

In Corinth he met Peter, and the two Apostles went to Rome together¹, where they sealed their faith with their blood.

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THE PHILIPPINE FRIARS AS MISSIONERS. ✓

FROM the earliest settlement of the Philippines those islands have been regarded by the Spanish religious orders as a mission centre for the conversion of Eastern Asia. The work of the Philippine friars has not been confined to the territories under Spanish rule. Japan, China, Siam, Cambodia, Cochin China and Tonquin have continued to receive missionary priests from the Spanish colony since the sixteenth century. Three hundred years ago Franciscans from Manila furnished the first martyrs of Japan, and more than a century afterwards it was claimed for the central house of the order in that city that it never had failed to have some members destined to give their lives for the faith. At the present time the Augustinians and the Dominicans of the Philippines have charge of dioceses in China, and the Dominicans have charge of two in Tonquin. In neither have the missionaries the support of governmental influence, yet they have built up populations of thousands of practical Catholics among the natives. A sketch of the Dominican mission in Tonquin during the last sixty years will give a better idea of what kind of men the Spanish friars really are and what kind of Christians they have formed from the Asiatic races than any arguments.

Tonquin and Cochin China, which during the last century were united into the Kingdom of Annam, were visited by Spanish missionaries three hundred years ago. The number of converts was large enough in 1663 to warrant the establishment of two dioceses. One, Eastern Tonquin, was placed by the Holy See under the management of the Philippine Dominicans; the other was entrusted to the French Congregation of Foreign Missions. The work of both French and Spanish missionaries was the same in character and in results. In spite of the hostility, or, at best, the contemptuous toleration of the native governments, a Christian population of nearly four hundred thousand had been formed in Annam by the early part of the present century. In 1835 the Dominicans of Eastern Tonquin reckoned a hundred and eighty thousand Catholic natives in their charge. They had formed a native clergy both

¹ Dionys. Cor.; cf. *Ens. H. E.* ii., 24.

secular and Dominican, had established two seminaries, more than twenty-five convents and a large organization of lay teachers. The first twenty-five years of the century were a time of peace for the Catholics of Tonquin. The King, Gia Long, was favorable to Europeans and admired the Christian doctrines, even if he did not follow them. French officers were employed to discipline his army, and a French Bishop, Mgr. Pigneaux, was for many years his most trusted counsellor in the administration of government. On the death of Bishop Pigneaux, in 1799, he was buried with almost royal honors, and his burial place was reckoned among the chief monuments of the Annamite capital. The Catholic population was allowed the fullest liberty of worship, and it increased rapidly, especially among the country people.

Gia Long died in 1818, and under his son, Min Men, a reaction against European ways and Christianity set in. Min Men was an Asiatic Conservative, violent in temper and despotic in rule. He looked to China, not to Europe, as the model of government and civilization, and he tried to make a smaller China of Annam. He revived the idolatrous rites and required his Christian subjects to join in them in spite of the exemptions granted by his father. After several years of petty persecutions an edict was issued in 1835 forbidding absolutely the practice of the Catholic religion in Annam and ordering all the European missionaries to leave the country under penalty of death. There were at the time four Bishops and about twenty-five European priests in Annam. Bishop Cuenot, with ten French and thirty native priests, was charged with the vicariate of Cochin China, the Catholic population of which was about eighty thousand. Bishop Havard had ten French missionaries and eighty Annamite priests in the western diocese of Tonquin. The diocese of Eastern Tonquin was administered by the venerable Bishop Delgado since 1794. His coadjutor, Mgr. Henares, had been consecrated Bishop in 1800, and both were approaching their 80th year, but still active in their duties. Five Spanish and thirty native Dominican priests, with about twenty secular priests, all natives, made up the clergy of the Spanish diocese, which numbered nearly two hundred thousand Catholics.

A French missionary in Cochin China, Father Marchand, was the first victim of the Asiatic Kulturkampf. He was arrested while traveling from one Christian village to another, and ordered to abandon his religion publicly, in obedience to the edicts of Min Men. On his refusal he was beheaded in 1835. Two years later Father Cornay, a young priest of 30, met the same fate in Tonquin. Annam at the time, like China and Japan, was completely shut against European intercourse of any kind. The executions of the

two French priests passed unnoticed in Europe, and Min Men proceeded to carry out his plans for the destruction of Christianity within his dominions. A formal test of apostacy was decreed, modeled on the practice of the Japanese Shoguns. Any one suspected of professing the Christian faith might be directed to trample on a cross in public. On the 18th of March, 1838, an attempt was made to enforce this test on the whole population of Eastern Tonquin. Crosses were placed in the streets at the entrances to all the towns and markets and police officers stationed to oblige every one to walk on them as a sign of conformity with the religion of the State. Some Christians yielded; others were arrested and flogged, Chinese fashion, or heavily fined. A general feeling of agitation developed itself through the provinces where the Christians were numerous, and the officials, after a few days, thought it wise to give up the attempt to enforce wholesale apostacy.

It was not that Min Men had any idea of relaxing his war against Christianity, however. The provincial Governors were ordered to spare no pains to discover any Europeans who might be in the country and arrest them all. A native who was carrying letters to the Spanish missioners was arrested by chance. The Governor forwarded them to the King and got a characteristic answer. Min Men deprived him of his government and sentenced him to death unless he could capture the four Spanish missioners to whom the letters were addressed within a month. He was allowed six thousand soldiers and several vessels to carry out the task. The Spanish diocese was at once overrun by spies, and a clue was found to the residence of Bishop Delgado, who with his coadjutor and another Dominican, Father Ximenes, were hidden in a remote village. It was suddenly surrounded by troops. Father Ximenes, an active young man, succeeded in slipping through the soldiers on foot. The old Bishops were unable to do the same. The native Catholics put them into covered baskets and carried them to other villages. The bearers of Bishop Henares succeeded in reaching a fishing settlement some miles away, but it was only to have him seized there within three days. Bishop Delgado was captured in the village itself. Both were put into wooden coops just large enough to admit their bodies and carried in this fashion to the Governor. He sent the news of the arrests to the King, and by his order the two Bishops were brought before the Annamite Judges and cross-examined as to their character, the number of priests in the country and their places of abode. The sentence finally passed on Bishop Delgado is given in a letter of Father Hermosilla, the provincial of the Dominicans in Tonquin, to his superiors in Manila, written early in 1839, while the persecution was still going on.

The reasons for the sentence given by the Annamite Judges at that time have a remarkable likeness to some used against the Catholic Church during recent persecutions in Europe.

"It is in obedience to the law," wrote the Asiatic Judges, "that we condemn the Bishop Ignatius. This foreigner spends his life in the study of the human heart and meditation on things incomprehensible. He is chief of the dangerous men who are spreading a false religion among us, and when brought before the court he refuses to give the information asked of him. Having read, then, with submission the decree of the seventeenth year of Min Men the King (1835), which says, 'We order all Mayors of towns and villages to arrest Europeans wherever they find them, and hand them over to the Judges to be tried, according to the laws against such as seduce the people by teaching a foreign and false religion.' And whereas there is also a law against enchanter, and that under the name of enchanter are included those who induce by trickery the people to follow false worships, we pronounce that such is the offense of this criminal, and that by law he is liable to hanging. But to proportion the punishment better to the crime, and to give a warning to the people, we order that Ignatius Trum Ca, here present, be beheaded and his head exposed in the public market."

The sentence passed on Bishop Henares was similar to that of Bishop Delgado. A Catholic teacher arrested in his company received a special sentence.

"Von Chien, a native of Tonquin, convicted of having been led astray by a European criminal and of having adopted his religion, in defiance of the law forbidding it, persists in refusing to abandon it, and says he loves it. His obstinacy makes him guilty of rebellion against the King and the laws of the country, and we sentence him accordingly to execution by beheading."

The Bishops had companions in their martyrdom. Father Fernandcz, the Vicar General, and a native priest, Father Tuan, were captured a few days later and shared the same prison. Father Fernandez was offered life and transportation out of Annam if he would renounce his faith, and Father Tuan was offered official favor on the same terms. Both refused and got the same sentence, death by beheading. The sentences, as each was given by the Annamite Judges, were sent to the capital for approval or modification by the King in person. Meanwhile the Spanish Bishops and priests were kept in their narrow wooden cages in the common jail and the native priests and others in other cages with bamboo cages, a bucket-shaped case open at the top, on their shoulders. The sentences came back after some days with the approval of Min

Men; but in the interval Bishop Delgado and Father Tuan both died in prison. Torture and starvation were more speedy than the sword. To carry out the sentence passed, the body of Bishop Delgado was beheaded after death and the head exposed in the market place. He had been Bishop of Tonquin forty-four years, his coadjutor thirty-eight. His vicar general was thirty-three years on the same mission. Father Hermosilla describes the last scene in words which have a strange force from one who had shared in the work of the martyrs for nine years and was at the time exposed to their fate from day to day. He writes:

“The sentences of the Bishop Henares and the teacher were sent back from Hae on the 25th of June, with orders to execute them at once. At 9 in the morning they were led to martyrdom, escorted by soldiers and followed by crowds, both of Christians and infidels. The Bishop in his cage prayed with the utmost composure. He was followed by the teacher on foot carrying the cangue on his shoulders and fettered. An official went before and made proclamation on each street: ‘Know all that this man is a European sentenced to death for preaching the false religion of Christ. Avoid that doctrine if you would escape a like fate.’

“After four hours the procession reached the place of execution. The teacher knelt down, and having recommended his soul to God with holy joy, had his head struck off. Meantime the Bishop was let out of his cage. He, too, knelt down and continued to pray with perfect calm, though the axe was raised over his neck. Unsullied purity of life, untireable zeal for the salvation of souls, entire devotion to his apostolic duties, with a keen desire of martyrdom, such were the virtues of which he constantly gave us the example. He was also remarkable for his perseverance in prayer, his study of the Fathers and unbounded love for the poor. He died at the age of 73, forty-nine years of which he devoted to the good of the mission.”

Father Fernandez, the vicar general, was the next to suffer. On the 24th of July he was brought for the last time before the Governor, who offered him pardon and the means to return to Europe if he would trample on the cross. The missionary declared he was ready to die for the God whom they wished to outrage. He was at once carried to the place of execution, being worn so much with illness that he could not move. When placed on his knees for execution he had to be held up by a soldier to receive the sword stroke which ended his life. Father Vincent Yen, a native Dominican, had been executed on the 2d of June.

An old priest of 84, Father Bernard, followed the Spanish martyrs to death on the 1st of August, and two Dominicans, also natives, were executed on the 5th of September. Five laymen were sen-

tenced to death at the same time, but had not been executed at the date of Father Hermosilla's report. All the native Christians were not equally steadfast. "Would I could say the same," he continues, "of Vincent Yen, a secular priest, 87 years of age. To save a few days of life he trampled on the cross of his Divine Master and signed a written renunciation of his faith. The faithful have been terror-stricken and all the priests are covered with shame at his apostacy. When set free he felt/himself the enormity of his crime and wrote to me asking penance and absolution. I consoled him as best I could, but reparation had to be made for the scandal he had given, and I have therefore suspended him from saying Mass or administering the sacraments. I must say, to his praise, that he submitted to this punishment with the most edifying humility."

It would be hard to find a more characteristic expression of the spirit which actuated the Catholic missionaries than these words. The horror for the offense, the simple faith in the future life which makes the writer wonder how any one could betray his conscience for a few years on earth, the shame of the colleagues of the sinner and the kindly pity for himself, the sentence of suspension passed by one whose own life was forfeited to the law on another in the same condition, and the humble submission of the repentant priest of nearly 90, form a picture which can scarcely be paralleled. It is noteworthy that the Dominican prelate while praising the "edifying humility" of the repentant priest, makes no allusion to the weakness which might accompany 87 years. Duty with/him can never be subordinate to human weakness. No American non-Catholic would give a thought to any feeling except pity for a man of over 80 who happened to lie when confronted with a pistol. Father Hermosilla felt simply that man's duty only ends with his life. He had before him the example of his Bishops and of the old native priests just gone to their reward to prove that his view was the true one.

The conclusion of this remarkable letter sums up in simple language the state of the Catholics of Tonquin sixty years ago:

"So many Christians executed were so many steps to restore to the Governor Trin Quan Can the King's favor. His province, one of the most important and the centre of Christianity in Tonquin, has again fallen under his yoke. In many places the Catholic people have been required to trample on the cross and sign a promise not to follow the Christian religion. Many have refused or bribed the officials not to trouble them. The faith of others has been put to hard trials and they have had the glory to confess Jesus Christ in chains and tortures. How many tears must be shed

over the number who have had the weakness to yield to the will of the Prince. . . .

"The houses of the priests are destroyed, two colleges, twenty-two convents of nuns of the third order and three convents of the 'Daughters of the Cross' have shared the same fate. These poor women continue their community life, however, sheltered in poor huts. The property of the churches, of the poor, of the Bishop have been seized by pagans or bad Christians. Chalices, vestments, missals, breviaries, other pious books, almost all have gone. The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord.

"When peace is restored," he hopefully adds, "my first care will be to restore the colleges, that the youth may not lack the benefit of a religious education. I look on this as of the utmost importance. At present all our priests, but especially the Europeans, have to hide in the most secret places. Our teachers and students cannot be gathered together anywhere for fear of new rigor."

"Deeds, not words," was the motto of the famous Seminary of St. Omer during its two centuries of existence as the support of the Church in persecuting England and persecuted Ireland. Deeds, not words, was the thought of the friars of Tonquin in our own day.

The outlook was in truth as gloomy as it well could be from a human point of view. When Father Hermosilla wrote his report there was no Bishop left in Tonquin. The Spanish prelates had been beheaded, and ten days later Bishop Havard, of Western Tonquin, died of fever. He had been driven by the persecution to hide in a cave in the fever-infested jungles, and for sixteen days he lived there alone, with no food but a little cold rice brought to him by some native women from time to time. The fever caught him, and feeling the end near he walked back to the nearest Catholic village and there lay down and died without a friend near. Father Borie, a young missionary of remarkable talents, had just been selected as his coadjutor, but before he could be consecrated he was arrested, and after months of torture executed in the capital of Annam. Father Retord, a veteran missionary, received the nomination of the Holy See to the western diocese on the death of Father Borie, and Father Hermosilla to the eastern, but there was no means of getting episcopal consecration in Tonquin. Father Retord, it was decided, should go to Manila to look for a Bishop for that purpose, and meanwhile Father Hermosilla should attend to the administration of the Church in Tonquin. It is hard to say which had the more dangerous task.

Father Retord was six months in finding a vessel that would take the risk of carrying him to China, and then, when he was car-

ried alongside it in a fishing boat, the captain changed his mind and refused to take him. Several months passed before another Chinese vessel carried him to Macao. He was smuggled on board in the neighborhood of two Annamite revenue junks which were watching the coast to prevent the escape of Christians. The junk was manned by heathen Chinese, and among them the Bishop-elect had to spend forty-six days in a coasting voyage to Macao. The misery of such an experience for a solitary European may be imagined, but in his letters Father Retord described those days as the pleasantest of his eighty years' life in the mission of Tonquin. At Macao he felt, as he said himself, like a fish thrown from the sand into the water. To speak freely with friends, to walk publicly in the streets, even to hear a church bell, were all enjoyments he had not known for eight long years. At Macao he was offered a passage to Europe for a much-needed rest, but he could not think of leaving the persecuted Catholics of Tonquin. He got to Manila and was consecrated by the Archbishop on the 29th of May, 1840, nearly two years after the death of his predecessor, Bishop Havard. By a remarkable coincidence, on the following day the Governor Trin Quan Can made a sudden raid on a Catholic village in Bishop Retord's diocese and captured three native priests, who were all beheaded, after months of torture, before the new Bishop's return. It was as hard to return to Tonquin as it had been to leave it. Finally a Chinese junk offered to carry the Bishop and three priests to Tonquin for sixteen hundred dollars. They sailed from Macao on the 3d of January and reached the part of the coast where the Bishop proposed to land, among some Catholic fishing villages, in eleven days; but only to find several revenue cutters on the watch for smugglers. After laying off for three days a fishing junk from a Catholic village came to meet them and took the Bishop and his priests, one of them a Spanish Dominican, the others Frenchmen, ashore at a remote part of the coast. They made their way by night to a village known already to the Bishop, but only to find it had just been raided and its native priest arrested a few days before. A few hours for sleep, after three nights' wakefulness, was all the stay they dared to make, and after another night march they got to a village which had escaped the notice of the persecutors and were able to rest a few days. Father Berneux described his abode here as a bamboo hut, in which he could walk six steps and get light from a hole near the ground during the day. He could not leave it with safety, or even raise his voice, except at night. Leaving him in this abode, Bishop Retord traveled in similar fashion to his episcopal palace in another village, where he sent word for Father Hermosilla to come and receive consecration as soon as possible.

In Tonquin during Bishop Retord's absence the persecution had continued unabated. Besides the three priests already mentioned, several others and some teachers and other laymen had been executed during these two years. The King Min Men died at the beginning of 1841, just as Bishop Retord landed. His death had no immediate effect in slackening the Asiatic Kulturkampf against the Church. Just as Father Hermosilla reached Bishop Retord to receive consecration a body of seven hundred soldiers made a descent on the neighboring Catholic villages and arrested Fathers Galy and Berneaux, the two newly-arrived priests. The capture was made on Easter Sunday, after they had said their Masses, and the troops continued to hunt for priests. It was under these circumstances that Father Hermosilla was raised to the episcopacy three days afterwards. There was little of pomp or noise around the ceremony, and when it was over the new Bishop traveled back to his diocese under cover of night. He immediately consecrated as his coadjutor Father Ximenes, who had been with Bishop Delgado at the time of his arrest. Bishop Retord also consecrated a coadjutor. It is necessary here, he wrote to a friend in France, for a Bishop to anoint another head with the Holy Chrism, for there is no telling how soon his own may be removed from his shoulders.

Three more missionaries were captured during the year, and all five sentenced to death and confined in the prisons of the capital. The lash and other tortures were meantime freely used on all five. Bishop Retord ordained no less than eleven and his coadjutor two priests during the same time. By the middle of 1842 he had almost exactly as many priests as at the beginning of Min Men's persecution.

" Each stepping where his comrade stood
The instant that he fell."

The number of converts was very remarkable at the same time. A respite was given to the persecution, though the laws against Christianity remained. Trin Quan Can was disgraced by the new King and removed from office. In the following year, 1843, Bishop Hermosilla received eight pagan villages into instruction and baptized ninety-six converts himself in two days. He also visited most of the Catholic villages and confirmed several thousand who had been unable to see a Bishop for many years.

The promise made in his report of the deaths of Bishops Delgado and Henares, to restore the two colleges, was speedily fulfilled. They were refounded in other districts in 1841, the year of his consecration, and before May of 1844 twelve native priests had been ordained from their students, the same number as had been executed. The provincial of the Dominicans in a report to the General

of his Order stated that there were in 1844 thirty native Dominican and eighteen native secular priests, with six Spanish friars, in the diocese. There were eight students of theology and twenty of Latin in the colleges, but it took a long time to fit the native candidates for ordination. In addition every priest on the mission was training some boys at his own house in Chinese literature and Latin preparatory to entering the seminaries. The twenty-five convents destroyed by Min Men had all been restored. The Catholic population, the provincial added, had grown both in numbers and fervor under the persecution. The administration of the sacraments was equal to the times of peace. Two native priests were arrested and sentenced to death for the faith during the year, but Father Marti considered that everything was going on rather peaceably. The amount of peace asked by Spanish friars on mission work was evidently not extravagant.

A letter from another friar, Father Barcelo, in the same year, gives a good idea of the kind of work that made up a missionary's life in Tonquin. Father Barcelo was called to Macao to act as procurator in the end of 1843, and he thus describes his voyage:

"Our vessel was manned by Christians and accompanied by two junks loaded with rice and manned by heathens. After three days we were becalmed near the residence of the Governor and boarded by some customs vessels, with the Governor's secretary on board one. I had no resource but to sit down covered with all the old clothes of the sailors, so that I was nearly smothered. Our visitors came aboard and stopped to dine on our vessel. The secretary took an after-dinner siesta of a couple of hours by my side, but they left without suspecting there was a missionary on board. On the 4th of December we reached Fu, the first town of Chinese territory. Five Catholic villages near it had been two years without seeing a priest and I had orders to attend to them. They came in crowds to confess, and the mothers brought their children for baptism. Being deeply affected by their fervor, I remained three days and nights without sleep to hear their confessions. As far as regards myself, the work was amply repaid. I baptized ninety-nine persons. grown-up and infants, gave seventeen extreme unction,) heard a thousand and thirty-six confessions and administered communion to over a thousand persons. Among the penitents were four or five village Mayors, the second official of Canton and the secretary of the Cantonal prefect.

"To get away from Fu I had to buy a boat, which I offered for a passage to Macao. It was small and leaky, as you may guess when I say I got it, with the rigging, for fifty dollars. I sailed in it, however, with seven Chinese and three Annamite sailors all

crowded together. On the third day we were boarded by three pirate junks. Our money, our provisions and fresh water, even some planks of our vessel, were carried off. What pained me most was to see the correspondence of the Bishops and missioners fall into these hands. I begged the pirates to return my breviary, which could be of no use to them, but one of them was so indignant that he seized his sword to kill me, and I had to slip under the deck to escape.

“Our journey lasted seven days longer. Having no protection against the cold, no provisions but a little rice mixed with some half-rotten fish and a little water full of dirt and sprinkled with brine, our company offered a sad picture; but, thank God, we reached Macao on Good Friday.”

Here is another picture of the mission life of a Philippine friar in the Chinese Diocese of Fo Kien during a time of peace. Bishop Guillemin, of Canton, gave it in a report to the Seminary of Foreign Missions at Paris in 1860:

“At Amoy, confided to the care of the Spanish Dominicans, we saw the fine church which is being built by the missioner. This exemplary priest, who is dying of consumption, is spending the last remnant of strength in building a temple to the true God on this infidel soil. Though well aware of his condition, he thinks he may have time to finish his work. ‘And then,’ he says, ‘my race will be run and I will ask the Lord to give me a low place in his heavenly temple.’

“We went twelve leagues into the interior to visit a congregation of five or six hundred converts. We did not get there till midnight, and the priest was away, but some young people in charge of the house received us with cordiality. After Mass at 6 in the morning we were going to take breakfast when we found the missioner himself had come. He had walked several miles during the night to meet us. His hair and beard are gray; though he is only 45. In his face and bearing there is an air of simple dignity, and at the same time gentle cheerfulness which struck my companions. We were more surprised when we saw this worthy disciple of St. Dominic, after his fatigue, not only not touching meat, as the ordinary rule of his order requires, but taking for all food a dish of corn and eggs, washed down with a few cups of tea, his only beverage. Such has been his diet during the twenty-four years he has spent on the mission.”

A strange contrast these pictures to those given by so many scribblers in our own press of the “lazy and greedy friars” of the Philippines.

During the reign of Min Men’s successor, which lasted till the

end of 1847, the Dominicans in Tonquin were comparatively in peace. The laws against Christianity remained in force and some native priests¹ were executed in accordance with them; but after the experience of Min Men's persecution the missionaries regarded themselves as happy to have so little to suffer. When Tu Duc became King, in 1848, new decrees were published against the Catholics. The text of the edict ran thus:

"The religion of Jesus, which has been outlawed by the last two Kings, is evidently a perverse religion, for in it they do not honor their dead parents; they tear out the eyes of the dying to make magic potions, and besides they practise many superstitions.

"Consequently, the Europeans who teach this religion, being the most culpable, they are to be thrown into the sea with stones tied around their necks. A reward of three hundred taels (six hundred dollars) will be paid to whoever arrests a European teacher.

"The Annamite priests shall be tortured to make them give up their religion. If they refuse to give it up, they are to be branded on the face and banished to the most unhealthy places in the mountains

"As the common Christians who won't give up their religion are mostly poor idiots and weak-minded creatures, the King in his benevolence does not condemn them to death or exile. The judges shall flog them and then let them go."

This remarkable edict, however, did not lead to the capture of any Europeans for some years. The five French priests sentenced to execution in 1842 had been released a year after on the demand of a French naval captain, and the Annamite Government did not care to risk a second experience of the same kind. The Catholic population continued to increase. In 1845 Bishop Hermosilla returned the Catholics in his diocese at nearly two hundred thousand, four hundred and sixty-five converts having been added during that year. There were over a hundred and fifty thousand confessions and a hundred and thirty-three thousand communions. The number of dioceses in Annam had been increased from three to seven between 1838 and 1852. In Tonquin the Dominicans had charge of the eastern and central vicariates, the Society of Foreign Missions the western and southern. In 1852 Bishop Retord thus summed up the growth of the Catholic Church in his diocese during fourteen years of proscription: "There were seventy-five priests in Western Tonquin at the death of Bishop Havard, and they had been reduced to fifty at the time of my ordination. There are now a hundred and eight. We have thirty-three students in theology and two hundred and forty in Latin in the two colleges, and eight hundred pupils in thirty-eight boarding schools attached to the

parishes. We have nearly five hundred Sisters, and the Catholics have increased about forty thousand in eleven years."

It is in the face of facts like these that lecturers in the United States speak of the Philippine friars as "exacting marriage fees which compelled the natives to live in immorality, and burial fees which obliged them to leave the bodies of the poor unburied."

A storm was to break over the Catholics of Tonquin which made even the persecution of Min Men appear a time of comparative peace. France tried to open relations with the Annamites in 1856, as she had already done with China, but Tu Duc refused any communication with the European "savages." The vessel which brought the proposition was not even allowed to take provisions at the port of Touranne, and a collision followed, in which the forts of that place were destroyed by the French guns. Two years afterwards a joint Franco-Spanish squadron came to demand satisfaction for various injuries received from the Annamite Court. They occupied Touranne and a war began which lasted until 1862. These four years were a period of destruction for the Annamite Catholics. The King launched decree after decree against their religion and themselves. The soldiers of the army were all ordered to clear themselves of suspicion of Christianity by joining in sacrifices to the ancestors and trampling on crosses. At the capital in 1858 a hundred and three refused these tests and were at once put in fetters and employed on cleaning the drains of the city pending further punishment. Crosses were laid on the ground at every gate of the city, and all passers were obliged by police officers to trample on them. A Catholic captain was beheaded for refusing to give up his religion, and fifteen others were sentenced to banishment. The next year the persecution was terribly increased. Crosses were laid in many country villages as well as in the cities, and the Catholics were arrested and imprisoned by dozens at a time. Fifteen priests, all natives, were executed and several hundred Catholics sent into exile this year in Cochin China alone. At the end of the year a new law ordered that all Catholic men throughout the country should be taken from their homes and sent as public prisoners to the pagan villages.

The next year was still worse. The whole Catholic population of several provinces was driven from its homes and the faces of the grown people branded with Chinese characters meaning "Infamous Religion." These were cut in with pieces of glass or pottery so that the scars might remain permanently. The Annamite governors and generals were left absolute freedom in dealing with the lives of the hated Christians. At Bien Ho, a city of Cochin China occupied by the French troops, the commander found the charred

bodies of three hundred native Catholics, men, women and children. They had been shut up before his approach in a wooden building, and when the Governor retreated he first had the building fired, and stationed guards around it to throw back any of the prisoners that forced their way out of the flames. In another city of Centrai Tonquin the Viceroy shut up three hundred in a prison and starved them all to death. The same official made a circuit afterwards of the Christian villages and beheaded all who refused to renounce their faith. On the 18th of May, 1861, he executed twenty-one thus, forty-three on the 22d of the same month, sixty-seven on the 26th and as many on the 27th. Two hundred and twenty-four Catholics still remained in confinement, and on the last days of May they were tied hand and foot and thrown into the river. In all the number only three consented to abandon their religion. So much for the Christianity taught by the Spanish friars, which is so glibly described as nominal by American lecturers.

One case deserves mention. A man of thirty-five after being kept some months in prison and repeatedly flogged, had his face branded with the Chinese letters, "False religion of Jesus." When returned to his prison he got a fellow captive to cut out the flesh on which "False religion" was marked, leaving only the sacred name. He was flogged unmercifully and then sentenced to execution unless he would allow the effaced words to be branded on again. On his refusal he was immediately beheaded.

In another place the Viceroy already mentioned had over two hundred prisoners thrown into a pit and covered it with planks. The living and dead were left together till the end slowly came to the last sufferer. The list of butcheries given by Father Estevez, a Spanish Dominican, who remained in Tonquin through all these horrors, may well make us think that Christian courage is not the gift of any special race. Writing on the 8th of July to his superiors in Manila, he says: "On the 20th of last month fifty-three Christians were executed in the capital of the southern province. Five days earlier the Prefect of Chan Din ordered two hundred to be drowned together. Forty-one were saved by the people living on the river. Five of these came to see me a few days since and gave me an account of the event."

He continues the list of executions thus: "In the chief town of San, fifty-six Christians were beheaded on the 27th and 30th of May. Ninety-six suffered the same fate at Chan Din. At Quin Co a number (we have not learned exactly how many) were imprisoned, fire set to the building and all perished. At Doi Yen a hundred and fifty were collected for execution together. The bungling executioners, after having fearfully mangled twenty, lost

patience and drove the whole body into the river. In the midst of this massacre," he adds, "it is most consoling for God's servants to know that amongst the thousands of confessors only *six apostates* have been found." We fear the test would hardly give the same result in our own land.

The summing up given by Father Estevez is as follows: "With regard to the number who have perished I shall only state that in one vicariate alone, Central Tonquin, the multitude of victims has, it is well known, reached the figure of sixteen thousand. Some say, perhaps with reason, that twice that number have perished. (The census of 1856 numbered the Catholics at a hundred and fifty-five thousand.) In the capital alone of the upper province five thousand have suffered. Widows and orphans are met with in crowds on all sides. Possibly," he adds, with scrupulosity, in a note, "some inaccuracies may have crept into my letter, for we have not been able to verify everything ourselves. If so, I shall hasten to correct them as soon as accurate information is obtained."

How, it may be asked, did the clergy fare if such was the fate of the common Catholic population? Father Estevez tells this with simple force: "During the last five years we have lost three Bishops, thirty-six priests and the vicar general. Twenty-eight native priests were executed. Through the whole mission we have now only twelve native ecclesiastics, and three of these invalided. Of the seven hundred students and scholars in the parish seminaries very few remain. Exile and the scaffold have disposed of the rest. And, thank God, out of so many, two-thirds of whom have undergone the torture in the courts, only six have fallen, and of these some have already made reparation and confessed the faith again."

It will be remembered that Father Hermosilla in his report of the martyrdom of his predecessor in the episcopate promised to give his first care to restoring the ruined seminaries of Tonquin. How faithfully he had kept his promise this report of his own successor tells in the very middle of the carnage of a new persecution. There was no tale of apostacy to lessen the glory of the generation of priests trained up by the Dominican missionary Bishop. They proved their faith by deeds, not words.

Bishop Hermosilla's own end is told in the same report of Father Estevez. He had been driven from one hiding place to another for three years, and when the Catholic villages were destroyed in 1860 he found no asylum but a native river junk. The Bishop of Central Tonquin, Mgr. Ochoa, and Father Almato, a veteran Dominican missioner, hid themselves in another boat. All three were captured in October, 1861, near Hai Duong, the capital of a province. They were marched there on foot, examined before the Annamite courts

and then shut up in wooden cages, exactly as Bishop Delgado and his coadjutor twenty-three years before. As Bishop Hermosilla had then described the end of his predecessor we will let Father Estevez tell his own:

"The feast of All Saints, the thirty-first anniversary of my companion's novitiate (Father Almato had been fellow novice of Father Estevez) was the day chosen for the triumph of the three apostles. When it was known they were to be executed a crowd assembled and followed to the fatal spot. Two elephants led the funeral procession and four companies of infantry followed in line. The three cages of the confessors were surrounded by soldiers. In the first was Father Almato, bent down, his rosary in his hands, praying to her who had so well preserved his innocence. In the second cage was our venerable Bishop Ochoa, absorbed in deep meditation, which practice had long made familiar to him. The Bishop of Western Tonquin, Hermosilla, was seated in the third cage, as if on a throne. He kept blessing the people around him.

At the place of execution the cages were opened, the confessors knelt down and Mgr. Hermosilla asked a few minutes for prayer, which was granted.

"It was a touching sight to witness the silence of the crowd while the three prayed with eyes lifted to heaven, offering the sacrifice of their lives to their Creator.

"The prayer finished, Mgr. Hermosilla told the commander they were ready. Their arms were then bound behind their backs and their bodies tied to stakes so tightly that their chests were swollen and their necks stretched as if in suffocation. The voice of a trumpeter then ordered the soldiers to stand at attention and arrest any one who should show sympathy with the martyrs. The poor trumpeter had tears running down his cheeks while proclaiming this order; he was himself a Christian. At the third stroke of a gong three swords fell on the three heads, which rolled on the ground, the first at one stroke, the others at the second. The bodies were left on the spot for twenty-four hours, while the heads were fixed on posts and exposed there for three days. A little later the relics were bought at a high price by our Christians and buried with all secrecy at dead of night."

Compare this account of the close of a missionary's career with that of his predecessor, Bishop Henares, twenty-three years earlier, which we have already given, and then let who will talk of the degeneracy of the religious orders in Spanish lands. Bishop Ochoa was only 34 years of age. He came to give his life to the conversion of Tonquin at the moment when the fiercest persecution broke out in 1858. Bishop Garcia at once selected him as his coadjutor

and consecrated him in June of that year. Eleven days later the consecrating prelate was beheaded himself. Five Bishops drawn from the same orders as the Philippine Friars have thus laid down their lives for the Catholic Faith within a quarter of a century. They are included among the forty-nine martyrs of Annam who have this year been solemnly declared such by Leo XIII. The men of any race who will undertake to give a higher type of Christianity to the Philippines must be bold indeed. One cannot help drawing a comparison between the English Bishops of the days of Henry VIII. and these Spanish Bishops of our own day.

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SOCIAL STANDPOINT IN RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY.

THE principal matter of debate in the controversies of thirty years ago between Intuitionism and Empiricism was the attempt of the empiricists—from Hume to J. S. Mill—to deny to the mind the power of intuition, and to trace all our knowledge to sensible experience. The method used by the intuitionist in this controversy was that of individual self-analysis. He appealed to beliefs accepted as valid by intuitionist and empiricist alike; analyzed their logical basis; showed that this *must* include certain primary intuitions irreducible to experience. The empiricist was challenged to examine his own mind, to apply the intuitionist analysis and to show if he could that the conclusion was not inevitable—that the beliefs in question rested on intuitions. The crucial part of the process, on either side, was individual introspection. The case was decided by the verdict of accurate self-analysis. The standpoint on either side was that of the individual examining his own mind. The object of the present article is to show how a change has arisen in the standpoint from which these controversies are now regarded and the method employed in their solution; how the social method and social standpoint have come largely to supplement the individual.

Among the issues fought out on the old lines of controversy were the intuitive character of memory, the intuitive basis of necessary truth, the nature of the primary ethical perceptions. Huxley had traced our confidence in memory to our *experience* of its truthfulness. The intuitionist challenged him to analyze his own mind more accu-