recent comers to China, are less able to cause scandals there than in Tonkin, Cochin-China and Siam.

They have a good counterpoise in the Bishop of Argoli,¹ a Franciscan from Venice, who came to Siam by way of Batavia as Coadjutor to Lord Francis,² the Bishop of Heliopolis, but was not permitted to accompany him into China. For this reason, and because they were victims of other vexatious treatment at the Seminary, he left it and came to me with a request for a site where he could retire with his attendants while awaiting an opportunity of proceeding with them to China. They were poor Capucins; and the Mission would not give them anything. In consequence, I had to provide them with board and lodging out of the proceeds of an annual grant allowed them by the King my master, in addition to helping them on their way to China.

When eventually they reached China, they found that Lord Francis² was dead. The Bishop of Argoli claimed the right of succeeding him, but was disappointed on finding that Lord Francis, before he died, had handed on his office to Mr. Maigrot. This was the cause of some slight friction between them, since the Venetian won every heart in his district by his kindly manners.

In *Cambodia*³ there are many Christians, but only a single Jesuit, a man named Sanga, of Japanese origin.

1. Fra Bernadino della Chiesa, for whose letters of complaint see Ser. Ref. III. 207. etc.

2. Mr. François Pallu.

3. Cambodia was distracted by wars beginning in 1651 with the Annamite invasion.

Although the Kingdom is large and well-disposed [to foreigners], the Bishops have never been there. All they have done is on one occasion to send Mr. Courtelin, and on another one a Franciscan of Portuguese origin, who only escaped expulsion from his charge and from his Order by reason of the protection he enjoyed from Your Holiness and his Superior in Rome.

Neither of these men was able to remain long in Cambodia, which lacks the amenities offered by other lands.

The Jesuit, feeling the approach of death, wrote last July to Fr. Maldonato,¹ his Superior, and to me, asking that some Father be sent to Cambodia to receive his confession and to take care of the Christians after his death. Both Fr. Maldonato and I have submitted his request to the Lord Bishop many times, but without result. His reply has always been that he has no one he can send, though anyone can see that there is no lack of Clerical Missionaries in Siam. It is only too true that none of them care to take up their abode in so poor and savage a land. For this reason, it is my belief that they would not veto the despatch of Jesuits to Cambodia, if the King my Master was to consent to spare some of the Jesuits for Cambodia out of those he has asked the King of France to send him.

*Jerusalem*² and its dependencies. There used to be a Father of the French Mission there; but for reasons unknown to me, he left his flock unprovided with the Sacraments of the Church, and it is now six months since he returned here.

I was very surprised to see him here, and asked him outright to what man he had handed over his charge. "To no one," he replied, without a blush—and he hoped his Superiors would not take his departure ill, since he had remained there long enough without relief.

Your Holiness may picture the surprise I felt at hearing this statement.

Briefly stated, my rejoinder was that the Governor of Puket¹ should have known better than permit him to leave before a substitute had been arranged; and that I should make it my duty to

1. A Portuguese.

2. Junk Ceylon—i. e. Puket.

prevent a repetition of this case in future.

When I mentioned it to the Bishop a few days later, he showed such indifference that I felt compelled to exclaim that in his place I should be less insensible than he was to the loss of the souls of all who die in that province, adding that Your Holiness would disapprove and that I deplored such an attitude.

He assured me that in future he would arrange matters to the satisfaction of both Your Holiness and of myself. Up to the present moment, however, I have seen no indication of it.

Tenasserim and Mergui. This locality was served originally by a Portuguese Missionary appointed by the Bishop. He was a good man;² but some years ago he came back [here] and only paid occasional visits to the Mergui Christians.

The Lord Bishop intended to post the Franciscan at Mergui whose departure from Cambodia I have noticed. He recalled him here however from Tenasserim after two months and the state of disorder remains unchanged.

Sundry Stations on the River of Siam. To begin with, there is Fr. Chandeboy's settlement three miles out of Bangkok. He used to preside there over sundry Christians; and the aforesaid Lord Vicar would often go to stay with him there.

Two years ago I transferred there 400 Christians from jungle resorts before Lopburi, in order that they, being totally ignorant of God, might live near that Father and obtain baptism.

The results, thank God, were good, for many of them have been converted. But just when the full harvest was due to be gathered, that Priest was transferred to the mastership of the Seminary where he died: all that community was thus left without anyone capable of directing their souls.

*Samkok.*³ Samkok is a village of Môn⁴ and Siamese inhabitants on the River Menam. The spiritual control of this place was entrusted to a Franciscan from Rome, who was supported there. It

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1. René Charbonneau, who came out as Mission doctor, was for a time Governor of Puket.
 2. Fr. Perez— see Davenport's Diary.
 3. Samkok.
 4. Lit. "Peguan",

happened, I was anxious to send someone to Europe to rebuild the Church in which I was baptised, and to obtain a favour for my family from the Republic of Venice. The Lord Vicar therefore let me have [the services of] this brother, and promised that his place should be taken by another; but up to now he has not fulfilled his promise, in spite of my intercessions for those Christians left completely destitute.

*Siam.*¹ These gentry now keep up three establishments in the city of Siam. In the first place, the Seminary, in which the King, my master, has already erected a big building and a Church, is now nearly completed. The value of constructions made by the King amounts to 60,000 pieces of eight;² but when it is finished, I know not where the Christians will be found to use it.

I could wish they [the Missionaries] had learnt the language well enough to be able to convince men instead of condemning them, as they do now. I assure Your Holiness, they make themselves ridiculous in the eyes of the natives, and to hear them speak Siamese is like hearing a Scotsman speak English: while all the good they accomplish is to sing Mass and Vespers, and make experiments on the poor creatures in their hospital. Their intentions are good; but they lack the power and ability to produce results comparable with their aims: and this impells them to commit all sorts of blunders in order to put themselves right.

Their second establishment is at Mapram³ where they bring up some pupils in conditions that are sordid in respect of board, lodging, and clothing. But it is only right that the pupils should be well looked after, in order that there may be encouragement for them to come, and for their parents to bring them.

Being opposed to such parsimony, I asked what their annual expenses were. I was told that 250 pieces of eight are spent for 80 pupils and two priests, also that at Rome their pupils had been

1. An alternative name for Ayū't'ia.

2. Rix Dollar, or Rial worth four English shillings or one French écu.

3. Mahāprām, on the right bank of the Ant'ōng river, a few miles above Ayū't'ia.

warmly commended. This led me to ask how it was that they were taking no steps to alleviate the condition of penury under which they laboured. Considering that their pupils, so far from serving any useful purpose, constituted a reproach to the Faith, I determined to improve their lot, and to bring them into the city, where I have founded a big College for 100 pupils, 4 Fathers and a Governor, which costs me 1,500 pieces of eight a year.

The death of Mr. Mondorin is a great grief to me, since his industry, good manners and ample learning fitted him well for the task of educating those youths; and there is no one fit to replace him.

*Invo.*¹ There is a Royal House where the Sacraments are administered to believers, but the Pastor is such a subject of scandal that I blush to mention it to Your Holiness.

There is another station in the Porceluk² Province for a Priest and a Franciscan Friar, both men of good repute: from the evidence of their letters, copies of which are enclosed, I have hope that they will render service to God.

Having completed my relation of the affairs of the Christian community, I now ask leave to make a few short reflections, to the end that Your Holiness may judge whether the things mentioned are for the good of God's Church. I ask:-

1). [If Clerical attire is] one of the functions of our Church, is it proper [for priests] to wear lay dress in places where Christianity has penetrated?

2). Is it proper that the bearer of letters from Your Holiness and the Most Christian King should be stultified³ by the arrangements made [for his reception]; since those letters were intended to serve as introductions for them on all occasions, and to be a source of sure protection in this country?

3). Is it seemly that Ministers of the Gospel, who are permitted to wear their clerical dress, should be excluded in favour of others in lay attire, indistinguishable from merchants, as the Bishops

1. Lopburi.

2. Bān Pa Deng near Pitsanulok.

3. The text is corrupt. "Di disponer le cose in tal maniera che restava annilito ('annichilito?') avanti di dichiararsi il portatore delle Lettere.

and priests in Tonkin advertise themselves to be?

4). Is it lawful to carry off a neighbour's goods under the professed sanction of the Holy See, causing scandal to the heathen and new converts?

5). In the light of Christ's authority given to his followers to preach the Gospel in all parts of the earth, is it lawful, without the weightiest reasons, to hinder this consummation by depriving the regular clergy of their heritage, and by expelling them from the Churches they have founded, although the most suitable men for the ministry are to be found in their ranks?

6). Can the Apostolic Missionaries permit the employment here of men, illiterate, untested, attached to no religious Order, of unbridled lusts,—men who in Europe serve only for the humblest duties of the Church, but who are made head over all in the East, where patience, abstinence, prudence and other virtues are essential?

7). Can anything be expected from Apostolic Missionaries who have made no study of philosophy and theology, if no rigorous selection is to be made of candidates for the East?

8). Can it be right to admit to Holy Orders men who are so ignorant and depraved that they offend even the coarsest of the Christians?

9). Can such harsh and unkind [treatment] of those in Cochin-China be right, when they have given up their homes and their property in order to maintain the Faith out there?

10). Since the Apostolic Vicars have no one they can spare to look after those souls, what object can they have in preventing others who are willing from going to them?

A discussion of these questions would detain me too long, and I know that Your Holiness may be relied upon to promulgate the orders required.

I now desire to lay before Your Holiness certain actions on the part of the Apostolic Vicars which would have resulted without a doubt in their banishment, if it were not for the protection they enjoy with Your Holiness.

Your Holiness will know that the Portuguese administer two

Churches with more than 400 souls in this place.† These Churches were always under the Bishopric of Malacca until the capture of that place by the Dutch; after which they were transferred to the Archbishop of Goa, the Primate and spiritual head of India.

After the arrival in Siam of the Apostolic Vicars, the King of Portugal wrote several very strong letters forbidding all his subjects to render allegiance to the aforesaid Vicars; and the same procedure was taken by the head-church in Goa.

In 1688 a Portuguese Embassy came to this Court to complain of the persecution inflicted by the Vicars on the Portuguese, who had lived in peace for so many years under the aegis of the King, my master, and to entreat him to accord them his continued protection.

The King, my master, made excuses for the aforesaid Vicars, and denied all knowledge of any ill-treatment inflicted on the Portuguese behind his back. He repeated what he had said when the Bishop of Heliopolis complained [*of this embassy*] to the King during an audience granted to him.

I would ask Your Holiness to observe that the King of Siam not only broke off negotiations with the Portuguese Ambassador on this account, but informed the Bishop of Heliopolis that the nature of the vexations [complained of] was so monstrous that he could not credit them, and acquitted [the Bishop] of the charge.

This year, by the terms of a general circular from Goa to the members of the Order of Dominicans to which he belonged, Dom Peter Martyr was appointed Vicar and Commissioner of the Sacred Office for the Portuguese.

The Father is of a quiet and unwarlike disposition, and I persuaded him, when he showed me his letter of introduction from the Vicar General of Goa, to work under the Apostolic Vicar and take the Oath. This he did on the understanding that the Bishop should leave his attendants alone, since they were due to leave in September and not to reside here.

The Bishop made no objection, and promised to leave them alone, on the condition that they took no part in the functions of the parish priest.

† Ayūt'ia.

Some days later, the Bishop told me, when I called on him, that he proposed to write an exhortation to the aforesaid Dominicans, and he was glad I should know of it.

To this I replied that His Grace was bound to do so, provided they were open to receive his admonition; but that if, as I believed to be the case, they were not, then it was useless. He said, however, that he could not excuse himself from this duty.

I immediately rejoined: "My Lord, if Your Grace would but permit these priests to serve without taking the Oath, I believe that then they would take it."

This [permission], he said, was impossible. I therefore begged His Lordship to do whatever would be conducive to the general welfare and peace of mind, provided it involved nothing detrimental to the King, my master. I reminded him that the reasons for their rebellion against His Majesty which were adduced by the Macassars, Malays, and other Mohammedans was that he favoured the Christians to the prejudice of all other creeds; which rebellion involved great peril for the King, the country, and the whole Christian community.

Shortly afterwards, this Friar, Peter Martyr, came and complained to me that the Bishop had insisted that his two Companions should submit, and threatened them with diverse penalties.

I was astounded at this Prelate's action.....¹...[The King] sent for me and instructed me to tell the Bishop on his behalf that he must on no account disturb the peace of those enjoying his Royal protection, adding that he would rejoice if the rulers of Europe would arrange matters in the West, so as to leave the people in Eastern lands in peace.

One day, on meeting the Bishop, without disclosing the King's sentiments I gave him some advice which I supported with excellent reasons for over an hour; but I obtained nothing from him of any value, since his unmoveable obstinacy balked me and eluded all reasoning. I was therefore compelled to disclose the sentiments of the King, my master, to him.

What was my astonishment to perceive that even this had no effect. For after his return from Ayüt'ia, he came to me and

1. The words "Il Rè" must be supplied to make sense.

announced that he had sent those Dominicans a private letter, in which he had suspended them. He said he feared greatly that his action might cause offense to the King, my master, but that his duty left him no alternative.

I made no secret of my amazement at his scant regard for His Majesty's orders, which had so just a foundation, and I confessed my anxiety as to how His Majesty would take the news, heartily praying he might not hear of it, though I did not see now it could be kept from his ears.

A few days later the Bishop asked me if all was quiet in the Portuguese settlement.

Without admitting that it was, I expressed my hopes that His Grace, after what he had told me already, would not fail in his obligation, and that I was under no illusion concerning the danger to which he [and his friends] had exposed both themselves and the whole Mission; since heathen Kings are no more tolerant than their Christian brothers of trifling with their orders.

The Bishop's answer was that rather than expose himself a second time to a reproof from Rome, he would go in person and prostrate himself before Your Holiness and ask for pardon.

I rejoined that he was free to act in his own way, and that it was not for me to advise him; but that as he was now fully warned on this subject, it was his business to see what steps he should take.

I then returned to the charge, and emphasised the wrongness of what he had done, adding:—

“Your Grace claims that your conscience will not be at rest until those two priests have been suspended; nevertheless, I fail to see what good that will do; since, even supposing that the priests did submit to be suspended, the result would be that half the Christian community would be deprived of their sacraments, for Your Grace is aware that the Portuguese will not confess to Priests who acknowledge Your Grace, and a single priest is not able by himself to minister to so many, and the Jesuits do not yet know the language; while in the event of those priests refusing to acquiesce in their suspension Your Grace must see what a scandal will be caused, since Our Holy Mother Church only applies suspen-

"sion in the last resort, but makes use of the many arguments she possesses for bringing home a conviction of error."

I then left him, seeing that all I did was of no effect.

Two or three days later, His Majesty asked me how the affair had gone. In telling him, I did my best to minimise the trouble and to dissuade him from doing what justice demanded. I suggested that things should be left as they were until the departure of the French ships, after which His Majesty would be able quietly to bring home to them a realisation of their blunder.

The King said several times how sorry he was that they were Christians, since otherwise he would have treated them differently, so as to demonstrate how he respects his protégés.

I ask Your Holiness to observe the danger in which I was involved by their action. Had the advice I gave them proceeded from the lips of a heathen minister, they would have been forced to treat him with great deference and to carry out his suggestions faithfully, whereas, in my case, they hold me of no account, which is not surprising, since they treat me as they treat my King. They believe¹ they are safe, and thus able to do anything they wish; but may it not be that they are mistaken, since the Lord has many ways by which to help His Church?²

As for me my hope, Most Blessed Father, is that Your Holiness will initiate a great work and be blessed with long life, good health and happy increase with which to adorn it in the eyes of God, also that Your Holiness will appreciate, as I imagine, my opinion upon the measures required out here to regulate the disorders, which are more extensive than I have time to relate. I hope that Fr. Tachard will render a full account of them to Your Holiness; yet I cannot here refrain from suggesting several absolutely necessary measures.

I will here address myself to Your Holiness as to an angel

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1. The text is "negano" "deny" but the sense requires the opposite meaning.
 2. This sentence has been translated in the form of a question in order to improve the sense.

of God, whose function it is to judge us all with no other end in view than the welfare of the Faith and of the people in these lands, also the good name and prestige of the Holy Catholic Church, which is now brought low by the contempt of the Gentiles and the dissatisfaction of the converts at the stern and harsh action of its ministers.

In the first place, the Jesuits must be re-admitted to Tonkin, and the Vicars must be forbidden from ordaining any native until his conduct has been examined in some college or general seminary. Furthermore, those natives already ordained should be quietly transferred to Siam and trained in the manner that seems best to their superiors.

In Cochín-China, it will be necessary to remove the Pro-Vicar and several others who are a disgrace, and send in their place several Jesuits urgently demanded by the King and the Christian community.

In China, the Church is in fairly good order, if we are to believe the written reports. In my opinion, the Bishop of Argoli will give a good account of his charge, and will hold the scales fairly, and prevent any possibility of a disturbance of the peace and quiet enjoyed by the Christians

With the assistance of God and of Your Holiness, I hope to build up a great Christian community in Cambodia, especially in the Court, since the King is under my King's protection.[†]

In this way, I hope to gain privileges for the Gospel as well as the King's protection [for the Christians], since the Siamese are not without interest in the conversion of Cambodia, the religion in both Countries being identical as I have explained at greater length in my discussion with Fr. Tachard, and he will have the good fortune to communicate it to Your Holiness.

BRIEF ABSTRACT OF THE ESSENTIAL TERMS OF "THE OATH".

The subscriber attests that the authority of the Pope in spiritual matters is universal. Without obtaining the sanction of this authority, not even Kings may send out Missions.

The subscriber agrees to conform to the orders of the Holy

[†] Cambodia accepted Siamese suzerainty as a protection against encroachment by Annam.

See to avoid all discussion about the spiritual management of his own district; to obtain the sanction of the Apostolic Vicars before administering the Sacraments; to refrain from criticising any ecclesiastical pronouncements; to accept with reverence all the Papal Decrees in particular those of 23rd. Decr, 1673, and the Decree of 7th June 1674.

The subscriber promises to obey all Decrees which may be promulgated in the future, and to accept without demur any penalties he may incur for breach of this Oath.

Sworn by the help of God and of His Holy Gospels.

FRENCH FOREIGN OFFICE. ASIE-INDES ORIENTALES VOL. 2
Nos. 17, 64, 66.

FORMULA JURAMENTI.

Cum summus Pontifex supremam et independentem pro spirituali animarum regimine in universo terrarum orbe habeat auctoritatem, nec ad mittendos operarios (qui Religionem Christianam Fidemque Catholicam apud infideles, et nominatim in Synarum, Tunchini, Camboiae, Siami aliisque vicinis Regnis et provinciis praedicent, annuncient, robovent, et promoveant) ullius fidelis aut infidelis cujusvis status, gradus, conditionis ac dignitatis, etiam regiae existat licentia vel consensu indigeat, Ego...N... fideliter incumbam officio meo in Missione juxta Sanctae Sedis Apostolicae mandata, et facultatem ab ea praescriptam.

Quod si per quoscumque de meo consilio circa Missiones, et earum administrationem in illis partibus quocumque nomine, titulo, vel praetextu requisitus fuero, ea in re nullo modo me ingeram; sed judicio Sanctae Sedis Apostolicae relinquens, tantum muneri mihi incumbenti operam dabo.

Praedicationem verbi Dei, sacramentorum administrationem aliudve ecclesiasticum munus quodcumque in locis Vicariorum Apostolicorum curae commissis nunquam exercebo, quibuscumque privilegiis propriis vel meae Religionis vel aliis quibusvis munitus existam, nisi prius ab ipsis Vicariis Apostolicis fuerim approbatus, et ab iisdem licentiam in scriptis acceperim.

In examine bullarum, constitutionum seu aliarum quarumcum-

que litterarum Apostolicarum vel Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, aut quorumcunque decretorum ejusdem Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide nunquam me intromittam, vel impediam sub quovis praetextu, aut etiam legitimae subreptionis aut obreptionis causa, vel alia quacunque; sed easdem sententias et decreta quaecumque semper cum debita reverentia recipiam, iisque ut par est obediendo Sanctae Sedi Apostolicae postmodum exponam, si quae contra earundem litterarum vel decretorum usum opportuna videbuntur nunquam tamen retardata executione.

Ordines Sanctae Sedis et signanter constitutiones summorum Pontificum Alexandri VII, Clemens IX, et Clemens X omni qua decet reverentia recipio, et amplector, et nominatim litteras Apostolicas in forma brevis expeditas, quarum initium "Decet Romanum Pontificem." datas die 23 Decembris 1673, quibus confirmantur Brevia et Constitutiones ac etiam Decreta Sanctae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide ad favorem Vicarium Apostolicarum apud Synas deputatorum emanata, et alias quarum initium "Christianae Religionis Charitas et Catholicae Fidei etc" emanatas die septimo Junii 1674, quibus declaratur ordinarios Indiarum non posse exercere actus Jurisdictionales in dictos Vicarios Apostolicos eorumque Provinciariorum et operarios in provinciis sibi assignatis, sed eisdem Vicariis in dictis provinciis Jurisdictionem privatam quoad omnes competere, et alias incipientes "Illius qui Charitas est etc." expeditas die 23 Decembris 1673, quibus etiam severe prohibetur omnibus ecclesiasticis saecularibus et regularibus ne quisquam emendicet, procuret, vel acceptet ab ordinariis Indiarum litteras quascunque pro exercenda jurisdictione in locis eisdem Vicariis commissis, et demum non solum praefatis omnibus constitutionibus et in eis contentis decretis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, sed etiam aliis quibuscunque in futurum in favorem etiam Vicariorum Apostolicorum emanabunt, constitutionibus et decretis fideliter et integre parebo.

Praemissa omnia et singula inviolabiter observabo, et absque ulla tergiversatione adimplebo.

Si autem, quod Deus avertat, quoquomodo contravenerim, me toties quoties id evenerit, poenis tam per praedictas constitutiones

quam per Decretum Sanctae Congregationis a Sancto Domino nostro Innocentio Papa XI approbatum, quo praesentis juramenti formula praescripta est, respective impositis sponte et libere subicio. Ita tactis Sacrosanctis Evangeliiis promitto, voveo, juro. Sic me Deus adjuvet, et haec Sancta Dei Evangelia.

LOCUS SUBSCRIPTIONIS.

Ego.....N.....manu propria.

PHaulkon's LETTER TO MONSIEUR FERMANELLE.

DATED 1ST JANUARY 1688.

(MISSIONS ETRANGERES. VOL. 862, No. 347).

A Monsieur.

Monsieur Fermanelle,
Procureur Général du Séminaire des
Missions Etrangères, Rue du Bac, à Paris.

Monsieur,

Ce n'est pas pour vous témoigner ma reconnaissance que je vous ai envoyé le Crucifix dont vous me remerciez si fort, mais pour vous marquer mon amitié.

Vous pouvez croire que j'ai été fâché de ce que les Ambassadeurs ne vous ont pas trouvé à Paris: je ne doute point, sachant votre zèle pour le service du Roi, mon maître, que vous ne leur eussiez rendu de très grands services. Nous ne devons pourtant que nous louer très fort de l'attention et de l'empressement que Messieurs du Séminaire de Paris ont eus dans toutes les occasions où ils ont pu contribuer à leur satisfaction.

En mon particulier je suis obligé de vous remercier de toutes vos honnêtetés à mon égard, et de vous assurer que je suis de tout mon coeur,

Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

A la Barre de Siam,

1er Janvier 1688.

C. PHaulkon,

TRANSLATION.

To Mr. Fermanelle,

General Secretary of the Seminary of The Foreign Missions.

Rue du Bac, Paris.

Sir,

The Crucifix, which you acknowledge so warmly, was sent to you as a token rather of my friendship than of my indebtedness.

You can guess how grieved I was that the Ambassadors should have missed you in Paris. Knowing your eagerness to serve the King, my master, I am sure you would have been most serviceable to them.

However, we cannot but congratulate ourselves upon the eager attentions shown to them by the members of the Paris Seminary whenever it was in their power to contribute in any way to the satisfaction of the Ambassadors.

As for myself, I feel bound to express my recognition of the many favours you have shown me, and to assure you that I am most fervently,

Sir,

Your most humble and obliged servant,

At the Bar of Siam, 1st Jany. 1688.

C. PHAULKON.

BISHOP LANEAU'S LETTER TO POPE INNOCENT XI.

DATED 21/12/1687.

(PROP. FID. SCR. REF. VOL. IV. 268)

Siam. 21. Dec. 1687.

Beatissime Pater,

Res Christiana in his Missionibus iisdem quibus prioribus annis Deo miserante ampliatur progressibus, atque ex recente Ministrorum Evangelii qui majoris ex parte Sanctae Sedi paruerunt obsequio, necnon et ex nova indegenarum (qui litteras jam edocti sunt) ad sacra promotione spes non levis affulget fore ut solidiora in posterum Catholica Fides habitura sit incrementa.

Unus ego inter tot gaudium spiritualium argumenta animi poenitudine confiteor, quod indiscreta verborum, quae in decreto de

juramento edendo leguntur, intelligentia in id incautus prolapsus sim, et Sanctitati Vestrae molestiam peperisse, atque-quod omnium gravissimum est-in suspicionem non sinceri obsequii erga S. Sedem devenisse meruerim; quamvis autem in presentium mandatis S. V. ac S. C. executionem ad litteram jam dederim, tantis tamen premor angustiis, ut infirmitatis propriae conscientia deterritus, non intelligam quamnam potissimum ratione possim vel S. V. offensionem (quod absit) vel rei Christianae detrimentum vitare in posterum, maxime cum jam non supersit interpretationis locus.

Saepe etiam contigit in hisce remotissimis infidelium terris, ut dum S. V. per plures annos expectantur oracula, graviter intermedio tempore periclitetur religio, nisi illum agendum suscipiamus quod Sanctitatem Vestram, si praesens adesset, decreturam esse, attentis rerum ac temporum circumstantiis, conjicere valemus.

Nihilominus tamen novi, Beatissime Pater, me saepius trepidare timore ubi non est timor; atque variis in casibus, ubi alii in rebus agendis perspicatiores, vel in divinis magis exercitati possent inoffenso pede tuto progredi, haerere me ancipitem ingenue fateor.

His quippe in locis, ubi proprio licet vivere arbitrio, si quis jugum regulae subire abnuerit, vix coerci potest absque perturbatione et pusillorum scandalo; quo fit ut neophiti a Fide jam suscepta et infideles a suscipienda-sicuti non raro videmus-misere deterreantur.

Hinc est quod, ubi agitur de religionis damno, vel de S. Sedis obsequio, vel saltem agi existimo perplexo animo, nihil occurrit quo tuto me convertam.

Unum superest, Beatissime Pater, ut S. V. supplex obtestor, velit tandem gratiam mihi concedere, quam toties exoravi, atque omni me onere cui ferendo prorsus non suppetunt vires eximere. Qua sub aliorum obedientia erratorum quae in amplissima administratione tam saepe admisi maculas deflere, atque in levioribus Missionum exercitiis quod superest vitae minori cum salutis aeternae discrimine impendere valeam.

Quod et mihi a S. V. benigne concessum iri confidens, spe liberationis proximae laetus conquiesco..... etc. etc.

Ludovicus, Episcopus Metellopolitanus. Vic. Apl. Siam.

BISHOP LANEAU'S LETTER TO POPE INNOCENT XI.

DATED 21ST DECEMBER 1687.

(PROP. FID. SCR. REF. IV. 268.)

Siam, 21st December, 1687.

Most Blessed Father,

The Christian cause in this Mission has, by God's mercy, made the same progress as in former years.

Most of the Ministers of the Gospel have submitted to the Holy See and rendered homage: this, together with the recent ordination of native graduates, inspires us with genuine hopes for a richer harvest for the Catholic Faith later on.

Alone, amidst so many reasons for spiritual satisfaction, I acknowledge with deep contrition my careless slip in mis-interpreting the words contained in the Decree concerning administration of "The Oath", thereby causing annoyance to Your Holiness, and worst of all arousing suspicions of my loyalty to the Holy See.

Thus, although I have carried out implicitly the latest orders of Your Holiness and of the Curia, I feel myself to be in dire straits—the knowledge of my own weakness frightens me, and I do not see how by any means in future I can avoid either offending Your Holiness—(which God forbid)—or injuring the Cause of the Church, especially now that there can be no loop-hole left for doubt concerning the interpretation [of the Oath].

It often happens in these far distant heathen lands that, while several years must elapse pending a ruling from Your Holiness, the religious welfare would meanwhile be endangered, were we not to take upon ourselves to do that which we feel Your Holiness, if present, Yourself would have decreed after considering the local conditions.

None the less, Blessed Father, I have more often felt that I "feared where no fear was," and in sundry matters I frankly confess to have hesitated like a child before taking action; whereas clearer sighted men of affairs, or more experienced in church matters, would have proceeded without halting.

Moreover, in these parts, where a man may live by his own free judgement, if he refuses to submit to the rule, he can hardly be coerced without distressing and shocking the weaker brethren,

Thus, we often see novices turned away from the Faith already gained, and not infrequently unbelievers prevented from accepting the Faith. For this reason, when it is a question between the welfare of the cause and the duty owed to the Holy See, or when I imagine it to be, I find no road of safety to which I may turn.

It only remains for me to beg, Blessed Father, that Your Holiness grant me the grace I have so often implored, and relieve me of that load for which my strength no longer suffices.

Serving under others may I be permitted to atone for those blemishes and mistakes which I have so often admitted in the full exercise of my duties, and with less risk to my ultimate salvation devote hereafter what remains to me of life on earth to humbler evangelistic duties.

Trusting that this grace may be acceded to me by Your Holiness, I rest assured in my hope of a speedy release.....etc., etc....

LOUIS, Bishop of Metellopolis, Vicar Apostolic of Siam.

