

The Pennsylvania State University

The Graduate School

The College of the Liberal Arts

**LAND, CHURCH, AND POWER:  
FRENCH CATHOLIC MISSION IN GUANGZHOU, 1840-1930**

A Dissertation in

History

by

Hongyan Xiang

© 2014 Hongyan Xiang

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements  
for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

August 2014

The dissertation of Hongyan Xiang was reviewed and approved\* by the following:

Ronnie Hsia  
Edwin Earle Sparks Professor of History  
Dissertation Advisor  
Chair of Committee

David G. Atwill  
Associate Professor of History and Asian Studies

Kate Merkel-Hess  
Assistant Professor of History and Asian Studies

Anouk Patel-Campillo  
Assistant Professor of Rural Sociology

Michael Kulikowski  
Professor of History and Classics and Ancient Mediterranean Studies  
Head, Department of History

\*Signatures are on file in the Graduate School

### Abstract

This is a study of the economic and financial history of the Paris Foreign Missions Society (*Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris*) in the southern Chinese province of Guangdong (formerly known as Canton) from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century. It examines how missionaries acquired and utilized local properties, demonstrating how property acquisitions provided a testing ground for Sino-Western relations. While historians have typically focused on the ways that missionaries affected Chinese populations and policies, I instead argue that living and attempting to gain influence in Guangdong altered missionaries' tactics and strategies in ways that had far-reaching consequences. The government of China (which over the course of my study changed from an empire to a republic) consistently attempted to restrict foreign missions' right to purchase Chinese properties. I show that, by indigenizing its property acquisition methods the French Catholic mission in Guangdong was able to accumulate a large quantity of properties both in urban and rural areas, but doing so required negotiating with authorities and commoners, and assistance from both Chinese converts and French authorities. As a result, the Guangzhou French Catholic mission's economic activities were intertwined with both local society and high level diplomacy.

## Table of Contents

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| List of Figures .....  | vi  |
| Glossary .....   | vii |
| Acknowledgements .....   | ix  |
| Introduction.....  | 1   |
| Chapter 1 Merchants, Missionaries, and Diplomats in Guangdong.....                         | 12  |
| Religions and Local Society.....   | 20  |
| Commerce and the Role of Currency.....   | 30  |
| Chapter 2 The History of the French Catholic Mission in South China .....                  | 40  |
| A General History of the Paris Foreign Missions Society .....                              | 49  |
| The Paris Foreign Missions Society in Guangdong .....                                      | 58  |
| Chapter 3 The Opium War, France, and Catholicism.....                                      | 65  |
| Sino-France Relations in Imperial Time .....   | 65  |
| State and Christianity in the Qing Dynasty .....   | 70  |
| Surviving under the Imperial Government.....   | 79  |
| The Berthemy Convention of 1865 .....  | 81  |
| The Gérard Convention of 1895.....   | 90  |
| Chapter 4 Urban Profit: the French Catholic Mission in the City of Guangzhou .....         | 111 |
| Obtaining Land for the Construction of the Cathedral.....                                  | 115 |
| The Construction of a Holy Image .....   | 127 |
| Creating a Real Estate Empire for the Mission.....   | 133 |
| Properties Belonged to the French Catholic Mission in Other Parts of the City.....         | 147 |
| Chapter 5 Rural Economy: the French Catholic Mission in the Rural Areas of Guangdong ..... | 155 |
| The MEP's Regulations and Resources to Priests .....                                       | 156 |
| Local Chinese Authorities and the Mission .....  | 158 |
| The Importance of Lineages in Mission Economy .....  | 167 |
| The Competition between Catholicism and Protestantism .....                                | 180 |
| The Economic Impact of Local Practices .....   | 184 |
| Chapter 6 A New Era under the Republican Government.....                                   | 196 |
| The Anti-Superstition Campaign .....   | 202 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| The Urban Modernization and Church Properties .....                            | 205 |
| The Anti-Imperialism Campaign and Church Properties.....                       | 212 |
| Conclusion .....   | 226 |
| Bibliography .....   | 234 |
| Appendix A Properties purchased by the MEP in Guangdong province by 1733 ..... | 252 |
| Appendix B Property deeds surrounding the cathedral.....                       | 253 |
| Appendix C Property deeds of Taojinkeng .....                                  | 263 |
| Appendix D Property deeds of Jiucang xiang.....                                | 265 |
| Appendix E Property deeds of Fangdong village of Shixing County .....          | 269 |
| Appendix F Property deeds of Fuhou village of Jieyang .....                    | 273 |
| Appendix G Property deeds of Heyuan .....                                      | 276 |
| Appendix H Property deeds of Shangtangwei of Boluo .....                       | 283 |

## List of Figures

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Figure 1-1. Guangzhou in 1898. ....   | 15  |
| Figure 1-2. Drawing of the city blocks of Guangzhou in the Qing dynasty. ....                               | 22  |
| Figure 2-1. Arrival years of different mission orders in Guangdong province.....                            | 46  |
| Figure 2-2. List of the MEP Guangdong mission bishops. ....   | 64  |
| Figure 3-1. Description of relations between the involved parties. ....                                     | 106 |
| Figure 4-1. Plan of territory ceded to the French Catholic Mission at Guangzhou. ....                       | 123 |
| Figure 4-2. The neighborhood of the Sacred Heart Cathedral. ....  | 137 |
| Figure 4-3. Property deed in 1861 belonging to the MEP. ....  | 141 |
| Figure 4-4. A property contract made in 1786 belonging to a Chinese commoner. ....                          | 143 |
| Figure 5-1. Guyuzhou chapel of the MEP. ....  | 177 |
| Figure 5-2. Sample property deed of Christian missions issued by the Republican<br>government of China..... | 194 |
| Figure 6-1. Properties belonged to the French Catholic Mission in Guangzhou. ....                           | 221 |

# Glossary

|                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| Anhuai li 安怀里          | Faxing chanyuan change ji 法性禅唱和集                      |
| Bai qi 白契              | Feichu bushi xingxiang wuxi kanyu banfa 废除卜筮星象巫覡堪与办法  |
| Baimi xiang 白米巷        | Fengshui 风水   |
| Bao gang 宝岗            | Gaopo 高坡  |
| Baojia 保甲              | Guangdong faguan xuexiao 广东法官学校                       |
| Baoxing ciqu pu 宝兴瓷器铺  | Guangji 广济  |
| Beiyang 北洋             | Guangzhou wan 广州湾                                     |
| Bian men 便门            | Guide men 归德门   |
| Bianmen 便门             | Gushen 古神   |
| Cai Jinyu chang 蔡金鱼肠   | Haichuang si 海幢寺                                      |
| Da Qing lü li 大清律例     | Haiyun chan zao ji 海云禅藻集                              |
| Danxia ji 丹霞集          | Hanjun 汉军   |
| Daxin jie 大新街          | Haoxian jie 豪贤街                                       |
| Dianhu 佃户              | Hong qi 红契  |
| Dong men 东门            | Hubei Huiguan 湖北会馆                                    |
| Dong zhulan 东猪栏        | Jiandao 箭道  |
| Dougu Er 豆鼓二           | Jiao tian tian buying, jiao di di bushing 叫天天不应，叫地地不声 |
| Dushi guihua lun 都市规划论 | Jiaoyu 教谕   |
| Fangcao jie 芳草街        |   |
| Fangcun 芳村             |   |

|                                |  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| Jinchai ling 金钗岭               | Tianfu jinpu 天福金铺  |
| Jinghai 靖海                     | Tianzhu tang 天主堂   |
| Lashiyue 蜡石约                   | Tong wen guan 同文馆  |
| Juxing li 聚星里                  | Tonghu dilou 铜壶滴漏  |
| Mai 卖                          | Waiwubu 外务部  |
| Maima jie 卖麻街                  | Wenming men 文明门  |
| Minzheng ting 民政厅              | xianzhe 先哲   |
| Nanwu gongxue 南武公学             | Xiaobei men 小北门  |
| Neizheng bu 内政部                | Xiaoshi jie 小市街  |
| Niutou jiao 牛头角                | Xiguan 西关  |
| Peiduan 陪断                     | Xingzheng yuan 行政院   |
| Penglai li 蓬莱里                 | Yangren xiaxiang, yi li xiangdai, buke tiaoxin 洋人下乡，以礼相待，不可挑衅” |
| Renqing 人情                     | Yangyin 洋银   |
| Sanyuan gong 三元宫               | Yatang 鸭塘  |
| Shahepu 沙河埔                    | Yehu 业户  |
| Shahexu 沙河圩                    | Yichang ciqi pu 怡昌瓷器铺  |
| Shehui ju 社会局                  | Youlán xiang 幽兰巷   |
| Shenci cunfei biao zhun 神祠存废标准 | Yuzi xiang 玉子巷   |
| Shenxianfen 神仙粉                | Zanxing zhangcheng cao'an 暂行章草案                                |
| Shibosi 市舶司                    | Zhangqi 瘴气   |
| Shimin xuetang 时敏学堂            | Zhaohui 照会   |
| Shizheng gongsuo 市政公所          | Zhengnan men 正南门   |
| Shizhengting 市政厅               | Zongli yamen 总理衙门  |
| Shuangmendi 双门底                |  |
| Taiping lu 太平路                 |  |
| Taojinkeng 淘金坑                 |  |



## Acknowledgments

This project has been a long time in the making. My first debt of gratitude is to my teachers. At Pennsylvania State University, my advisor Prof. Ronnie Hsia has been there every step of the way. Besides being knowledgeable on both Western and Eastern history, he has been always ready to help. His sense of humor and down-to-earth personality has made me feel fortunate to be his student. My doctoral committee David Atwill, Kate Merkel-Hess, and Anouk Patel-Campillo not only inspired me in the courses taught by them, but also have given me valuable suggestions from the very beginning of this project. I want to particularly show my gratitude to Prof. David Atwill, who always found time to offer guidance and advice from his busy schedule as the Director of Graduate Studies. I have also benefitted greatly from courses taught by On-cho Ng, Joan B. Landes, Catherine Wanner, Gregory Smits, Erica Brindley, Mrinalini Sinha and so on. I am also grateful to Henrietta Harrison and Joseph Lee, who made valuable comments to my research during conferences we attended together.

The Ricci Institute of Chinese-Western Cultural History at the University of San Francisco has provided me great support and opportunities to develop this project. I am especially grateful to Dr. Wu Xiaoxin 吴小新, who was then the director of the Ricci Institute. He provided me the opportunity to explore the newly acquired Canton Archives, which I eventually used as the major primary sources for my dissertation. I want to thank the staff of the Institute who made my two visits enjoyable, and they are: Mark Mir, Jan Vaeth and May Lee. My conversations with other resident scholars of the Institute also shaped the dissertation, and I particularly want to thank Margaret Kuo and Ellen Huang.

My archival trip to China was helped by Prof. Cheng Meibao 程美宝 of Sun Yat-sen University, who made sure that I could conduct my research smoothly, and provided opportunity for me to interact with her doctoral students. I particularly want to express my gratitude to Prof. Cheng's student Huang Sujuan 黄素娟 for sharing two pieces of research documents with me. I also owe debt to Guo Rui, who made my stay at Guangzhou worry-free.

My professors during my undergraduate and master studies also shaped my intellectual development. Among them I am especially grateful to Pan Yingchun of Wuhan University and Thomas David Dubois of National University of Singapore.

My peers at Penn State have been wonderful friends and source of knowledge and advice over the years. Among them are Ann Brinton, Jeffrey Horton, David Hensley, Antwain Hunter, Hsin-fang Wu, Courtney Rong Fu, Scott Cave, Joo Hyun Sheen, Tang Kwok-leong, Ryan Holroyd, Chen Bin, and Daniela Langusi. I would also like to thank Jack Meng-Tat Chia of Cornell University, who has been a dear friend through our academic journeys since our master studies in Singapore.

A number of institutions and libraries have made this research possible. I would like to thank the library of the Pennsylvania State University; East Asia library and Hoover Institution of Stanford University; Richard Charles Lee Canada-Hong Kong library of University of Toronto; Guangdong Provincial Archives; Guangzhou Municipal Archives; Sun Yat-sen Library of Guangdong Province; Sun Yat-sen University Libraries, and Nanjing Library.

My dissertation writing and research has been funded mostly by Pennsylvania State University, specifically the Department of History, Department of Asian Studies, Institute for the Arts and Humanities, College of Arts and Architecture, College of the Liberal Arts, and Research and Graduate Studies Office. Ricci institute of University of San Francisco also offered me a doctoral research fellowship that enabled me to visit its archives. Stanford University and University of Toronto also offered me library travel grants that funded my visit to them. The Chung Chi College of Chinese University of Hong Kong provided financial support so I could attend a conference held there to present some preliminary findings of my research.

The Department of History at Penn State has been a major source of support and encouragement over the years. I want to thank the staff for doing all the administrative work and making it such a comfortable and friendly environment for me.

Finally, I have the utmost gratitude toward my friends and family. I would especially like to express my gratitude toward my cousin Tan Changzou and his wife Li Lin, who have offered me support, encouragement, and generosity at the time when I needed most.

## Introduction

On 24 May 1925, an article appeared on *Kwok Wa Po* 国华报, a popular local newspaper in Guangzhou, stating that:

During the last years of the Qing, a weak China was humiliated by foreign powers. Many important and rich places were occupied by foreigners. This situation is understandable because people in the Qing were ignorant and unable to defend their territory. However, after the founding the Republic of China, we should not be humiliated anymore because the population is more educated, and we are more skillful in dealing with international relations. Yet we have the Shishi 石室 (Stone Chamber) Catholic Church (Sacred Heart Cathedral of the French Catholic mission) who violated the treaties and still occupied our land to make profit illegally...Based on the treaties signed in the tenth year of Xianfeng (1860) and the first year of Tongzhi (1862), they could only use the land for religious purposes. If they used the land for other purpose, the treaties would be invalidated automatically. Nonetheless, the Church first built shops in Daxin street, and then did the same thing on the streets of Yuzixiang and Baimijie. Recently they even built more than one hundred Western style houses to rent. Since these behaviors already invalidated the treaties, we should reclaim the right to the land occupied by the Shishi Catholic Church.<sup>1</sup>

Two weeks later, the French consul in China published his reply to the accusation in the same newspaper, insisting that everything the Shishi Catholic Church did was for charity and was totally legal.

The above episode was one of many anti-Christian incidents that happened in China in different locations of the country in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The uniqueness of this one was that not only church properties were the focus, but also the Church's legal right to their properties as a whole was questioned. Certainly, this incident took place in the early twentieth century, when nationalism was strong in China. Nonetheless, it shows that the Church's economic activities were observed and

---

<sup>1</sup> "Wei shishi tianzhu jiaotang zudi miao yue yingsi qing tongbao lizheng shouhui zhuquan," *Guohua bao*, 24 May 1925.

scrutinized constantly by Chinese society even before the Nationalist Revolution. It is easy for one to ask the question of how the Church survived in China economically from late imperial times to the early twentieth century.

Knowledge of the economic life of the Catholic Church in China will enrich our understanding of the history of Christianity in China as a whole. However, this question is largely unanswered in existing scholarship. Mainly due to the large quantity of anti-Christian cases that took place in the late nineteenth century, especially the Boxer Uprising (1898-1901) that killed many missionaries and Chinese Christians, scholars have focused on the question of “why did Christianity fail in China?” To answer this question, they have studied Christianity in China from the approaches of “Western imperialism,”<sup>2</sup> “China’s anti-foreignism,”<sup>3</sup> “cultural conflict”<sup>4</sup> and so on. Such scholars have made great contributions to the historiography of Christianity in China. However, these studies are Eurocentric and most of them narrowly focus on the religious and philosophical aspects of the mission history.

In the past few decades, more and more scholars have shifted their attention to the question of “how did Christianity survive in China despite constant persecutions?” To answer this question, they have treated Christianity as part of Chinese society, and have focused on examining how this foreign religion was perceived and accepted by the Chinese in specific contexts. Some of these scholars have combined anthropological and

---

<sup>2</sup> Joseph W. Eshrick, *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

<sup>3</sup> Paul A. Cohen, *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).

<sup>4</sup> Jacques Gernet, *China and the Christian Impact: A Conflict of Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

sociological methodology in their studies, and have been quite successful in studying Christianity on a grassroots level.

Among these researchers the most notable are Eugenio Menegon and Zhang Xianqing. In his studies of Catholicism in Fu'an 福安 of Fujian province, Menegon argues that Catholicism survived there because it not only did not challenge the status quo, but tried to “belong” to local society.<sup>5</sup> Zhang Xianqing, looking at the same order, maintains that it survived because it gained support from local lineages.<sup>6</sup> Taken together, their research shows that at a local level, Christianity had a more practical and vibrant experience, and the survival strategies adopted by missionaries at one place might not be applicable to other locations. Such works demonstrate that studying Christianity within a specific context can provide us with unique insight, thus local studies of Christianity contributes to our understanding of the varied Chinese society.

With their studies on different locations of China, other scholars also have contributed to refute the limitations of the “failure” discourses. In his study on Catholicism in Chaozhou, Joseph Lee has argued that the communal conflicts that antedated conversion to Christianity continued to live on in the guise of denominational differences. Far from being victims, local leaders manipulated foreigner missionaries and foreign authorities to support their own needs.<sup>7</sup> In this way, Catholicism found the way to

---

<sup>5</sup> Eugenio, Menegon, *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars: Christianity as Local Religion in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2009), p. 266.

<sup>6</sup> Zhang Xianqing, *Guanfu, zongjiao yu tianzhujiao: 17-19 shiji Fu'an xiangcun jiaohui de lishi xushu* (The official, religion and Catholicism: The historical narrative of the village church in Fu'an county during 17-19 century) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2009), p.195.

<sup>7</sup> Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, *The Bible and the Gun: Christianity in South China, 1860-1900* (New York and London: Routledge, 2003).

develop and prosper at Chaozhou. Judith Wyman criticizes the antiforeshism argument.<sup>8</sup>

Sweeten and Dunch demonstrates that becoming Catholics did not separate one from the community.<sup>9</sup>

The shift from a Eurocentric and missiological approach to a China-centric and Sinological approach in the study of Christianity in China is, to a large degree, a result of the broader methodological evolution in the twentieth century. One of those evolutions is the transition from a Eurocentric approach to a China-centric one, a methodology strongly advocated by Paul A. Cohen in the 1980s.<sup>10</sup> Cohen not only advocates studying Chinese history based on Chinese criteria rather than Western ones, but also strongly supported William G. Skinner's emphasis on regional differences in China.<sup>11</sup> Thus, beginning with Skinner, advocated by Cohen, regional study and micro history have developed shoulder to shoulder with China-centric approaches since the late twentieth century.

This trend has had profound impact on the study of Christianity in China and has generated a bulk of illuminating works. Recently, Harrison has moved beyond the localization discourse. In her study of Catholicism in Shanxi province over the past three hundred years or so, she asks a new question, that is: "How have Chinese related to

---

<sup>8</sup> Judith Wyman, "The Ambiguities of Chinese Antiforeshism: Chongqing, 1870-1900", *Late Imperial China* 18, 2 (December 1997), pp. 88-90.

<sup>9</sup> Alan Richard Sweeten, *Christianity in Rural China: Conflict and Accommodation in Jiangxi Province, 1860-1900* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 2001); Ryan Dunch, *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of a Modern China, 1857-1927* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

<sup>10</sup> Paul A. Cohen, *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent Chinese Past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984).

<sup>11</sup> William G. Skinner, *The City in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press 1977).

Christianity as a world religion,”<sup>12</sup> instead of asking whether Christianity failed or succeeded in China. Through her study of Cave Gully, she argues that instead of localizing its practices, Catholicism at this region became closer to practices in other parts of the world over time.<sup>13</sup> By arguing so, she has implied that Catholicism in Cave Gully did not fail, yet did not localize either.

Despite this development in the historiography of Christianity in China, the economic and financial aspects of Catholicism in China have largely been neglected. The existing studies focus mainly on the Society of Jesus and on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The earliest work is Noël Golvers’s study of the account book of François de Rougemont who worked in Changshu 常熟, a city in east China near Suzhou 苏州.<sup>14</sup> This study was based on the draft of one Jesuit priest’s account book covering the period from 1674 to 1676. As it covers only one priest’s record over a short period of time, it could not reflect the entire mission district’s economic resources. Based on similar account books, Frederik Vermote also studies the role of urban real estate in Jesuit finances from early seventeenth to late eighteenth centuries. By analyzing the Augustinian community in Manila and the French Jesuit community in Beijing, Vermote argues that the investments in local urban real estate had become the major financial resource for the Society by late eighteenth century, although the Society continued to

---

<sup>12</sup> Henritetta Harrison, *The Missionary’s Curse and Other Tales from a Chinese Catholic Village* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), p.8.

<sup>13</sup> Henritetta Harrison, *The Missionary’s Curse and Other Tales from a Chinese Catholic Village* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), p.10.

<sup>14</sup> Noël Golvers, *François de Rougemont, S.J., missionary in Ch’ang-shu (Chiang-nan): a study of the account book (1674-1676) and the elogium* (Leuven: Leuven University Press/Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, 1999).

value their global financial network between Europe and Asia.<sup>15</sup> Vermote has demonstrated the connections between Jesuits' global networks and their missions in East Asia and highlighted the differences in financing the Society before and after 1700. Nonetheless his research focuses on the procurators; his sources reflect the outcome of the Society's economic activities in China, but could not reflect the process of property acquisition and management. Thus it is difficult to tell how the Jesuits obtained the properties that they possessed. Due to the lack of such information, one can not get a sense of the role of their local economy in the Society's interactions with the local Chinese society.

Few studies show the economic history of Christianity in China in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Harrison has pointed out that in Shanxi, the Italian Franciscan missionaries had to rely on local Chinese Catholics for economic support, so they had to tolerate local Catholics' unorthodox practices; once their financial situation was greatly improved after the Opium War, they did not need to rely on local Catholics anymore, then they banned Chinese Catholics from participating non-Catholic practices.<sup>16</sup> Kang Zhijie also pays attention to the economic aspect of the Mopanshan Catholic community. She has found that in this place, the faith of Catholicism and economy merged harmoniously in the local people's daily lives. With the support of Chinese Catholics, Catholicism was able to survive until today.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup> Frederik Vermote, "The Role of Urban Real Estate in Jesuit Finances and Networks between Europe and China, 1612-1778" (PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 2013), p.249.

<sup>16</sup> Henrietta Harrison, "British Imperialism, French charity and the changing behaviour of Italian Franciscan missionaries in Shanxi Province, 1800-1850," *Journal of modern Italian studies* (1354-571X), 15 (4), p. 17; Henrietta Harrison, *The Missionary's Curse and Other Tales from a Chinese Catholic Village* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), pp. 68-72.

<sup>17</sup> Kang Zhijie, *Shang Zhu de putao yuan: E xibei Mopan Shan Tianzhu jiao shequ*



Nonetheless, these works cannot sufficiently demonstrate how missionaries utilized local resources to generate economic support in China. This was especially important when external financial support became difficult or completely ceased. Even in places like Guangdong province, where people suffered most during the Opium War, and had been under heavy Western influence thereafter, missionaries still largely relied on the local Catholics economically. The Boxer indemnity that had made Shanxi Catholic churches in Harrison's study suddenly super rich did not bring any practical benefit to the French Catholic mission working in Guangdong province. The geographical landscape of Guangdong province made it almost impossible to have a reclusive Catholic community as that of Mopanshan.

Then the questions are why did the French Catholic mission in Guangdong rely on local society for economic support? How was the mission supported? To answer these questions, and offer a clear picture of the economic life of Catholicism in China, this dissertation focuses on the Paris Foreign Missions Society (French: Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris, MEP) in Guangdong province from 1840 to 1930. Specifically it examines the role of landed properties such as land and houses in the Church's formation and development both in the urban and rural areas. This research is feasible due to the survival of the documents belonging to the MEP's diocese in Guangdong province, one of only two diocese archives which survived through the turmoil of 1950s (another is that of Hunan province).

---

*yanjiu, 1634-2005* (In the Lord's vineyard: a study of northwest Hubei's Popan shan Catholic community) (Taibei: Furen daxue chubanshe, 2006).

The existing scholarship on Christianity in China largely focuses on the Jesuits, and this study joins the recent trend by studying non-Jesuitical mission societies. Geographically the existing studies mainly focus on the interior of China. The coastal areas, especially Guangdong province, have not been sufficiently studied. As a location where foreign interactions took place the earliest and Western influences the strongest in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this research offers a new perspective to our understanding of Christianity in China and Sino-Western interactions.

The study of the Paris Foreign Missions Society in China is also limited. The earliest works on MEP in China were written by MEP archivist Adrien Launay. Based on materials in MEP's archives of Paris, he has written general histories of the MEP in Sichuan<sup>18</sup>, Guizhou<sup>19</sup>, Tibet<sup>20</sup>, Guangdong,<sup>21</sup> and China<sup>22</sup> overall. To other scholars, Launay's books acted as combinations of general history and primary sources. The existing research on the MEP in China mainly focuses on Sichuan<sup>23</sup> and Guangxi<sup>24</sup>; both

---

<sup>18</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire des missions de Chine: Mission du Se-tchoan* (History of the Missions in China: Mission in Sichuan) (Paris, 1920).

<sup>19</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire des missions de Chine: mission du Kouy-Tcheou* (Vannes: Lafolye frères, 1907-1908).

<sup>20</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire de la mission du Thibet* (Paris : Missions étrangères de Paris : Indes savants, 2001).

<sup>21</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire des missions de Chine mission du Kouang-Tong* (Paris : Anciennes Maisons Douniol et Retaux, 1917).

<sup>22</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire des missions de Chine* (Paris?: s.n., 1907-1908).

<sup>23</sup> Robert Entenmann, "Catholics and Society in Eighteenth-Century Sichuan", in *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, ed. Daniel H. Bays (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 8-23; Guo Lina, *Qingdai zhongye Bali waifang chuanjiaohui zai Chuan huodong yanjiu* (Study on Paris Foreign Missions Society in Sichuan in the mid-Qing Dynasty) (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2012); Wei Yu, "Qing Zhong qianqi Bali waifang chuanjiaohui zai Sichuan chuanjiao huodong yanjiu (1696-1815)" (PhD diss., Jiran daxue, 2009).

<sup>24</sup> Zeng Zhihui, "Tianzhu jiaohui yu qian gui dian bian buyi zu shehui-yi jindai bali waifang chuanjiaohui zai anlong jiaoku de huodong wei zhongxin" (Catholic Church and Bouye Society in Border District of Guizhou, Guangxi and Yunnan-Center on the Activities of Paris

are among the oldest dioceses of the MEP's China mission. Besides that, Li Ji has studied the Manchuria mission, focusing on the connections between religious education and female literacy.<sup>25</sup>

The MEP in Guangdong province has rarely been studied. The only monograph on it is a PhD dissertation submitted to the University of Washington in 1977 by Jean-Paul Wiest. Wiest has studied MEP's activities in Guangdong province and Chinese responses from 1848 to 1885. He has examined the connections between political developments in France and MEP's activities in Guangdong in particular. He sees MEP as a tool of French imperialistic expansion in China. Similar with other scholars writing on Christianity in China in the 1960s and 1970s, Wiest believes that MEP missionaries' feeling of cultural superiority and their close ties with Western governments caused Chinese people's anti-Christian sentiments and activities. He has shown that the MEP missionaries in Guangdong were so arrogant that even French government representatives in Guangdong could not tolerate them.<sup>26</sup> Besides emphasizing the close ties between MEP missionaries in Guangdong and the French government, Wiest also describes the importance of lineages and craft guilds in the pattern of conversion.<sup>27</sup>

Wiest has done a good job in showing the relationship between MEP missionaries and the French government, and he also presents some preliminary work to see how Chinese responded to them. However, he has failed to show how MEP missionaries

---

Foreign Missions in Diocese of Nanlong in Modern Times) (PhD diss., Sun Yat-sen University, 2012).

<sup>25</sup> Ji Li, "Becoming Faithful: Christianity, Literacy, and Female Consciousness in Northeast China, 1830-1930" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2009).

<sup>26</sup> Jean-Paul Wiest, "Catholic Activities in Kwangtung Province and Chinese Response 1848-1885" (PhD diss., University of Washington, 1977), 42-45.

<sup>27</sup> Jean-Paul Wiest, "Catholic Activities in Kwangtung Province and Chinese Response 1848-1885" (PhD diss., University of Washington, 1977), 78.

interacted with local population on a daily base. Most of the sources he used are European. This makes his argument largely Eurocentric.

Thus, by studying the French Catholic mission in Guangdong, this work refreshes our understanding of the economic life of religious organizations on a local level and how they were shaped by state power. It also enhances our views on Sino-Western interactions at a particular context. By answering the major questions such as “who sold properties to the Church and why?”, “how did the Church utilize their properties?”, “how did Chinese governments regulate Church’s property ownership?”, and “how did the Church maintain ownership of purchased properties despite regime changes in China?”, this dissertation examines how MEP missionaries purchased and utilized local properties, demonstrating how property acquisitions provided a testing ground for Sino-Western relations. While historians have typically focused on the ways that missionaries affected Chinese populations and policies, I instead argue that living and attempting to gain influence in Guangzhou altered missionaries’ tactics and strategies in ways that had far-reaching consequences. The government of China (which over the course of my study changed from an empire to a republic) consistently attempted to restrict foreign missions’ right to purchase Chinese properties. I show that by indigenizing its property acquisition methods the French Catholic mission in Guangzhou was able to accumulate large quantity of properties both in urban and rural areas, but doing so required negotiations with authorities and commoners, and assistance from both Chinese converts and French authorities. As a result, the Guangzhou French Catholic mission’s economic activities were intertwined with both local society and high level diplomacy.

The primary sources for this research can be divided into two categories. The first category is diocese archives kept by French Catholic missionaries in Guangzhou. Although the majority of these materials are in French, those documents on land and landed properties are mostly in Chinese. Among them are more than 800 property deeds and contractual agreements that form the core primary source for this study. These materials are kept in the Ricci Institute of the University of San Francisco. The second category is Chinese governmental records showing how missionaries' economic activities fit within the local history. These include official records that are closely connected with the Catholic mission such as those on property registrations, tax payments, religious policies, as well as gazetteers and genealogies. There are also other documents that show the broader historical context of Guangdong society from 1840 to 1930, such as records on local political history, religious history, rural development, and so on. These materials are located in China, mainly in Guangzhou Municipal Archives and Guangdong Provincial Archives.

## Chapter 1

### Merchants, Missionaries, and Diplomats in Guangdong

Facing the South China Sea, Guangdong is the southernmost province of China. The entire province covers an area of about 85,000 square miles of territory. It is the home of numerous mountains and rivers. The most famous is the Nanling 南岭 (Southern Range), which runs along the northern edge of the entire province and separates the Yangtze valley of central China from the West River valley of south China. Because of these rivers and mountains, the entire province is divided into three major sub-regions: Central, East and West. The Xijiang 西江 (The West River), which originates in Yunnan plateau and flows eastward into Beijiang 北江 (The North River) in Sanshui, is the main river of central Guangdong. The Beijiang originates in the Nanling, and flows into the South China Sea.

The indigenous population of Guangdong province is called the Nanyue 南越 (South Yue) people. Their lifestyle was different from that of the Han people. However, the Nanyue people have gradually been Sinicized by the growing number of Han immigrants from north China since the Han dynasty. As a matter of fact, the record on the Nanyue people gradually disappeared since the Tang dynasty. By the Qing dynasty, it was already impossible to find any trace of the Nanyue people in villages and lineage records of Guangdong province.<sup>28</sup> By this time, most Guangdong people would claim that they were descendants of Northern Chinese who migrated to Guangdong. This was

---

<sup>28</sup> Panyu shi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Panyu Xian zhi* (Gazetteer of Panyu county) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1995), p.858.

mainly due to twice large-scale migrations from north to south China. Once was during the late Northern Song dynasty and early Southern Song dynasty; to avoid warfare, many northern Chinese migrated to Nanxiong of Guangdong province; another time was during the late Song and early Yuan. The descendants of those immigrants in Nanxiong again migrated to the southern Pearl River delta.<sup>29</sup>

The numerous waterways in the province have provided the most convenient means of internal transportation and communication. Although large ocean-going ships can sail up the Xijiang only to Huangpu, twelve miles below Guangzhou, junks and river steamers can go as far as Wuzhou, just above the Guangxi border. Inland and coastal shipping was so prevalent that it had produced its own occupational caste of boat people or Danjia, who spent their whole life aboard their boats. In 1739, when Vienna Jesuit Gottfried Xavier von Laimbeckhoven, S.J., arrived at Guangzhou, he noticed that there was an extraordinary large number of boats on the rivers and canals, and they supplied all the transportation of the Empire at that time.<sup>30</sup>

Due to its closeness to the equator, the climate of Guangdong province is hot and humid in general. Guangzhou is one of the three hottest cities in China (other two are Wuhan and Shanghai). Most of the year is summer and there is almost no winter. Its spring and fall are indistinguishable. In summer it rains heavily frequently.<sup>31</sup> This climate

---

<sup>29</sup> Panyu shi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Panyu Xian zhi* (Gazetteer of Panyu county) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1995), p.860.

<sup>30</sup> Joseph Krah, S.J., *China Missions in Crisis: Bishop Laimbeckhoven and his Times 1738-1787* (Roma: Gregorian University Press, 1964), p.7.

<sup>31</sup> *Guangzhou fu zhi* ([Guangxu] *Gazetteer of Guangzhou Prefecture*), vol.11, in *Guangdong lidai fangzhi jicheng* (A Collection of Guangdong Gazetteers), Guangzhou fu bu (Volume on Guangzhou Prefecture), vol. 6, edited by Guangdong sheng difang shizhi bangongshi ji (Guangzhou: Linnan meishu chubanshe, 2009), p.159.

enables three seasons of crops: winter to spring, spring to summer, and fall to winter.<sup>32</sup>

Local people often do double cropping, and sometimes triple cropping. Rice has been the primary crop. Some cash crops, like mulberry trees for silk production, sugar cane, tea and tobacco are also planted. Products from Guangdong province such as kudzu textile, palm-leaf fan, snuff (a type of tobacco), aromatic beads, agarwood, sandalwood, fragrant rosewood, inkstone, amomum fruit, amomum kravanh fruit, oranges, lychee, have traditionally been tribute gifts sent to the emperors.<sup>33</sup> Fishing is important along the lengthy coastline. Due to its hilly topography, only fifteen to twenty percent of the land is cultivable in the entire province. Most of them are concentrated in the Xijiang and the Han River deltas, and other narrow alluvial river valleys.

---

<sup>32</sup> *Guangzhou fu zhi* ([Guangxu] *Gazetteer of Guangzhou Prefecture*), vol.11, in *Guangdong lidai fangzhi jicheng* (A Collection of Guangdong Gazetteers), *Guangzhou fu bu* (Volume on Guangzhou Prefecture), vol. 6, edited by Guangdong sheng difang shizhi bangongshi ji (Guangzhou: Linnan meishu chubanshe, 2009), p.161.

<sup>33</sup> “Xinwen” (News), March 22, year unknown. C1.6-II.I\_012. Ricci Archives.





Figure 1-1. Guangzhou in 1898.<sup>34</sup>

The heartland of Central Guangdong and of the entire province was the Pearl River delta, a plain cut up by a network of channels, creeks, and canals. The delta extends for seventy miles from north to south and fifty from east to west. The agriculture of the delta was highly commercialized. It was the chief rice growing area, and an important producer of silk, which was one of the major export products of Guangdong up to the First World War. It was also the most highly urbanized area in the entire province and at the same time the area with the most densely settled rural region.

Although the climate was beneficial to agriculture production, local people gradually preferred to plant cash crops for more money over grains. This caused serious

<sup>34</sup> Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan, Guangzhou shi dang'an guan, Guangzhou shi yuexiu qu renmin zhengfu, eds., *Guangzhou lishi ditu jingcui* (Selected historical maps of Guangzhou) (Beijing : Zhongguo dabaike quanshu chubanshe, 2003), p.78.

social problems in the Qing dynasty, because it required importation of large quantity of rice from nearby Guangxi province. In 1727, during the Yongzheng (1722-1735) reign, the inspector-general of Guangxi province Han Liangfu 韩良辅 reported to the emperor that: “people of Guangdong province only care about profit, and they mainly plant longan, sugar cane, tobacco and etc. on their land, so that people are rich but do not produce enough rice to eat. Guangxi is barren and does not have much population. How can we sell our rice to our neighbor Guangdong?” In replying to this memorial, the emperor ordered the governor of Guangdong to persuade Cantonese people to grow grains and orchard, stating that: “How can we only think of short-sighted interests, and not consider long-term food supply. What should they do if neighboring provinces have bad harvests?”<sup>35</sup>

Guangdong’s coastal location and hot climate make it an easy prey to certain natural disasters. Fire was one of them. For example, in 1882, something caught on fire outside the southern gate of Guangzhou city, and the fire kept spreading and lasted for one entire night, burning down more than 1,000 houses and shops along the streets.<sup>36</sup> As time went by, the local government and population had become better in fire prevention, so such disasters rarely happened since the late nineteenth century. On the other hand, there was not much people could do about earthquakes and typhoons. As it is close to the South China Sea, these disasters are unpreventable.<sup>37</sup> On October 19-20, 1848, an

---

<sup>35</sup> *Qingshilu* (Veritable History of the Qing), vol. 53 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985-1987), pp.810-811.

<sup>36</sup> Panyu shi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Panyu Xian zhi* (Gazetteer of Panyu county) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1995), p.26.

<sup>37</sup> *Guangzhou fu zhi* ([Guangxu] *Gazetteer of Guangzhou Prefecture*), vol.11, in *Guangdong lidai fangzhi jicheng* (A Collection of Guangdong Gazetteers), Guangzhou fu bu

overnight typhoon submerged thousands of boats.<sup>38</sup> On July 27, 1862, during the typhoon and heavy rainfall, more than 10,000 people and livestock were swept into the river. More than half of the region's old trees were destroyed as well.<sup>39</sup> Typhoon is the most frequent natural disaster at this area. From 1840 to 1900, there were a total of five recorded typhoons, on average of once per twelve years.<sup>40</sup> Besides typhoons, earthquakes and fires, Guangdong also suffered from pestilence spread by mice. In May 1892, a pestilence was spread to Guangzhou area from Guangxi and western Guangdong province. In March 1894, the plague outbreak again. Within ten days, tens of thousands people were dead. It was only brought within control after half a month.<sup>41</sup>

The unique natural environment of south China also contributed to the development of miasma (Zhangqi 瘴气). It was produced from the local plants and grasses. It says that the air produced at Lingnan 岭南 (Guangzhou and the larger area of Guangdong) was at the same time hot and cold, and was often the biggest enemy of soldiers dispatched to this region. Moreover, it was always foggy. The fog brought by the north wind was always warm, and stayed from the middle of spring to the fall; and the

---

(Volume on Guangzhou Prefecture), vol. 6, edited by Guangdong sheng difang shizhi bangongshi ji (Guangzhou: Linnan meishu chubanshe, 2009), p.159.

<sup>38</sup> Panyu shi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Panyu Xian zhi* (Gazetteer of Panyu county) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1995), p.24.

<sup>39</sup> Panyu shi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Panyu Xian zhi* (Gazetteer of Panyu county) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1995), p.25.

<sup>40</sup> The data is from Panyu shi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Panyu Xian zhi* (Gazetteer of Panyu county) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1995), p.22-28.

<sup>41</sup> Panyu shi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Panyu Xian zhi* (Gazetteer of Panyu county) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1995), p.27.

fog brought by the south wind was usually cold. The miasma was poisonous, and often the cause of local diseases.<sup>42</sup>

As the southernmost geographical entity on the map of China, Guangdong was included into the administrative system of China Proper in 214 BCE, when Emperor Qin Shihuang (260-210 BCE), the first emperor who unified China, established Nanhai prefecture in Panyu city (today's Yuexiu area of Guangzhou). In 204 BCE, Zhao Tuo, a military commander, founded the Nam Việt (South Yuè) kingdom, making its capital at Panyu (modern Guangzhou). During the Three Kingdom period (220-280AD), the Wu kingdom divided its territory into four prefectures in 226AD, and Guangzhou was one of them, covering the major area of Panyu. The name of Guangzhou has been used to refer to the former Panyu city since then.<sup>43</sup>

In late imperial time, Guangzhou fu was the name of the central part of Guangdong, an area that included the administrative center of the province: Guangzhou. It was in the city of Guangzhou and its adjacent rural areas that most stories in this dissertation took place. This prefecture shared borders with Boluo 博罗 county of Huizhou 惠州 fu on the east, with Gaoyao 高要 county of Zhaoqing 肇庆 fu on the west, with Qianshan zhai 前山寨 of Xiangshan 香山 county on the south, and with Yingde 英德 county of Shaozhou 韶州 fu on the north.

---

<sup>42</sup> *Guangzhou fu zhi* ([Guangxu] *Gazetteer of Guangzhou Prefecture*), vol.11, in *Guangdong lidai fangzhi jicheng* (A Collection of Guangdong Gazetteers), Guangzhou fu bu (Volume on Guangzhou Prefecture), vol. 6, edited by Guangdong sheng difang shizhi bangongshi ji (Guangzhou: Linnan meishu chubanshe, 2009), pp.162-163.

<sup>43</sup> Guangzhou shi fangcun qu difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Guangzhou shi fangcun qu zhi* (*Fangcun district Gazetteer*) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1997), p.37; Panyu shi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Panyu Xian zhi* (*Gazetteer of Panyu county*) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1995), p.8.

Guangzhou fu was constituted by Nanhai 南海 county, Panyu 番禺 county, Shunde 顺德 county, Dongguan 东莞 county, Xin'an 新安 county, Conghua 从化 county, Longmen 龙门 county, Zengcheng 增城 county, Xiangshan 香山 county, Xinhui 新会 county, Sanshui 三水 county, Qingyuan 清远 county and Hua 花 county.<sup>44</sup> Each sub region had its own unique environmental features. Panyu was the urban center, Shunde was the home of many rivers, Dongguan stretched from mountains to the sea, Xiangshan was the meeting spot between Chinese and foreigners, and also contained many nice wells; Xinhui had high mountains. Sanshui was the merging place of three major rivers.<sup>45</sup>

In the Qing dynasty, under the centralized bureaucratic system, local government was a direct extension of the central government in Beijing. The top ruler of Guangdong and Guangxi provinces were the governor-general, assisted by the governor of Guangdong, with Guangzhou as the seat of administration. Below them were two layers of supervisory officials, the Daotai 道台 (or circuit intendant) and the prefect. At the bottom the province was divided into ninety-three independent departments. These officials were responsible to the central government, not local society.

Guangzhou was the residence of the governor-general of Guangdong and Guangxi provinces, and it was also the seat of the governor of Guangdong. The governor-general

---

<sup>44</sup> *Guangzhou fu zhi* ([Guangxu] *Gazetteer of Guangzhou Prefecture*), vol.11, in *Guangdong lidai fangzhi jicheng* (A Collection of Guangdong Gazetteers), Guangzhou fu bu (Volume on Guangzhou Prefecture), vol. 6, edited by Guangdong sheng difang shizhi bangongshi ji (Guangzhou: Linnan meishu chubanshe, 2009), pp.153-157.

<sup>45</sup> *Guangzhou fu zhi* ([Guangxu] *Gazetteer of Guangzhou Prefecture*), vol.11, in *Guangdong lidai fangzhi jicheng* (A Collection of Guangdong Gazetteers), Guangzhou fu bu (Volume on Guangzhou Prefecture), vol. 6, edited by Guangdong sheng difang shizhi bangongshi ji (Guangzhou: Linnan meishu chubanshe, 2009), p.157.

was the principle authority with whom the Treaty Power Consuls corresponded on foreign issues. Below him, there was the governor of Guangdong, in whose hands centered the entire civil administration of the province, and the military general, commanding the resident banner garrison with civil jurisdiction over the large body of banner people who occupied a special quarter of the city. The officials next in rank were known as chief commissioners of government. The highest, and next in rank to the governor, was the Commissioner of Finance and Civil administration, sometimes called the treasurer. Below him were the Judicial Commissioner, the Superintendent of the salt monopoly; and the Comptroller of the rice levy. Beneath them was the magistracy, the chief of whom at Guangzhou was the prefect of Guangzhou fu, whose sway extends over fourteen districts occupying a territory larger than Holland. His functions were extremely manifold, being magisterial, judicial, fiscal, and even at times military.<sup>46</sup> The banner garrison included Manchus and descendants of northern Han Chinese. Together they occupied roughly a quarter of the city, totalling about twenty thousand people.<sup>47</sup>

### **Religions and Local Society**

Guangzhou city in the second half of the nineteenth century was a prosperous one. The city was composed of two parts: the old town and the new town (see Figure 1-2). The northern part was the old town, and the southern part was the new town. Both towns were surrounded by city walls. On the south of the new town, the southwest shore of the Pear

---

<sup>46</sup> John Henry Gray, *Walks in the City of Canton: with an Itinerary* (1875; reprint, San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1974), pp.28-29.

<sup>47</sup> John Henry Gray, *Walks in the City of Canton: with an Itinerary* (1875; reprint, San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1974), p.30.

River was Fangcun 芳村 of Henan, the suburb of Guangzhou city. While the old town referred to the part of the town that was gradually formed from the beginning of civilization in this part of the country, the new town was constructed during the forty second year of the reign of the Jiajing emperor of the Ming dynasty (1563), by then governor-general Wu Guifang 吴桂芳.<sup>48</sup> There were forty seven streets in the old town and thirty one streets in the new town.<sup>49</sup> The city wall of Guangzhou was one of the most imposing ones in China; twenty-five feet high, with seventeen gates. In the early twentieth century, the city walls of Guangzhou were gradually converted into boulevard by the newly established Republican government, in their attempt to convert Guangzhou into a modern metropolis.<sup>50</sup>

---

<sup>48</sup> *Guangzhou fu zhi* ([Guangxu] *Gazetteer of Guangzhou Prefecture*), vol.11, in *Guangdong lidai fangzhi jicheng* (A Collection of Guangdong Gazetteers), Guangzhou fu bu (Volume on Guangzhou Prefecture), vol. 6, edited by Guangdong sheng difang shizhi bangongshi ji (Guangzhou: Linnan meishu chubanshe, 2009), p.952.

<sup>49</sup> *Guangzhou fu zhi* ([Guangxu] *Gazetteer of Guangzhou Prefecture*), vol.11, in *Guangdong lidai fangzhi jicheng* (A Collection of Guangdong Gazetteers), Guangzhou fu bu (Volume on Guangzhou Prefecture), vol. 6, edited by Guangdong sheng difang shizhi bangongshi ji (Guangzhou: Linnan meishu chubanshe, 2009), p.163.

<sup>50</sup> Harry A. Franck, *Roving Through Southern China* (New York, London: The Century Co., 1925), p.230.





Figure 1-2. Drawing of the city blocks of Guangzhou in the Qing dynasty.<sup>51</sup>

The city's prosperity showed on two aspects of the local population's lives: religion and commerce, both of which were due to Guangzhou's location as the door to external influences. Because Guangzhou was the first port that allowed foreign trade, by middle nineteenth century, it had become highly commercialized and commerce was part of the local population's daily lives. It was also one of the earliest destinations of Buddhism, Islam and Christianity, so Guangzhou was one of few places where followers of these three major religions had mingled together for a long time. By middle-nineteenth century, these religions, together with indigenous beliefs, had become highly intertwined

<sup>51</sup> Guangzhou bowuguan ed., *Guangzhou lishi chenlie tuce* (A Pictorial history of Guangzhou). Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2009, p.194. I am thankful to Huang Sujuan of Sun Yat-sen University for sending me a digital copy of the map.



with local society. The city was full of gods. Some were from the mainstream religions, and others were local deities. When visiting this city in the 1870s, British man John Henry Gray noticed that:

In each dwelling house, and in each shop, there is placed either an idol, or a portrait-generally a portrait-of the tutelary god of the building. In some instances, a sheet of red paper, on which, in large letters, the name of the tutelary deity in written, is as a substitute for an idol, or a portrait, above the domestic altar, placed.<sup>52</sup>

There is no evidence to tell exactly which year Buddhism arrived at Guangdong, the earliest record was found in the Three Kingdoms (220-265) period. The shramana sect of the Tokharians was transmitted to Guangzhou by the sea route via India, and six volumes of *The Lotus Samadhi Sutra* 法华三昧经 were translated in Guangzhou in 256. This was the earliest record of Buddhism in Guangzhou. During the late Han dynasty and early Southern yuasty, the transmission of Buddhism was mainly in Nanhai and Shaozhou. There were also a few Buddhist monks in Guangzhou.<sup>53</sup> During the Liang dynasty, in 527, prince Bodhidharma from India arrived at Guangzhou, becoming the founder of the Zen Buddhism in China. He constructed the Hualin temple.<sup>54</sup> In the Tang dynasty, monk Huineng 惠能 taught Chan Buddhism in Faxing temple 法性寺 (modern Guangxiao temple 光孝寺). Chan Buddhism went into a prosperous age in south China during the Sui and Tang dynasties and Chan Buddhist temples could be seen almost

---

<sup>52</sup> John Henry Gray, *Walks in the City of Canton: with an Itinerary* (1875; reprint, San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1974), pp.23-26.

<sup>53</sup> Guangdong sheng defang shizhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Guangdong sheng zhi · Zongjiao zhi* (Guangdong provincial gazetteer · Religion) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2002), p.43-44.

<sup>54</sup> Panyu shi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Panyu Xian zhi* (Gazetteer of Panyu county) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1995), p.11.

everywhere.<sup>55</sup> From the late Yuan to middle Ming period, Buddhism in south China was in decline.

Since 1631, Pure Land Buddhism began to gain popularity in Guangzhou.<sup>56</sup> It produced many Buddhist intellectuals such as Deqing (1546-1623) 德清, Han Shi 函旻, Han Ke 函可, Guang Lu 光鹭, Jin Wu 今无, Jin Shi 今释, and Da Shan 大汕.<sup>57</sup> Among them the most influential was Deqing. Deqing had preached in Guangxiao temple, built and repaired several temples including Nanhua temple, and even preached in other parts of the province such as Leizhou, Xinhui and Luofu.<sup>58</sup>

By the early Qing dynasty, Chan Buddhism in Guangzhou had formed different sects. The most famous was the Caodong 曹洞 branch. During the Shunzhi reign, the government's patronage of Buddhism attracted many Buddhist scholars. Those Buddhist scholars who were still loyal to the Ming then joined the Caodong branch. Not only Buddhist scholars, some gentries and Confucian scholars also joined this group to avoid involvement in the Qing politics and also as a way to show their opposition against the Qing rule. In fact, the conquest of the Ming by the Manchu made many scholars convert to Buddhism. With Buddhist temples as the centers, local scholars had come together, creating an active intellectual venue. Thus this transitioning period had witnessed the

---

<sup>55</sup> Guangdong sheng defang shizhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Guangdong sheng zhi · Zongjiao zhi* (Guangdong provincial gazetteer · Religion) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2002), p.45.

<sup>56</sup> Guangdong sheng defang shizhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Guangdong sheng zhi · Zongjiao zhi* (Guangdong provincial gazetteer · Religion) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2002), p.48.

<sup>57</sup> Qin Zhaowen, *Lingnan chan wenhua* (The culture of Chan Buddhism in south China) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1996), p.33.

<sup>58</sup> Qin Zhaowen, *Lingnan chan wenhua* (The culture of Chan Buddhism in south China) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1996), pp. 87-89.

emergence of a large quantity of patriotic poems in south China. They have compiled works such as *Haiyun chan zao ji* 海云禅藻集, *Faxing chanyuan change ji* 法性禅院唱和集, and *Danxia ji* 丹霞集.<sup>59</sup>

During the late Qing and early Republican era although Buddhism was in another period of decline largely due to the movement of changing temples into schools, it was still very influential among the local population. There were six major Buddhist temples in Guangzhou: Guangxiao temple (founded during the Three Kingdom's period), Liurong temple 六榕寺 (Monastery of the Six Banyan-Trees, founded during the Southern dynasty), Haichuang temple 海幢寺 (Ocean Banner Monastery)<sup>60</sup>, Dafo temple 大佛寺 (founded in Southern Han dynasty), Hualin temple 华林寺 (flowery forest monastery, founded in Liang dynasty), and Wuzhuo temple 无着寺 (founded during the Kangxi reign).<sup>61</sup> Including them, the entire province of Guangdong had about 280 Buddhist temples.<sup>62</sup> Around 1920, Buddhism began to revive among local society. Thirteen Buddhist institutions were founded across the province.<sup>63</sup>

The maintenance of Buddhist temples mainly relied on donations from government and the local population, among them the donations from local people was the main source of income. The major source of income for temples in the countryside

---

<sup>59</sup> Qin Zhaowen, *Lingnan chan wenhua* (The culture of Chan Buddhism in south China) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1996), p.34.

<sup>60</sup> Founded in 1662, this was where the four great kings of heaven were situated.

<sup>61</sup> Guangdong sheng defang shizhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Guangdong sheng zhi · Zongjiao zhi* (Guangdong provincial gazetteer · Religion) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2002), p74.

<sup>62</sup> Qin Zhaowen, *Lingnan chan wenhua* (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1996), p.59.

<sup>63</sup> Zhao Chunchen et al, *Zongjiao yu jindai Guangdong shehui* (Religions and Modern Cantonese society) (Beijing: Zhongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2008), pp. 36-40.

was their lands and the major source of income for temples in the cities was donations. Many temples such as Nanhua temple and Yunmen temple were big landowners. They rented their farmland to tenants, becoming major landlords.<sup>64</sup> Temples also owned businesses. Many temples had their products. For example, Nanhua temple sold tea and fruits. Some temples made handicrafts such as incense, firecrackers, and food products.<sup>65</sup>

Taoism reached Guangdong during the later Han (106 BCE-220AD) dynasty. The support from rulers during the Tang and Song dynasties made Taoism highly popular in south China. In 1087, the Zhezong emperor 哲宗 of the Song dynasty named the temple on Luofu mountain 罗浮山 as Chongxu guan 冲虚观 (The Temple of Emptiness), and since then this temple has become the most famous Taoist temple in south China. By the Yuan dynasty, Taoism in south China had divided into two sects: Zhengyi dao 正一道 (Orthodox Unity Taoism), emphasizing symbols and rituals, and Quanzhen dao 全真道 (Way of Completeness and Truth), emphasizing internal alchemy. During the Ming dynasty, the Zhengyi Taoism gained popularity while the Quanzhen Taoism declined due to lack of support from rulers. Taoism in Guangdong gradually became secularized and localized in order to survive. In 1643 an old temple was remade into the Sanyuan gong 三元宫 (Three Purities Temple), which is currently the largest and oldest Taoist temple in Guangdong.<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>64</sup> Qin Zhaowen, *Lingnan chan wenhua* (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1996), pp. 66-68.

<sup>65</sup> Qin Zhaowen, *Lingnan chan wenhua* (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1996), p. 72.

<sup>66</sup> Zhao Chunchen et al, *Zongjiao yu jindai Guangdong shehui* (Religions and Modern Cantonese society) (Beijing: Zhongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2008), pp. 5-6; For different aspects of Taoism in south China including Guangzhou and Hong Kong, see Li Zhitian ed., *Xianggang ji*

In the Qing dynasty, both sects of Taoism gained development in south China. Similar with Buddhism, Taoism was affected negatively during the late Qing and early Republican period when local governments changed temples into schools. Many temples were occupied for other purposes. All the land belonged to the Sanyuan gong, a total of 623 *mu*, was donated to the government to become the earliest private school Shimin middle school 时敏中学. Even Taoists' activities were restricted.<sup>67</sup>

There were also local deities that were worshipped by the Cantonese people. Some of the most frequently visited temples of such deities included the Lüchunyang temple 吕纯阳庙<sup>68</sup> and the Jinhua temple 金花庙<sup>69</sup> in the old town; and Guandi temple 关帝庙<sup>70</sup>, Beidi temple 北帝庙<sup>71</sup> and Tianhou temple 天后庙 in the new town.<sup>72</sup> The Longwang temple, in honor of the dragon king, who is regarded as a pluvial deity was also there, was a state temple that was erected in the first year of the reign of Qianlong. The idol was a gift from the emperor and was transported to Guangzhou from Beijing. State worship was paid to this deity on the first and fifteenth day of each lunar month throughout the course of the year, either by the prefect or the district ruler.<sup>73</sup>

The deity that was most unique in south China is the worship of Tianzhou 天后, or Mazu 妈祖. It is the goddess of the sea and is believed to be the protector of ships.

---

*huanan daojiao yanjiu* (Research on Daoism in Hong Kong and South China) (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 2005).

<sup>67</sup> Zhao Chunchen et al, *Zongjiao yu jindai Guangdong shehui* (Religions and Modern Cantonese society) (Beijing: Zhongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2008), p.91.

<sup>68</sup> Where people went to learn about future events.

<sup>69</sup> In honor of the tutelary deity of women and children.

<sup>70</sup> A temple in honor of the god of war.

<sup>71</sup> Temple in honor of the great northern deity, or god of the north.

<sup>72</sup> In honor of the queen of heaven.

<sup>73</sup> John Henry Gray, *Walks in the City of Canton: with an Itinerary* (1875; reprint, San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1974), pp.392-394.

Even the rulers offered titles to this figure to praise her work. Its status was only lower than Guanyin and Beidi to the worshippers. It was especially important to the boat people. Even today, this goddess is still worshiped with great fervor by the local people. Each year, the local people celebrate the birthday of the goddess with grand processions and rituals.<sup>74</sup>

Islam and Christianity also made their mark in this city. Guangdong province is one of the earliest destinations where Islam arrived in China. On the Guangta street 光塔街, there was a Muslim mosque that was called Huaisheng mosque 怀圣寺 (Cherishing the Sacred Mosque), or Guangta mosque 光塔寺 (Lighthouse Mosque). The style of the mosque resembled other Chinese temples. It was built by an Arab named Soo-Ap-Pak-Choy, who as an apostle of the religion of Islam and visited the shores of China during the reign of Emperor Gaozu of the Tang dynasty. It was during the reign of this emperor that the mosque was built. It was the first mosque constructed in China.<sup>75</sup> The mosque suffered severe damage during a typhoon in 1393. In 1465, during the Ming dynasty, it was repaired by a person named Honyung, who was one of the leading officials of the city at the time. In 1468, the Ming dynasty's Muslim military leader Yu Shifu 羽士夫 and Ma Heima 马黑麻 led more than 1,000 Muslim soldiers to suppress rebellion in Guangdong. They were ordered to stay and settle down after they completed the mission. These soldiers and their descendants gradually formed four Muslim communities in the city of Guangzhou. In 1469, an Arab named O-Too-La arrived in the capital of China

---

<sup>74</sup> Zhao Chunchen et al, *Zongjiao yu jindai Guangdong shehui* (Religions and Modern Cantonese society) (Beijing: Zhongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2008), pp. 127-128.

<sup>75</sup> Huang Foyi, ed., *Guangzhou chengfang zhi* (Gazetteer of Guangzhou) (Guangzhou: Jinan daxue chubanshe, 1994), pp. 174-175.

with a retinue of sixteen persons in order to present to the emperor tribute money and offerings of various kinds. He was asked by the emperor to stay in Guangzhou and to watch over the community of Chinese Muslims. There were about three thousand Chinese Muslims in the 1870s in the city of Guangzhou. They assembled five times daily in the mosques to pray. On such occasions, they wore turbans and long white robes.<sup>76</sup> There were a total of five mosques, other four were located on the Haopan street 濠畔街, Nansengli street 南胜里, Xiaodongmen 小东门, and outside of the great north gate 大北門.<sup>77</sup> During the Ming and Qing dynasties, Muslims became the main source of financial support to local mosques. They donated money and properties to the mosques for their religious activities.<sup>78</sup>

The most well-known Christian architecture in Guangzhou was the Sacred Heart Cathedral of the MEP. It was located in the new town, facing the Pearl River. It was the largest architectural projects in this city in the entire second half of the nineteenth century. The construction started in 1861 and was completed only in 1888. The details of the construction of this cathedral will be discussed in chapter three. Different from Muslim mosques that resembled Chinese temples, the Sacred Heart Cathedral was Gothic. It reminded people of the presence of Christianity with its peculiar architectural style. It was the headquarters of the MEP in Guangdong province.

---

<sup>76</sup> John Henry Gray, *Walks in the City of Canton: with an Itinerary* (1875; reprint, San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1974), pp.339-353.

<sup>77</sup> John Henry Gray, *Walks in the City of Canton: with an Itinerary* (1875; reprint, San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1974), p. 584, footnote 2.

<sup>78</sup> Guangdong sheng defang shizhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Guangdong sheng zhi · Zongjiao zhi* (Guangdong provincial gazetteer · Religion) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2002), p.219.

Records show that in 1881, there were a total of sixteen chapels belonging to various Christian mission societies in Guangzhou. In these chapels, besides the missionaries who were working, there were also native priests who were spreading the Christian gospel. It was one of the prominent features of this city. It was reported that almost every day there were several hundreds of people listening to the preachers. Some of those audiences came from the countryside and would carry the message back with them to the remote part of the province. Related to these chapels, there were twenty to thirty mission schools in Guangzhou.<sup>79</sup> It was largely due to the mass presence of Christian missionaries in the city of Guangzhou that Hong Xiuquan, leader of the Taiping uprising, was able to create his quasi-Christian doctrine based on a booklet he received from native priest Liang Fa.

### **Commerce and the Role of Currency**

Guangzhou's prosperity also lay on its commercialization. Because of its location, Guangdong province was the door of foreign interactions, mainly through trade. Guangzhou was a commercial hub for the entire province. It had been the center of commerce and shipping for over fifteen hundred years. As early as in 630, during the Tang dynasty, a regular market for foreign commerce was opened, and an imperial commissioner was appointed in Guangzhou to govern foreign ships.<sup>80</sup> In 971, during the

---

<sup>79</sup> Rev. B. C. Henry, "Facilities For Itineration in Canton", *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, volume 12 (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press.; 1881), pp.438-454.

<sup>80</sup> Panyu shi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Panyu Xian zhi* (Gazetteer of Panyu county) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1995), p.12.



Song dynasty, Maritime Trade Supervisorate (*Shibosi* 市舶司) was established in Guangzhou in order to regulate foreign trade.<sup>81</sup> During the Ming dynasty, foreign trade was banned by the court in 1398.<sup>82</sup> The little colony gained by the Portuguese, Macao, for a long time was the only place to trade when Guangzhou was closed. In 1598, Spanish attempted to trade in Guangzhou, in 1601 the Dutch did the same, all failed. In 1637, the British East Indian Company attempted to reside in Macao, but was refused by the Portuguese. They then went to Humen 虎门, and obtained permission to trade there. In 1685, the Qing government eventually established a custom house (Sihaiguan 四海关), allowing foreigners to trade in Guangzhou, as well as several other locations in Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Fujian provinces. In the same year, the Qing court established Imperial Maritime Customs Service (*Yuehaiguan* 粤海关) in Guangzhou. From then on, British and other foreigners resumed trade in Guangzhou.<sup>83</sup> In 1757, the Qianlong emperor ordered all other trading posts be closed and only allowed foreigners to trade at Guangzhou. On July 27, 1843, according to the *General Regulations for British Trade in the Five Ports of China*, a treaty signed between China and Britain after the first Opium War, Guangzhou was officially opened as a treaty port.<sup>84</sup>

Before Guangzhou was officially opened as a treaty port after the Opium War, when foreign trade was largely banned by the Qing court during the eighteenth century,

---

<sup>81</sup> Panyu shi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Panyu Xian zhi* (Gazetteer of Panyu county) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1995), p.14.

<sup>82</sup> Panyu shi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Panyu Xian zhi* (Gazetteer of Panyu county) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1995), p.16.

<sup>83</sup> Panyu shi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Panyu Xian zhi* (Gazetteer of Panyu county) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1995), p.20.

<sup>84</sup> Panyu shi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Panyu Xian zhi* (Gazetteer of Panyu county) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1995), p.23.

foreign trade was only limited to certain areas of the city, and the most well-known was the Thirteen Hongs. The period from 1700 to 1842 was called the era of the “Canton System” by Paul Van Dyke, who has done extensive research on the history of the maritime trade on the Pearl River Delta. He believes that due to its geographical, topographical and hydrographical uniqueness of the Pearl River Delta, this trade system was not duplicable in any other port.<sup>85</sup> The establishment of the Hongs allowed foreigners to continue to trade, but also produced a small group of Chinese merchants who became rich and powerful in local society. Before the Thirteen Hongs were burned in the winter of 1856, they became a channel of Sino-Western interactions through maritime trade. Many European and Chinese travelers, painters and authors had left writings and paintings that described the busy scenery at the Pear River near the Thirteen Hongs. The Thirteen Hongs area became a spot where international trade was conducted frequently and people from different countries intermingled.<sup>86</sup> Nonetheless, despite the development of foreign trade, contact between foreigners and natives of Guangdong was highly limited and restricted. The exchanges between foreigners and Chinese were strictly commercial only. It was capital punishment to teach foreigners Chinese, and it would raise suspicion if a Chinese was fluent at foreign languages.<sup>87</sup>

European contact with Guangzhou became more intense after the second War.

British tried to reside in Guangzhou after the first Opium War, but their attempts were

---

<sup>85</sup> Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700-1845* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005), p. 10.

<sup>86</sup> Much research has been done on the Thirteen Hongs, for famous figures in the Thirteen Hongs, see Pan Ganger, Huang Qichen, Chen Guodong, *Guangzhou shisanhang zhiyi: Pan Tongwe (fu) hang* (One of the Thirteen-Hongs in Canton: Tung-Wan/Tung-Fu HongPuankequa) (Guangzhou: Huanan ligong daxue chubanshe, 2006).

<sup>87</sup> Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700-1845* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005), p. 92.

stopped by the local population. During the second Opium War, they succeeded occupying Guangzhou city for almost four years, from December 1857 to October 1861. The defeat of the Qing government brought two positive results for foreigners, one was a public announcement from the prefect of Guangzhou, Nanhai and Panyu, stating that: “When foreigners go to the countryside, they should be received with courtesy, and should not be treated with aggression.” Another result was that British citizen Horatio Nelson Lay (1832-1898) became the first foreign Inspector General of the Imperial Maritime Customs Service. From then on the Imperial Maritime Customs Service had been controlled by foreigners until 1912, when the newly founded Republican government regained control of the Imperial Maritime Customs Service. Both results were greatly resented by the Cantonese.<sup>88</sup>

This changed the political environment of foreign trade greatly, contributing to the increasing commercialization of Guangzhou. A local newspaper in 1909, describing the degree of commercialization of Guangzhou, reported that it had the greatest number of shops among all the Chinese cities. While the best of China existed in Guangdong province, the best of Guangdong was in Guangzhou.<sup>89</sup>

Moreover, Hong Kong and Macao were close to Guangzhou. Hong Kong, ninety miles south of Guangzhou, in particular, had maintained close contact with Guangzhou from the very beginning, mainly due to the fact that many Hong Kong residents originally came from Guangdong province. Since its cession to Britain after the Opium War, Hong Kong had become the foothold of British Empire in East Asia. It was the

---

<sup>88</sup> Panyu shi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Panyu Xian zhi* (Gazetteer of Panyu county) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1995), pp.510-512.

<sup>89</sup> Xia yan, “Gailiang Guangzhou jieshi zhengce”, *Guangdong quanye bao*, 67 (1909), p.1.

center of British power in Far East and a center of Western merchants and missionaries. For example, the MEP headquarters in China was located in Hong Kong. Macao, under Portuguese control since 1557, also maintained a close relationship with Guangzhou. While the major tie between Hong Kong and Guangzhou was commerce, the major connection between Macao and Guangzhou was missionaries. Before the Opium War, almost all European missionaries entered China through Macao, often with assistance of Portuguese authorities there.

Although Guangzhou was a busy commercial city, the currency was not unified. Several types of currency were used at the same time. The Cantonese did all their purchases in silver, chopping up the dollars to little bits owing to the lack of small silver coins and their unwillingness to use many copper cash. In the entire Yangtze River valley, when people purchased land and houses, they often used many thousand strings of copper cash, rather than taels of silver, or dollar.<sup>90</sup> Silver dollars were rarely seen here, while coppers were used almost everywhere. People usually used twenty-cent pieces by hand. It took fully six of them to equal a Mexican dollar.<sup>91</sup> In fact, in the entire country, different provinces had their own mints and issued their own currencies. Currencies from different provinces varied in shape, value and quality, and were almost competing against each other on the market. Due to this chaotic status of the currency, many people advocated that Chinese government should unify the currency so the entire country used

---

<sup>90</sup> William Mesny, "Progress in China", in *Mesny's Chinese Miscellany: A Text Book of notes on China and the Chinese* (Shanghai: China Gazette Office, 1896), vol. I, pp. 41-42.

<sup>91</sup> Harry A. Franck, *Roving Through Southern China* (New York, London: The Century Co., 1925), pp. 243-244.

the same ones.<sup>92</sup> The South China Morning Post described the situation with the currency that:

There is no need, when addressing residents in China, to go into details respecting the monetary system, or lack of system of the Chinese Empire. Everybody knows that the dollars which do service along the coast are either alien or provincial; that they are not current coin in many parts of the interior; that their place is taken by the tael, a weight of silver bullion, usually about 1.3 oz, of varied purity and hence of unequal value; that the common coin of the real, is the so called copper “cash”, the nearest literal approach to “filthy” lucre, next perhaps to an old bank-note; that even the cash is not without variation there being “good” cash, and cash that are otherwise, large cash, small cash, and so on. All this is known only too well. But it is nothing new. So long as foreigners have been in China, so long has the present system prevailed. There was a time, it is true, when the tael was quoted as seven shillings and six pence, three half crowns. It has been and is now, considerably below the value of one, and in this fact we see the first great reason why there should be a change and that soon.<sup>93</sup>

As Chinese currencies were burdensome to use, foreign currencies were gradually adopted by the local population. As early as 1829, local official Li Hongbao 李鸿宝 suggested to the Daoguang emperor to ban foreign currencies, but since the local population had been doing business with foreigners for so long, it would be difficult to simply ban it, so Li recommended shop owners who had foreign currencies to exchange them into Chinese currencies through the local *baojia* 保甲, who would then surrender all the collected foreign currencies to Beijing. Besides this, he also suggested that foreign firms should exchange their money into Chinese currencies and ships which brought foreign currencies would not be allowed to enter.<sup>94</sup> Nonetheless, as Chinese currencies

---

<sup>92</sup> “Lun Zhongguo yinyuan ju”, *Yubao*, 14 (1898), pp.9-10.

<sup>93</sup> South China Morning Post, January 9, 1904, Saturday.

<sup>94</sup> Guangdong tongzhi wei cheng gao ([Minguo] Gazetteer of Guangdong), vol.6, in *Xijian fangzhi congkan* (Series of rare local gazetteers), edited by Ni Junming ( Beijing: Guojia tushuguan, 2011), p. 124.

gradually decreased its value,<sup>95</sup> foreigner currencies' popularity only increased over time. In large transactions, both Chinese and foreigners tended to use Hong Kong bank-notes as the medium of exchange. The problem with Chinese currencies continued into the Republican era. This issue dominated the 1923 issues of the Guangzhou Daily Newspaper (*Guangzhou minguo ribao*).

Although there has been a long history of foreign contact in Guangzhou, the local population's attitude toward foreigners had not fundamentally changed up to the second half of the nineteenth century. The local population was still largely hostile to foreigners and did not want them to live among them. During the Opium War in 1840, villagers in Sanyuanli heavily damaged the British force. The British force was only rescued when local Chinese authority ordered the villagers to dismiss. Under such pressure, the British force left Guangzhou. In 1856, at the beginning of the second Opium War, local population again became the main Chinese force to stop the aggression of the British, forcing them to leave Guangzhou initially.<sup>96</sup> After the Opium War, more and more foreigners came to trade or spread Christianity in Guangzhou largely due to the favorable political environment as a consequence of the wars. The local population composed a folk song to describe the relationship between Chinese officials, foreigners and Chinese commoners: "Chinese commoners are afraid of Chinese officials, Chinese officials are

---

<sup>95</sup> Local newspapers in the nineteenth century constantly published articles on how to deal with this problem, for example, Chen Youqin, "Tongyuan jiejia de yuanyin jiqi jiuji de fangfa" (Reasons of copper cash's devaluation and ways to recover), *Qishi'er shanghang bao*, May 12, 1924, p.10.

<sup>96</sup> Guangzhou shi fangcun qu difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Guangzhou shi fangcun qu zhi (Fangcun district Gazetteer)* (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1997), p.350.

afraid of foreigners, foreigners are afraid of Chinese commoners.”<sup>97</sup> The folk song vividly shows that the local population’s resentment of foreigners made them more fearful compared with Chinese authorities. Even the governor of Guangdong and Guangxi Qi Ying 耆英 noticed that although both were located in the southern coastal provinces and had long histories of foreign interactions, people from Guangdong and Fujian had very different attitudes toward foreigners. While Fujianness did not feel strange at seeing foreigners, Cantonese people were so hostile to foreigners that they called them “foreign devils”.<sup>98</sup>

This was partially due to the fact that for a long time, foreigners were rarely allowed to live freely among local society. Christian missionaries were those who actually lived among Chinese population, either secretly or freely. Nonetheless, even when foreigners were allowed to work and live freely in China after the Opium War, most foreigners in Guangdong province lived in Hong Kong and Macao. In addition to Hong Kong and Macao, foreigners in Guangdong stayed mainly in the four “treaty ports”. They were Guangzhou, Shantou (Swatow),<sup>99</sup> Haikou (Hoihow),<sup>100</sup> and Beihai (Pakhoi). Among them Guangzhou was the first to be opened and the most important.

The Western community in Guangzhou centered on the small fifty-six-acre settlement of Shamian 沙面 (Shameen), an artificial island reclaimed from a sandbar in the Pearl River by the British and French during their four-year occupation of the city. It

---

<sup>97</sup> Panyu shi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Panyu Xian zhi* (Gazetteer of Panyu county) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1995), p.692.

<sup>98</sup> Zhongshan shi dang’an ju, Zhongguo diyi lishi dang’anguan ed., *Xiangshan Mingqing Dang’an jilu* (Collection of Xiangshan [County] Ming-Qing Documents) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006), p. 538.

<sup>99</sup> Opened by the Treaty of Tianjin in 1858.

<sup>100</sup> Opened by the Chefoo Convention in 1876.

lies off the Western Suburbs (*Xiguan* 西关), separated from it by a hundred-foot-wide canal. No Chinese was allowed to own property on the island; the only Chinese living there were the servants in the various foreign homes and businesses. This was where foreign banks, the only foreign hotel, consulates, residential houses were located, making it look like an English village. One fifth of the island belonged to the French and the rest to the British, so that the Gallic architecture and atmosphere of the few acres at the eastern entrance change several times before they terminate in Japanese architecture and atmosphere at the western end.<sup>101</sup> A visitor described his observation as follow:

Its spreading trees and bright flower-beds, the lawns that stretch continuously between the dignified rows of houses, its trim cleanliness, its spacious calm for all its small size, so that precious as is every acre it still maintains a large football-field before the landing-stage, make as great a constant between this handful of foreign soil and the city from which only a narrow creek far-famed for its smells separates it as the contrast between Europe and China. Only two little gated bridges connect it with Canton-with China, one is almost betrayed into putting it-and these close at night; no Chinese boats man or to the Shameen side of the narrow canal dividing this little alien world from the Orient, though they crowd in serried ranks, like automobiles nose to curb in a prairie town on a Saturday night, along every inch of the Canton side twenty feet away.<sup>102</sup>

While the Western traders by and large restricted their activities to the territorial cessions and the treaty ports, the missionaries, on the other hand, were free, according to the 1860 Convention of Beijing, to live and work throughout the interior. The long-term interactions with Westerners still affected local society directly and indirectly. In Hong Kong, they established many new forms of financial and industrial enterprises, such as shipyards, banks, the telegraph, sugar refineries, cement works, and electric street lighting. Also they created new social and governmental institutions, like the chamber of

---

<sup>101</sup> Harry A. Franck, *Roving Through Southern China* (New York, London: The Century Co., 1925), p.226.

<sup>102</sup> Harry A. Franck, *Roving Through Southern China* (New York, London: The Century Co., 1925), p.225.



commerce and an independent judiciary. On education, the missionaries established a large number of schools such as the American Northern Presbyterians and the Canton Christian College in Guangdong.

Seeing the strength of Western technology, some Chinese officials-intellectuals initiated the self-strengthening movement. One of the first self-strengthening innovations was the establishment of the Translators' College (*Tong wen guan* 同文馆) to train interpreters to assist the officials in their dealings with the foreigners. It offered a three-year course in English, Mathematics, and Chinese. Militarily, an arsenal was founded in 1874, a shipyard was founded at Huangpu. In 1884 telegraph lines were strung up between Guangzhou and Shanghai, and between Guangzhou and Hong Kong. By the end of 1908, there were 1,200 miles of telegraph lines in Guangdong. Zhang Zhidong established a telegraph school in Guangzhou in 1887 to train operators.<sup>103</sup> In 1887, Zhang Zhidong, Governor-General of Guangdong and Guangxi, purchased minting-machines from overseas and founded a mint in Guangzhou, and it was the beginning of making money by machine in China.<sup>104</sup>

---

<sup>103</sup> Knight Biggerstaff, *The Earliest Modern Government Schools in China* (Ithaca, 1961), pp. 36-43.

<sup>104</sup> Panyu shi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Panyu Xian zhi* (Gazetteer of Panyu county) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1995), pp.26-27.

## Chapter 2

### The History of the French Catholic Mission in South China

As described in chapter one, the location of Guangdong province made it an entrance to interior China. It had long been the first destination for European missionaries who wanted to go to China. It is true that some missionaries made to China by the way of south west borderland from Tonkin and Siam, but the majority of them had to go from Macao to Guangdong. The most well-known European missionary in China, Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), began his life in China from Guangdong province. It was here that he spent the years from 1583 to 1595, first in Zhaoqing, then in Shaozhou. His life in these years paved the way for his later success.<sup>105</sup> Ricci was the star among those missionaries who went to China, but he was not the first. There were those who paved the way for his success in China, and those who came after him and worked under his fame.

Among Ricci's predecessors, one has to start with Francisco Xavier. He arrived at Shangchuan Island from Japan in 1551. The island is only fourteen kilometers from the mainland of Guangdong, but Javier did not succeed entering China from here due to the ban on maritime trade by the Ming dynasty. In August the next year he made another attempt but failed again and died from sickness on December 3. In 1555, Portuguese Jesuits Melchior Nunes Barreto and Estevão de Góis also arrived at Guangzhou from Shangchuan Island twice. The latter even stayed in Guangzhou for several months between 1555 and 1557. In 1556, Dominican Gaspar da Cruz also stayed in Guangzhou

---

<sup>105</sup> For the life of Matteo Ricci, see R. Po-chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552-1610* (Oxford University Press, 2010).

for one month.<sup>106</sup> Another Jesuit Gonzalez who accompanied Barrets later moved to Macao and built a chapel there.<sup>107</sup> In 1562, three Jesuits, Father François Pérez, Emmanuel Texeira and Adré Pinto, came to Guangzhou with a Portuguese ambassador team. They requested to preach the gospel here, but their request was denied. In 1565, François Pérez tried again, this time was with some merchants, but he failed again. In 1567, Ribeira wanted to come to Guangzhou by arriving on a boat belonging to a non-Christian Chinese, but his effort was futile. In 1575, two Augustinians from Manila, Martin de Errada and Jérôme Marin came to Guangzhou with the Spanish ambassador. But they left without any achievement.<sup>108</sup>

The first missionaries who stayed in Guangzhou for a short period were Spanish Franciscans. On June 21, 1579, four Franciscans led by Father Pierre d' Alfaro arrived at Guangzhou. When they reached at the city gate, they were refused entrance by the guards. Eventually they were able to communicate with a Chinese who spoke Portuguese, and they requested a meeting with the governor. So they were brought to the local official. They told the official that they were Spanish from the Philippines, and their sole purpose of coming to China was to spread Christianity and they did not bring any weapons or money. They planned to survive by begging. The official allowed them to stay because he did not find anything besides books and religious objects. These missionaries stayed in Guangzhou for a while relying on the charity of local people. Soon

---

<sup>106</sup> R. Po-chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552-1610* (Oxford University Press, 2010), p.59.

<sup>107</sup> Guangdongsheng difang shizhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Guangdong shengzhi · Zongjiao zhi* (Guangdong provincial gazetteer · Religions) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2002), p.263.

<sup>108</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire des Missions de Chine: Mission du Kouang-tong* (Paris: Douniol et Retaux, 1917), p.5.

their difficulties were reported to the official. The official sent them 6 taels silver money every ten days. The governor's *yamen* was located at Zhaoqing then, so these missionaries were sent to Zhaoqing by officials of Guangzhou for the meeting. On August 21, Alfaro met the governor Liu Yaohui as the representative of the foreigners. They stayed in Zhaoqing for eight days. Soon after they returned to Guangzhou, they were asked to leave China. On November 10, 1579, they left with some money given by the official of Guangzhou.<sup>109</sup>

Catholicism entered Guangdong province in 1582. In April 1580, Italian Jesuit Michael Ruggieri visited Guangzhou with Portuguese merchants and stayed for three months. He returned in October 1581. Although he was unable to stay for long during this visit, he was able to establish friendly relations with some officials. In 1582 he returned with François Pasio to Zhaoqing.<sup>110</sup> In Zhaoqing, they gained trust from the governor Chen Rui and were promised a piece of land to build a residence. However, the changes with Chen Rui's career forced the Jesuits to return to Macao. In 1583, Ruggieri returned with Matteo Ricci to Zhaoqing. They eventually built a chapel there. The chapel was completed in 1585 and was named Xianhua si 仙花寺 (Xianhua Temple).<sup>111</sup> Ricci lived in Zhaoqing for six years, then moved to Shaozhou, until he left Guangdong province for north China in 1595. Beginning with Ricci, many people, including top

---

<sup>109</sup> He Wentian, "Jiaotang chuli yangcheng" (The Early Chapels in Guangzhou), from *Yangcheng houshi jing* (Looking at the old Guangzhou), vol. 3, edited by Yang Liu (Guangzhou: Huacheng chubanshe, 2008), pp.26-27.

<sup>110</sup> Noël Gubbels, *Trois siècles d'Apostolat: histoire du Catholicisme au Hu-kwang depuis les origines, 1587, jusqu'à 1870* (Paris, 1934), 6.

<sup>111</sup> Guangdongsheng difang shizhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Guangdong shengzhi · Zongjiao zhi* (Guangdong provincial gazetteer · Religions) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2002), p.263.

officials and influential intellectuals such as Xu Guangqi and Yang Tingyun were converted.<sup>112</sup> After the death of Ricci, the Wanli emperor gave him a piece of land to be his cemetery. Followers of Ricci increased greatly after his death.<sup>113</sup>

The prosperous age brought by Ricci's work experienced setbacks by the persecution in Nanjing in 1616. European missionaries were accused of undermining the traditional ways of China, and were ordered to leave China. Although protected by their friends in China and the damage was not severe, only fourteen Jesuits were left in China in 1616.<sup>114</sup> The next year Diego de Pantoja and Sabatino de Ursis were sent to prisons in Guangzhou. The Ming government officially proclaimed persecution of Catholicism in China.<sup>115</sup>

After the chaotic transitioning period from the Ming to the Qing dynasty, Catholicism gradually gained foothold in the Qing Empire, largely due to the appointment of European missionaries for astronomy positions in the court. The German Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1591-1666), one of two Jesuits who were appointed to work in the Bureau of Astronomy by the Shunzhi emperor, became influential among missionaries. However, the spread of Catholicism in China suffered another wave of

---

<sup>112</sup> For studies on Chinese Christians in the Ming dynasty, please see Huang Yinong, *Liangtoushe: mingmo qingchu de diyidai tianzhu jiaotu* (Two-headed Snakes: The First Generation of Catholic Converts in Late Ming and Early Qing China) (Xinzhu: Guoli qinghua daxue chubanshe, 2005); Nicolas Standaert, *Yang Tingyun: Ming mo Tianzhujiao ruzhe* (Yang Tingyun, Confucian and Christian in late Ming China: his life and thought) (Leiden: Brill, 1988).

<sup>113</sup> "Shenzong shilu" (Veritable Records of Emperor Shenzong), vol. 552, cited in Li Guoxiang; Yang Chang; Yu Xu, *ming shilu lei zuan: Guangdong Hainan juan* (Veritable Records of the Ming, Guangdong and Hainan) (Wuhan: Wuhan chubanshe: Xinhua shudian jingxiao, 1993), 388.

<sup>114</sup> R. Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.212.

<sup>115</sup> Guangdongsheng difang shizhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Guangdong shengzhi · Zongjiao zhi* (Guangdong provincial gazetteer · Religions) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2002), p.264.

attacks in 1664 when official Yang Guangxian denounced it. All European missionaries were put in prison in Guangzhou. When the case was over, with the triumph of the Jesuits, Catholicism in China gained a peaceful period from 1670 to 1720.

We have seen that whenever there was persecution, missionaries would be sent to Guangzhou, some were eventually sent to Macau from there, others were put in prison or even executed there. From any point, Guangzhou was an important location to European missionaries. With the success of Jesuits in China, other ecclesiastical institutions also arrived at China. In May 1672, Spanish Franciscans Buenaventura Ibanez went to Guangdong from Macao with two priests. They lived secretly in the home of a farmer in Foshan. When they were reported, they were brought to Shang Zhixin 尚之信, son of Shang Kexi 尚可喜, who was the acting leader of Guangdong military bureau. The priests were exempted from being expelled, and were invited to stay with Shang because they repaired several broken clocks for him. Shang even gave them a house located on Maima Street, opposite to the official building of the governor, for them to build a chapel. Shang suggested the priests learn Chinese, and even made Chinese clothes for them, but Shang was never baptized. These priests eventually requested to return to Macao, as they were not allowed to go to the interior and the construction of the promised chapel never started.

In 1674, when Father Juan Marti came to Guangzhou from Macao, Shang sponsored the construction of a chapel near his house. The chapel was named Iglesia de

Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles.<sup>116</sup> Not long after the construction of this chapel, a local convert donated a big house to the priest, so they built another chapel. Soon they bought a large house outside of the city wall at *Xiguan*, the western side of the city where the richest Cantonese used to reside. This house belonged to a former Qing official who was killed for rebellion. They bought this house for 1000 taels silver money in May 1678. In 1679, they completed the construction of a grand Spanish style seminary. Later they built a clinic and hospital. Two of those earlier priests, Blas Garcia and Antonio de la Concepcion also worked as medical doctors. They often worked for local officials and other influential people.<sup>117</sup>

In 1685, creators of the MEP, Father Quemener, Pin, de Cicé, and Charmot arrived at China. They later worked in Guangzhou. In 1701, there were four mission societies in Guangdong province: the Jesuits, the MEP, the Franciscans, and the Augustinians. There were a total of 11 residences, 11 chapels and 21 priests. Among them Jesuits had 1 residence, 1 chapel and 1 priest; the MEP had 2 chapels; the Franciscans had 3 residences, 3 chapels, and 5 priests. The Augustinians had 4 residences, 4 chapels, and 6 priests.<sup>118</sup> In the city of Guangzhou, there were seven chapels

---

<sup>116</sup>He Wentian, “Jiaotang chuli yangcheng” (The Early Chapels in Guangzhou), from *Yangcheng houshi jing* (Looking at the old Guangzhou), vol. 3, edited by Yang Liu (Guangzhou: Huacheng chubanshe, 2008), pp.28-29.

<sup>117</sup>He Wentian, “Jiaotang chuli yangcheng” (The Early Chapels in Guangzhou), from *Yangcheng houshi jing* (Looking at the old Guangzhou), vol. 3, edited by Yang Liu (Guangzhou: Huacheng chubanshe, 2008), pp.30-31.

<sup>118</sup>Guangdongsheng difang shizhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Guangdong shengzhi · Zongjiao zhi* (Guangdong provincial gazetteer · Religions) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2002), p.275-276.

or oratories.<sup>119</sup> The first public Catholic Church in Guangzhou was opened in 1611 by Alfonso Vagnoni (1566-1640).<sup>120</sup>

|   |
|---|
| Jesuits: 1551<br>Mep: 1684<br>Maryknoll: 1908<br>Dominicans: 1650<br>Augustinians: 1680<br>Salesians of Don Bosco: 1918 |
|---|

Figure 2-1. Arrival years of different mission orders in Guangdong province.<sup>121</sup>

The rites controversy almost ruined all the fruit achieved by European missionaries. In 1693, MEP priest, Maigrot, who was also the director of mission affairs of Guangzhou, together with the Apostolic Prefect of Fujian, ordered that all the Chinese rituals that were tolerated by the Jesuits should be banned. Rome was in agreement with him. In 1706, the Pope sent Charles-Thomas Maillard De Tournon (1668-1710) to meet with the Kangxi emperor to discuss on issues related to Chinese rites. Tournon was put in prison by the emperor in 1707. The next year the Qing government issued an official edict in which all the missionaries who did not tolerate Chinese rituals were ordered to leave China immediately. In 1718, the Qing government officially banned Christianity.

The persecution did not stop Catholicism from spreading in China, particularly in Guangdong province where boats were numerous and easy to hide. Missionaries continued to work there in hiding with the support from Chinese Catholics. In 1717, Chen

<sup>119</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire des Missions de Chine: Mission du Kouang-tong* (Paris: Douniol et Retaux, 1917), p.5.

<sup>120</sup> R. Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770*, p.212.

<sup>121</sup> Guangdongsheng difang shizhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Guangdong shengzhi · Zongjiao zhi* (Guangdong provincial gazetteer · Religions) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2002), p.275-276.



Ang, the regional commander of Shijie of Guangzhou reported that missionaries had built numerous chapels and recruited many followers, and the religion was especially popular in and outside the city of Guangzhou. They hid in foreign ships and were assisted by Chinese Catholics. He was afraid that it would cause serious social unrest. The next year, Governor-General of Guangdong and Guangxi, Yang Lin also reported that foreigners were still spreading Catholicism and opening chapels there and asked the emperor to persecute it.<sup>122</sup> Even after the Yongzheng emperor officially banned Catholicism in China, missionaries' activities never really completely ceased. In 1722, Chinese Christian He Qi, who lived in Macao, returned to Fangdong village of Shixing County, accompanying him were French priest father Wu, the two established a chapel in this village, and almost all of its 300 villagers were converted. Catholicism continued to exist and expand in this village until today, making it one of the largest Catholic villages in Guangdong province in late nineteenth century. As the persecution of the Yongzheng era intensified, the Governor-General of Guangdong and Guangxi provinces eventually expelled all 35 missionaries who lived in Guangzhou to Macao in 1731. All chapels were also closed and confiscated.<sup>123</sup>

The highly restricted activities of the Catholic missionaries continued until the Opium War, when treaties signed between China and Western powers specifically offered freedom to missionaries. The war also provided a good opportunity to the arrival

---

<sup>122</sup> Huangchao jingshi wen tongbian (Complete collection of essays of the Qing period on practical political and economic issues), vol. 180, Shanghai shenji shiyinben, 1901, from *Qingdai jingshiwen quanbian* (Complete collection of essays of the Qing period on practical political and economic issues), vol.123 (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2010), p.48,

<sup>123</sup> Guangdongsheng difang shizhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Guangdong shengzhi · Zongjiao zhi* (Guangdong provincial gazetteer · Religions) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2002), p.265.

of more mission orders, particularly various Protestant ones. Protestant missionaries entered China during the Jiaqing reign, even before the war. In 1807, London Missionary Society sent Robert Morrison to Guangzhou. In 1830, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent Elijah Coleman Bridgman to Guangzhou, becoming the first American missionaries to China. During this time, Christianity was still official banned by the imperial government of China. In 1842, when the first treaty ports were opened after the treaty of Nanjing, there were only six Protestant converts in the empire.<sup>124</sup> Soon after that, Protestant mission orders increased greatly. By 1858, Guangdong had become home to the following mission societies: London Missionary Society, Church Missionary Society, English Presbyterian Mission, Methodist Church, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Episcopal Church, Baptist Churches, Presbyterian Church, Reformed Church, Southern Baptist Convention, Basel Mission, Rhenish Missionary Society, and so on.<sup>125</sup> In 1880, there were a total of 24 organized churches, with a membership of 1,587. Six of these churches, with an aggregate membership of about 700, were in the city of Guangzhou.<sup>126</sup> In 1919 there were a total of 61, 262

---

<sup>124</sup> Harriet Newell Noyes, *History of the South China Mission of the American Presbyterian Church, 1845-1920* (Shanghai, Printed at the Presbyterian mission Press, 1927), p.6.

<sup>125</sup> Huang Guangyu, “Jindai laihua xinjiao chahui zonglu (shang)” (Complete Records of Protestant Institutions in Modern China), from *Jindaishi ziliao* (Materials on modern history), vol. 80.

<sup>126</sup> Rev. H. V. Noyes, “The Missions of Canton City and of the Central Parts of the Canton Province”, from *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, edited by The Chinese Recorder and the Protestant Missionary Community in China, 1867-1941 Collection (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press.; January-February, 1880-November-December 1880), pp. 297-303.

Chinese Protestant Christians in Guangdong province. In the Pearl River Delta, where population was dense, almost every little town had its own Protestant chapel.<sup>127</sup>

From the late Ming to the Qing dynasties, Guangzhou had served as a entrance to foreign missionaries who wanted to come to China. On many occasions it also served as the land of exile and the place of their banishment. From the pioneer Jesuits to other mission orders, the number of priests and mission orders increased greatly. They had setbacks and difficulties at times, but overall the mission enterprise only became stronger. On a local level, those who wanted to stay in Guangdong province had to rely on the protection from either Chinese officials or local Christians. Before the Opium War, there was no consul yet, so missionaries were under the mercy of Chinese associates completely. After the Opium War, however, the situation would become more complicated.

### **A General History of the Paris Foreign Missions Society**

In the process of spreading Christianity to East Asia, European missionaries had faced a lot of difficulties in the early stage, mainly due to persecutions in local society and the lack of enough bishops to administer converts. In the process, they realized the importance of native clergy to maintain and expand the Christian community in East Asia. This need of a native clergy and for the establishment of an Episcopal church had

---

<sup>127</sup> Guangdongsheng difang shizhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Guangdong shengzhi · Zongjiao zhi* (Guangdong provincial gazetteer · Religions) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2002), p.350.

long been the concern of missionaries and it also attracted the attention of Rome.<sup>128</sup> At the end of the sixteenth century, Father Valignani had sent a letter to the Pope for the appointment of bishops; in 1624, Father Sotelo, speaking of the Church of Japan, about the small number of missionaries and the default of bishops, had written: “The Mystical Body is lack of bones and sinews, without which the progress of the preaching and teaching is not sufficiently maintained, or effectively provided.”<sup>129</sup> Twenty-five years later, Father Rhodes came to Europe to ask the Supreme Pontiff for more bishops to work in Tonkin and Cochinchine. In a letter addressed to Innocent X, he hinted that the mission of Annam could be annihilated due to a lack of priests and bishops.<sup>130</sup>

In order to satisfy Japan and Annam’s need of missionaries and bishops, the Propaganda offered a general institution that would be responsible for the entire Far East. The new apostolic company was composed of priests exclusively for missions and especially tied to the formation of a native clergy. This was the MEP.<sup>131</sup> On May 13, 1658, the Propaganda proposed to nominate Father Pallu and De la Mote Lambert as Vicar Apostolic of the Missions of China and the nearby places.<sup>132</sup> On November 27, 1660 the three premier missionaries of the MEP set out for the Far East. According to the apostolic instructions, they would go to Alexandria, from there go to Syria, then

---

<sup>128</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 1, p. 7.

<sup>129</sup> Letter from Father Sotelo to Pope, dated January 20, 1624. From *Histoire de la Religion catholique au Japon*—Annexe, p. 137-160. In Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 1, p. 8.

<sup>130</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 1, p. 8.

<sup>131</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 1, pp. 10-11.

<sup>132</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 1, p.34.

Mesopotamia, Persia, then after a short voyage on the ocean they would return to the road, passing the side of Malabar to the Coromandel side, and eventually arrive at the Kingdom of Siam.<sup>133</sup> When they arrived at their destination it was August 22, 1662.<sup>134</sup>

Although the Far East was its largest and most important battlefield, the company did not refuse to go to other areas. They supported the formation of indigenous clergy, and offered support to the New World. The Vicar Apostolic of Canada, Mgr. de Laval, had contributed to the foundation of the Seminary of Paris.<sup>135</sup>

In East Asia, the company worked mainly in Siam, Cochinchina and Tonkin. Their first voyage to China was conducted on June 10, 1683, by Mgr. Pallu, accompanied by Mr. Maigot. Their small ship was captured at sea by the fleet of Zheng Chenggong. They did not regain freedom immediately and instead stayed in Formosa for five months. They were eventually released from Formosa, and went to Amoy (today's Xiamen) where they were invited by Dominican Father Magino to Zhangzhou, a city of Fujian province. Thus on January 27, 1684, they finally arrived in China.<sup>136</sup> Mgr. Pallu died on October 29, 1684 and Mgr. Maigot<sup>137</sup> was nominated pro-vicar general and the vice-administrator of the China mission. The body of Mgr. Pallu was buried near the village of

---

<sup>133</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 1, p.55.

<sup>134</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 1, p.75.

<sup>135</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 1, pp. 156-157.

<sup>136</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 1, pp. 297-298.

<sup>137</sup> Charles Maigrot, born in Paris in 1652, was a priest and doctor of theology from Sorbonne. Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 1, p.333.

Mo-yang (Muyang), in a place known to Christians as the Holy Mountain, where he still rests, surrounded by venerated remains of other bishops and missionaries.<sup>138</sup>

In 1691, the society had eight priests dispersed in three provinces of China: Fujian, Guangdong, and Jiangxi. Maigrot was in Fuzhou. He baptized 80 people in 1687 and 75 in 1688. The most pias place was Shaozhou of Guangdong province, served by Fathers Leblanc<sup>139</sup> and Basset<sup>140</sup>. Father De Rennes<sup>141</sup> resided in the city of Guangzhou, where he was in charge of a church and functioned as the Procure. Near him, in the same city, Father Charmot<sup>142</sup> was trying to found a small seminary. Father Pin worked in Jiangxi.<sup>143</sup>

During the rites controversy, the Pope divided China into different vicariates in 1691, nominating Father Pin Vicar Apostolic of Zhejiang and Jiangxi provinces. With the suggestion from the Procure of the MEP at Rome, who wanted to divide China into thirteen Vicariate Apostolics, the Pope began to divide China into more vicariates gradually. In a bull of October 15, 1696, he divided the jurisdiction of the Portuguese bishops of Beijing and Nanjing. The bishop of Beijing would have Hebei, Shandong and Liaodong provinces. The bishop of Nanjing would have Jiangsu and Henan provinces. This meant that the rest provinces of China would be out of the jurisdiction of Portuguese. Through a bull of October, the Pope nominated Maigrot Bishop of Conon,

---

<sup>138</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 1, p.302.

<sup>139</sup> Departed France on December 22, 168, died on September 2, 1720 in Guangdong.

<sup>140</sup> Basset departed France on February 13, 1685, died in 1707 in Guangdong.

<sup>141</sup> Departed France on April 6, 1682, and died n May 1, 1727.

<sup>142</sup> Departed from France on February 13, 1685, died on June 28, 1714.

<sup>143</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 1, pp.364-365.

Leblanc Vicar Apostolic of Yunnan. Through another bull of December 12, Lionne was nominated Bishop of Rosalie, Vicar Apostolic of Sichuan.<sup>144</sup>

The company is a secular organization. In its infancy, in fact, it had imposed its members no absolute obligation to poverty and obedience.<sup>145</sup> The society had no superior general. In its daily operation, it is the Procure that acted as the leader of missions. In East Asia, the Procure was the immediate leader of different mission vicariates at this region. The Procure communicated directly with the Seminary of Paris.<sup>146</sup> The Procure was located mostly in ports. In the Far East, the first Procure was established in Juthia in 1666. A second Procure was established in Bantam, and a third was founded in Surate. In 1688 the one at Juthia was transferred to Pondicherry and lasted there until 1795. The Procure of China was established at Guangzhou in 1700, and moved to Macao in 1732, and from there was moved to Hong Kong in 1847 by Napoléon-François Liboiswas.<sup>147</sup> Liboiswas also founded the Procure of Singapore in 1857, and the Procure of Shanghai in 1864.<sup>148</sup> The Procure of Hong Kong was the one that the MEP at Guangzhou dealt with frequently.

---

<sup>144</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 1, pp.392-393.

<sup>145</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 1, p.415.

<sup>146</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 3, p. 543.

<sup>147</sup> Napoléon-François Liboiswas born in 1805 in the diocese of Séz. In 1837 he went to Macao, where he was the deputy attorney and prosecutor in 1842. He was recalled to Europe in 1866 and appointed attorney of the Company to Rome. He died there on April 6, 1872. From “Réminiscences d’un Ancien, En procure de Hongkong (1866-1868) 1”, AMEP, accessed March 10, 2014, <http://archives.mepasie.org/bulletin-des-missions-etranangeres/ra-c-miniscences-dun-ancien-en-procure-de-hongkong>.

<sup>148</sup> “Réminiscences d’un Ancien, En procure de Hongkong (1866-1868) 1”, AMEP, accessed March 10, 2014, <http://archives.mepasie.org/bulletin-des-missions-etranangeres/ra-c-miniscences-dun-ancien-en-procure-de-hongkong>.

During the Rites controversy, Mgr. Maigrot's resistance of the Kangxi emperor's order caused him arrest and imprisonment; another member of the Society Father Guét shared his fate. The rest were interrogated and humiliated. After the imperial decree issued on December 21, 1706, Mgr. Maigrot was sent to Macao via Guangzhou, then returned to Europe.<sup>149</sup> On August 20, 1732, under the edict of the Yongzheng emperor, all the missionaries in China were ordered to go to Macao.<sup>150</sup>

Since the late eighteenth century, the Society's earlier failure and sacrifices in the Americas made them decide to focus all their attention on the Far East. In China, their focus was Sichuan. In 1752, the Society was in charge of Sichuan province and made it an apostolic vicariate, and soon Yunnan and Guizhou joined it and formed a single jurisdiction.<sup>151</sup> In the 1780s, the Society was in charge of five missions: one in China: the province of Sichuan, including attached provinces of Guizhou and Yunnan, and a post in Fujian; three in Indo-China: West Tonkin, the Cochinchine, and Siam; one in India: the mission in Malabar or Pondicherry.<sup>152</sup> Due to persecution in Sichuan province in 1784, Mgr. Saint-Martin and Mgr. Dufresse were sent to Guangzhou in 1785.<sup>153</sup>

After the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773, the MEP was offered the district of Beijing, but the Society did not want it. Instead the Society wanted to have the districts administered by the Jesuits in Cochinchina and Tonkin, because they wanted to

---

<sup>149</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 1, pp. 474-475.

<sup>150</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 1, p.515.

<sup>151</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 2, p.73.

<sup>152</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 2, p.147.

<sup>153</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 2, pp.208-218.



work on the land they already knew well, and to enlarge and strengthen the missions that it already possessed in the Annam kingdom.<sup>154</sup> This request was supported by Cardinal de Bernis. However, the Portuguese Franciscans who had been working in Cochinchine, and Spanish Dominicans who had been evangelizing in East Tonkin had presented to the Sovereign Pontiff similar requests, and the governments of Portugal and Spain also intervened, so on May 20, 1786, it was decided that these districts would be shared between the Dominicans and the MEP.<sup>155</sup>

During the French Revolution, due to the anti-religious feeling among French people, the MEP was attacked like other religious societies in France. Their properties were damaged, and many members were jailed.<sup>156</sup> Their situation was improved after Napoleon became the ruler of France.<sup>157</sup> The mission in Far East was relatively in peace during this turbulent period within France.

Until 1868, MEP only had one apostolic vicariate in China: Sichuan province, with two attached provinces Guizhou and Yunnan. As a whole, this vicariate apostolic received 2,800 francs in financial support from Paris.<sup>158</sup> The mission of Sichuan was hit by persecutions frequently, and lost two bishops. Its native priests fell each year under the blows of the executioners. In 1817, priest Joseph Yuen was strangled; on June 23, 1818, another priest Paul Liao was strangled. In the same year, Mathias Lo was thrown into

---

<sup>154</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 2, p.100.

<sup>155</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 2, p.102.

<sup>156</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 2, p. 258.

<sup>157</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 2, p. 380.

<sup>158</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 2, p. 518.

prison, and Benoit Yang was sent into exile. Among 50,000 Christians in Sichuan, Guizhou and Yunnan, many were forced to flee, hide, or go into exile. To prevent a total disaster, Rome appointed one of the two surviving missionaries, Fontana, Bishop of Sinite and Vicar Apostolic. But Fontana was unable to find a consecrating bishop. The Seminary of Paris sent a young priest of 31 years old, Léonard Pérocheau.<sup>159</sup>

From 1820 to 1838, the Sichuan vicariate received twelve missionaries, among whom were Imbert, the future Vicar Apostolic of Korea; Verrolles, whom the Propaganda soon placed at the head of the mission of Manchuria; Ponsot, who became Vicar Apostolic of Yunnan; Voisin, who died as the director of the Seminary in Paris; Renou, the first missionary to Tibet; Delamarre, the future interpreter for Baron Gros for the conventions of Tianjin and Beijing, and the translator of Chinese Annals of the Ming dynasty; Desfleches, who governed part of Sichuan province for 39 years, first as coadjutor and then Vicar Apostolic.<sup>160</sup> During the first Opium War, the situation in Sichuan, Guizhou, and Yunnan was roughly the same as it was in the previous fifteen years or so, between full tranquility and persecution.<sup>161</sup>

After Gregory XVI became the pope, he began to further divide the existing apostolic vicariates. In 1840, he separated Yunnan province from Sichuan vicariate, while Guizhou remained. Bishop De Philomelie was nominated the first Vicar Apostolic of Yunnan. In 1841, he divided Siam into east and west. In 1844, Cochinchine was divided

---

<sup>159</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 2, p. 490.

<sup>160</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 3, p. 58.

<sup>161</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 3, p. 154.

into east and west as well.<sup>162</sup> In Far East, the MEP was also offered Korea, Manchuria, Japan (1844) and Tibet (1846).<sup>163</sup> The MEP worked to increase the number of indigenous priests, as European priests were still not allowed to enter the interior, despite the treaties signed between Britain and France with the Chinese imperial government. This difficulty to European missionaries was not limited to China alone, in Korea, the situation was even worse, European missionaries would be put to death once they were caught. In Annam, they would be put in prison.<sup>164</sup>

With the increasing political influence of France in East Asia, the MEP's influence also greatly increased. By 1862 the Society had twenty-two missions, and seven of them were in China: Sichuan west, east, south; Yunnan, Guizhou, Guangdong and Guangxi, Manchuria. In 1860, in the vicariate of Guangdong and Guangxi provinces, there were one bishop, sixteen missionaries, five indigenous priests, 10, 000 Christians, one seminary, 740 adult baptisms and 3, 000 infant baptisms.<sup>165</sup> In 1892, the number of missionaries increased to forty-seven, and the number of Chinese converts increased to 30, 128.<sup>166</sup> The number of indigenous priests increased to eleven.<sup>167</sup>

---

<sup>162</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 3, p. 171.

<sup>163</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 3, p. 172.

<sup>164</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 3, p. 176.

<sup>165</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 3, pp. 445-448.

<sup>166</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 3, p. 548.

<sup>167</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 3, p. 554.

### **The Paris Foreign Missions Society in Guangdong**

During the earlier years of the MEP in China, the south-west provinces such as Sichuan, Guizhou and Yunnan had been their focuses. Guangdong and Guangxi provinces were added to their jurisdiction much later although a small number of MEP priests had been working here together with missionaries from other orders. Bishop Lambert la Motte was appointed as the first director of the missions of southern China in 1659, but he was never physically there. It was only in about 1682 that the first priests of the MEP arrived in the south China. Father Guéty, arrived at Guangdong. Father Pallu, director of the MEP's eight provinces in China, landed at Fujian province but died soon after. Following them, numerous priests of the MEP worked alongside with priests of the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and the Jesuits in Guangdong: Father Basset in 1707, White in 1720, Lirot in 1723, Souviron in 1797, and etc.<sup>168</sup>

Guangdong province had been part of Macao diocese, under the protectorate of Portugal. On May 11, 1848, Rome entrusted Guangdong and Guangxi provinces to the MEP and separated them from Macao. On September 30, 1848, Rome issued an official decree for the separation. Since October 1849, Father Guillemin had been working in Guangzhou. He had a small chapel at the Thirteen Hong district. He also bought a small boat at Huangpu, and used it as a sanctuary when necessary. Father Libois was the first to take charge of Guangdong, Guangxi, and Hainan. In 1850, there were an estimated total

---

<sup>168</sup> “La Société des Missions Etrangères dans la Chine Méridionale”, AMEP, accessed March 5, 2014, <http://archives.mepasie.org/annales-des-missions-etrangeres/la-socia-c-ta-c-des-missions-etrangares-dans-la-1>.

of 10,000 Catholics in these three provinces.<sup>169</sup> There were only eight MEP missionaries and four of whom had not yet arrived at their destined posts.<sup>170</sup> While the MEP's work in these provinces was very limited before the first Opium War, their situation was greatly improved after they returned in 1845. In that year, the MEP sent many priests to Guangdong province and began to build chapels at almost all the places in the province. From then on, the MEP had gradually become the strongest denomination in this province.<sup>171</sup> Guangdong became Prefect Apostolic in 1853.

The separation was refuted by Portugal, who was the protector of Catholicism in Asia at the time. Portuguese priests had been working in this area for a long time, so they still saw this territory as under their jurisdiction. So Guangdong was under the jurisdiction of both Portuguese and French missionaries. However, the situation would soon change so to make it more favorable toward France in China. On February 29, 1856, Father Chapdelaine was killed in Guangxi province after having been cruelly tortured by local officials.<sup>172</sup> France used this opportunity to join the British force and started the second Opium War in 1856. After the war, they occupied Guangzhou city until 1861. While France was competing against Britain in China, Portugal's influence in China had been diminishing. In 1858, the separation of Guangdong and Guangxi became official. It also marked the official beginning of French protectorate of Catholicism in China. In

---

<sup>169</sup> Lettre n°, dated April 14, 1850, AMEP, accessed March 5, 2014, <http://archives.mepasie.org/lettres-communes/lettre-nadeg-10>.

<sup>170</sup> "Letter of the Rev. Dr. Guillemin, Apostolic-Missioner of the Society of Foreign Missions, to his Mother", dated February 12, 1850, feast of St. Eulalie, and first day of the Chinese year, *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, Volumes 11-12, p.335.

<sup>171</sup> Zhao Chunchen et al., *Zongjiao yu jindai Guangdong shehui* (Beijing: Zhongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2008), p.175.

<sup>172</sup> "Lettre de M. Guillemin, préfet apostolique des missions du Quang-tong et du Quang-si, à MM. Les Directeurs de l'Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi", dated Canton, July 8, 1856. *Annales de la propagation de la foi* : vol. 28, 1856, pp. 461-481.

1684, Foshan was also separated from Macao and joined the two Guangs. In 1870, Rome gave Hainan, Xiangshan (today's Zhongshan) and Zhaoqing to Macao. In 1867, Rome divided Guangdong and Guangxi into two dioceses. Due to the opposition from Portugal, the Superiors of Missions of Guangdong and Guangxi were only apostolic prefectures until 1914, when their mission was elevated to vicariate.

The creation of the new vicariate of the two Guangs came at a time that was more favorable toward France. The imperial government of China refused to render full satisfaction to the British and French forces after the war, thus the allied forces began a new expedition. The MEP played a peaceful but useful role in the new expedition. Two of its priests served as interpreters: one was Father Delamarre, missionary of Sichuan, author of a Chinese dictionary and a translation of the history of the Ming dynasty; another was Father Deluc, former interpreter to the Commander of French expedition to Guangzhou.<sup>173</sup>

The separation was greatly supported by Father Guillemin, who saw great disadvantages of dual jurisdiction between Portugal and the Holy See for his mission.<sup>174</sup> In 1853, Bishop Guillemin was nominated apostolic prefect.<sup>175</sup> In August 1856 he became a bishop. He was the founder of the MEP's Guangzhou diocese.<sup>176</sup> In 1875, European missionaries in Guangzhou had little freedom. They were even required not to

---

<sup>173</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 3, p. 388.

<sup>174</sup> Lettre n°, dated June 21, 1858, AMEP, accessed March 5, 2014, <http://archives.mepasie.org/lettres-communes/lettre-nadeg-18>.

<sup>175</sup> Departed from France in 1848, died in 1886. Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 3, p. 232.

<sup>176</sup> "Tianzhu jiaotang" (Catholic churches), From Guangdong Provincial Archives, Folder title: Guangdongsheng zhengfu shehuichu (Social Affairs Department of Guangdong Province); Folder No.9, Vol.1; No. 10: "Zongjiao lue (Tianzhujiao, jidujiao jiaotang)" (Brief History of Religions (churches of Catholicism and Protestantism). p. 35.

leave their usual residence before informing local Chinese mandarin about the destination, purpose and duration of their visits. Nonetheless, it was a period when the number of Chinese converts increased rapidly. During this time, Bishop Guillemin built a church in honor of Francois Xavier in Shangchuan Island. In the city of Guangzhou, he built the most magnificent cathedral in Far East.<sup>177</sup> In 1892, the MEP had 140 churches and chapels.<sup>178</sup>

In Guangdong apostolic prefecture, with Guangzhou at the center, the MEP was scattered into the east, west, north and south. In the east, toward the Fujian province, was the most flourishing part of its mission. In 1884, it was administered by 15 missionaries and Chinese priests, and contained nearly 14,000 Catholics. In the west where it bordered Tonkin, its mission contained seven missionaries and nearly 4,000 Catholics. In the north, it had five missionaries and 2, 500 followers scattered over a large area. The center, which extended over a wide circumference around Guangzhou, was divided into 11 districts and had about 9,000 converts.<sup>179</sup>

As the mission activities of the new vicariate became more fulfilled, it again needed to be divided into smaller ones. In 1914, Chaozhou (previously Shantou) was separated to become the vicariate of Swatow. In 1920, Beihai was separated to become an independent district. In 1918, the MEP of Guangdong vicariate was in charge of Guangzhou, Chaozhou and Beihai. The rest of the province was under the jurisdiction of

---

<sup>177</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 3, p. 508.

<sup>178</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 3, p. 569.

<sup>179</sup> Rapport n ° 1153, AMEP, accessed March 10, <http://archives.mepasie.org/rapports-des-eveques/rapport-n-adeq-1153>.

other mission orders. In 1920, Bishop Guebriant created the mission of Shaozhou and assigned it to Italian Salesians. In 1924, he gave the north-eastern part of the province to American Maryknoll. By 1930 the Guangdong vicariate was divided into eight districts and had 17, 000 Catholics, administered by 18 missionaries and 35 Chinese priests.

After Guillemin retired as the Apostolic Prefect of Guangdong, Bishop Chausse succeeded him in 1881. During the Sino-French war (1884-1885), he took refuge in Hong Kong with most of his missionaries. He was struck by an attack of paralysis and died on October 12, 1900 in the sanatorium of the MEP in Hong Kong. After Chausse, Bishop Merél succeeded him, with the assistance of Father Fleureau, who had been the superior of the seminary of Guangzhou for 15 years. In 1914, Bishop Merél resigned and retired to the mission in Malacca, where he lived for nearly 20 years. Bishop Rayssac was appointed director of the Guangzhou mission until in 1916 when Bishop Guebriant succeeded him. In 1921 Bishop Guebriant was chosen to be the Superior General of the MEP. Two years later, Bishop Fourquet was appointed Vicar Apostolic of the Guangzhou mission. By the early twentieth century, Guangdong province was divided between 16 missions in which 320 missionaries and 160 Chinese priests administered 175,000 faithful. The MEP was joined by missionaries from the PP. Milan, the Salesians, U.S. Maryknoll, the Picpuciens, the Bétharramites and PP. Sacred Heart (Sacré Coeur).<sup>180</sup>

The cathedral of Guangzhou under the leadership of Bishop Fourquet, regularly held mass and other services for 1,100 Chinese Catholics. The presence of the cathedral and many European missionaries in the heart of the city certainly made a difference to the

---

<sup>180</sup> “La Société des Missions Etrangères dans la Chine Méridionale”, AMEP, accessed March 5, 2014, <http://archives.mepasie.org/annales-des-missions-etrangeres/la-socia-c-ta-c-des-missions-etrangares-dans-la-1>.



dwellers of the capital city. Father Gervais described that from the district of Xiguan to the west of the city, he had heard 3, 442 confessions and 3, 817 communions. He felt that there was a Catholic unity due to the constant presence of the priest. The local people were aware of the presence of the missionaries and came to see them, including the educated. Gervais's optimism might have been largely due to the type of people that he had worked with. Most people residing in Xiguan at the late Qing dynasty belonged to the upper class of the city. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, many local gentry and merchants had built houses and lived there.<sup>181</sup>

As to other part of Guangdong province, different regions had its own varied history to tell regarding Catholicism. In Heyuan, the first Christian community was established at Huangtian 黄田. In 1862, a Catholic of this village, who was baptized abroad (mostly in Siam), Leong Shouy Siou, came back to his country after making a small fortune. He preached Catholicism to his brothers, and established a lettered man of the village, Leong Yeong Hong, as catechist and master of a school. Within a few years, the whole village was baptized. The first missionary who visited this community was Father Joly. In 1868, Father Goutiagny built a chapel and residence at Huangtian. His report in that year showed that there were a total of 193 Catholics.<sup>182</sup>

| French Name                          | Years on the position | Chinese Name |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| Philippe François Zéphirin Guillemin | 1853-1886             | 明稽章          |
| Augustin Chausse                     | 1886-1900             | 邵斯           |

<sup>181</sup> Huang Foyi, ed., *Guangzhou chengfang zhi* (Gazetteer of Guangzhou) (Guangzhou: Jinan daxue chubanshe, 1994), p. 280.

<sup>182</sup> "Historical Note of Christian Communities in the Region of Ho Guen", F4.2\_023. Ricci Archives.

|  |                              |     |
|--|------------------------------|-----|
| Jean-Marie Mérel                       | 1901-1914                    | 梅致远 |
| Rayssac                                | 1915-1917 (interim director) | 实茂芳 |
| Jean-Baptiste-Marie Budes de Guébriant | 1916-1921                    | 光若翰 |
| Antoine-Pierre-Jean Fourquet           | 1923-1947                    | 魏畅茂 |
| Gustave-Joseph Deswazières             | 1948-1951(interim bishop)    | 祝福  |

Figure 2-2. List of the MEP Guangdong mission bishops.<sup>183</sup>

The MEP was just one of the ecclesiastical institutions that had been working in China even before the Opium War. The Society's history in China before the Opium War was very similar with that of other mission orders in China. Their survival largely relied on the goodwill of the local Chinese population, be it Chinese Catholics or Chinese officials, or even Chinese non-Catholics. After the Opium War, the MEP's experience in China was greatly different than before. In Guangzhou, their experience was even quite different from other mission orders in that France became the protectorate of Catholicism in China after the Opium War. The station of French diplomatic representatives in the city of Guangzhou as well as in Beijing offered protection to the MEP in Guangzhou. Thus, the enterprise of the MEP at Guangzhou was intertwined with French colonialism in China and East Asia.

---

<sup>183</sup> Data is from the Ricci Archives.

## Chapter 3

### The Opium War, France, and Catholicism

Before the Opium War (1839-42), Qing's interaction with the external world beyond the tributary system was largely limited to restricted trade with Britain. Britain had been in monopoly of foreign trade with the Qing through British East India Company until 1785, when the United States began to trade in Guangzhou.<sup>184</sup> After the Treaty of Nanjing, signed on August 29, 1842 as a consequence of the first Opium War, China was forced to open. Three of the treaty articles had great impact on the Qing's foreign relations: one was the opening of Guangzhou, Xiamen, Fuzhou, Ningbo and Shanghai as treaty ports; another was abolishing of the Cohong system, which restricted Sino-foreign trade; and the third was the ceding of Hong Kong to Britain.<sup>185</sup> After Britain and the United States, France also joined the Western forces in China. Thus France was only one of the foreign powers interacting with the Qing government in the nineteenth centuries.

### Sino-France Relations in Imperial Time

Different from the British and the Americans in China, whose main interests lay in trade, France was more interested in obtaining imperial toleration of Catholic missionaries and their Chinese converts. French representative Théodore M. M. J. de

---

<sup>184</sup> Frederic Wakeman Jr., "The Canton Trade and the Opium War," in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10, *Late Ch'ing 1800-1911*, Part 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 169.

<sup>185</sup> Frederic Wakeman Jr., "The Canton Trade and the Opium War," in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10, *Late Ch'ing 1800-1911*, Part 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 212.

Lagrené managed to sign two treaties with the Qing government in 1844 and 1846, allowing the Chinese to practice Catholicism, and the restoration of churches confiscated by Chinese authorities earlier. Subsequently, French consuls were established in Guangzhou and Shanghai.<sup>186</sup> But according to the treaty signed on September 24, 1844, the French were only allowed to work on treaty ports, and anyone going into the interior would be arrested and sent to the nearest French consulate.<sup>187</sup> France's active involvement in Catholicism, particularly obtaining the protectorate of Christianity in China from the 1840s, has been seen by many scholars as a way for France to "offset the prestige and influence of her British rival"<sup>188</sup> in China. In his latest book, Ernest Young points out that although there was anti-clericalism in France from 1879, French authorities in China always carried their protections to extremes because it was helpful to their prominence in political maneuvering in the country.<sup>189</sup>

Although France's major interests was in Catholicism, it did want to gain additional influence in China. When Lagrené arrived at Guangzhou, he confided that the task he was given by the French king was to "maintain the treaty, obtain the peace, and should not instigate war...[and] also request the Chinese not to see France as inferior

---

<sup>186</sup> John K. Fairbank, "The Creation of the Treaty System", in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10, *Late Ch'ing 1800-1911*, Part 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p.224.

<sup>187</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 3, p.156.

<sup>188</sup> Paul A. Cohen, "Christian Missions and Their Impact to 1900", in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10, *Late Ch'ing 1800-1911*, Part 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p.552.

<sup>189</sup> Ernest P Young, *Ecclesiastical Colony: China's Catholic Church and the French Religious Protectorate* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.5-6; For French protectorate in China, also see H. M. Cole, "Origins of the French Protectorate Over Catholic Missions in China", *The American Journal of International Law* 34, 3 (Jul., 1940), pp.473-491.

barbarian.”<sup>190</sup> To achieve this goal, French and British ambassadors first tried to meet with Viceroy Ye Mingchen, and submit treaty revision requests through Ye to the emperor. The requests were all refused by the emperor.<sup>191</sup> Due to the failure of these attempts, the Anglo-French forces started the second Opium War (1856-1860) with excuses of the Arrow ship incident. In June 1858, Qing government was forced to sign a new treaty with Britain, France, Russia and the United States.<sup>192</sup>

From the Qing officials’ perspective, the relationship between the Qing and France in the late nineteenth century was not simply a religious one, but also a ritualistic one, as France was threatening the Qing Empire’s tributary state Vietnam in the southwest frontier. In 1883, France invaded Vietnam, and attempted to enter China from Guangxi province. General Liu Yongfu of the Qing managed to defend the invasions successfully initially. Seeing the difficulty of entering China from Guangxi, France turned to Guangdong province. Peng Yulin, one of the main generals who had been working closely with Zeng Guofan on guarding the south and southwest frontiers of the Qing Empire,<sup>193</sup> wrote to the emperor that: “Vietnam has been our tributary country for

---

<sup>190</sup> Wenqing, Zheng Jia and Baoyun, *Chouban yiwu shimo* (Complete record of the management of barbarian affairs) (Taibei: Guofeng chubanshe, 1963), pp. 324-325.

<sup>191</sup> Wenqing, Zheng Jia and Baoyun, *Chouban yiwu shimo* (Taibei: Guofeng chubanshe, 1963), pp. 325.

<sup>192</sup> John K. Fairbank, “The Creation of the Treaty System”, in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10, *Late Ch’ing 1800-1911*, Part 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p.249.

<sup>193</sup> When French army invaded Taiyuan of Shanxi province, the Zongli Yamen ordered Peng Yulin and viceroy of Guangdong and Guangxi Zhang Shusheng to recruit soldiers, reorganize local militia *tuanlian* and manage the defense; Feng Zicai, who was more familiar with the southwest frontier, was sent immediately to take charge of the army led by Huang Guilan, who was already fighting in the region. See Feng Zicai, “Jun du jiyao”, edited by Zhang Qingyun and Zhuang Bingheng, in *Zhong fa zhanzheng* (Sino-French War), eds., Zhongguo shixuehui, Shao Xunzheng et al., vol. 3 (Shanghai: Shiji chuban jituan, Shanghai renmin chubanshe, Shanghai shudian chubanshe chuban faxing, 2000), p.87.

more than two hundred years, and has been always submissive. Now it is bullied by this islander race, the consequence would be beyond imagination if we let Vietnam be absorbed by the barbarians.”<sup>194</sup> Furthermore, France’s persistent invasions posed not only a military threat, but also an attitude/relationship problem. He believed that after being defeated repeatedly in Guangxi by Liu Yongfu, France should have felt gratitude for the fact that the Qing army did not pursue and kill them all; in contrast, France continued to create opportunities for self-humiliation. For this reason alone, the French force in Vietnam should be crushed ruthlessly.<sup>195</sup> He also believed that expelling French forces in Vietnam could protect another tributary state Siam.<sup>196</sup> French military activities in the southwest border was closely monitored by the Qing government, top officials such as Li Hongzhang 李鴻章, Zuo Zongtang 左宗棠, Liu Kunyi 刘坤一, Zhang Shusheng 张树声 were ordered by the Zongli yamen to be cautious against France and to find the best way to resolve the matter.<sup>197</sup>

In reality, the Qing’s military triumph was quite limited in Vietnam, contributing to the signing of the Tianjin Accord soon. Liu Yongfu did manage to defeat the French several times at the beginning, including killing Henri Laurent Rivière (1827-1883), the

---

<sup>194</sup> “今以岛族凭凌，一旦弃同化外，似非所以字小之道”。See Peng Yulin, *Peng Yulin ji*, shang ce. Zou gao, dian gao (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2003), p.412.

<sup>195</sup> Peng Yulin, *Peng Yulin ji*, shang ce. Zou gao, dian gao (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2003), p. 348.

<sup>196</sup> Peng Yulin, *Peng Yulin ji*, shang ce. Zou gao, dian gao (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2003), p. 370-371.

<sup>197</sup> Memorial dated December 6, 1881, Guangdong sheng difang shizhi bianweihui bangongshi, Guangzhou shi difangzhi bianweihui bangongshi, eds., *Qing shilu Guangdong shiliao* (Source Materials on Guangdong from “The Veritable Records of the Qing”), vol. 6 (Guangzhou: Guangdong sheng ditu chubanshe, 1995), pp. 52-53.

commander of the Cochinchina naval division in 1883 in an ambush near Hanoi.<sup>198</sup> The death of Rivière provoked strong French anger, and more French soldiers were dispatched to Vietnam during the summer and autumn of 1883. Although the Qing government also sent reinforcement to this area, the coalition of Chinese and Vietnamese armies together was unable to resist French invasion. As a result, the Tianjin Accord was signed on May 11, 1884, in which China recognized French protectorate over Vietnam, and agreed to withdraw Chinese force from Vietnam.<sup>199</sup> The Sino-French War over Vietnam ended eventually in 1885.<sup>200</sup>

From the second Opium War to the Sino-French War over Vietnam, it is reasonable to say that by 1885, the relationship between the Qing and France had become quite antagonistic, even though “friendship” was officiated through several treaties signed between the two. The general defeat of the Qing and the forced-upon treaties determined that the Qing government would not accept the reality easily. This attitude would shape the mode of interactions between the two sovereignties in China for the remaining time of the Qing period, particularly on French protectorate of Catholicism.

---

<sup>198</sup> K. W. Taylor, *A History of the Vietnamese* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 470.

<sup>199</sup> K. W. Taylor, *A History of the Vietnamese* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 471; French version of the entire Tianjin Accord, see Albert Billot, *L'affaire du Tonkin: Histoire Diplomatique de l'Etablissement de Notre Protectorat Sur l'Annam et de Notre Conflit Avec la China 1882-1885; par un Diplomate* (Paris : Hetzel, 1888), pp. 416-417.

<sup>200</sup> More on Sino-French war over Vietnam, see Lewis M. Chere, *The Diplomacy of the Sino-French War (1883-1885): Global Complications of an Undeclared War* (Notre Dame, Ind.: Cross Cultural Publications, 1988); Zhongguo jindaishi congshu bianxiezu, *Zhongfa zhanzheng* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1972).

### **State and Christianity in the Qing Dynasty**

The Qing dynasty overall did not have detailed regulations on Christianity. The rulers either tolerated it or not. Under the Shunzhi (r.1643-1661) and Kangxi (r.1662-1722) emperors, Christianity was protected to a certain degree. One of the reasons was due to German Jesuit Adam Schall who worked for the court as an astronomer. With him working in Beijing, missionaries in the provinces were able to have a general peaceful time. There was only a brief period between 1664 and 1669 during the Calendar Case, when Schall lost favor, were missionaries across the country persecuted. During the Rites Controversy, although the Kangxi emperor began to dislike Catholicism, he did not really officially persecute it.

The Yongzheng emperor (r. 1722-1735) had a very negative attitude toward Christianity and his policies had a great impact on the fate of the religion until the 1840s. The Yongzheng emperor's distaste for Christianity had been developed over time. As a young prince, he witnessed the endless controversies over ritual and jurisdictional arguments between the Jesuits and other mission societies. When he was competing against other princes for the throne, a Portuguese Jesuit in court João Mourão (1681-1726) had supported his opponent. Furthermore, he worried about the loyalty of Chinese Christians. In a short meeting on July 1, 1724 with the Jesuits Ignatius Kögler, Dominique Parennin, and Joachim Bouvet, the emperor said:

During the reign of my father, you built churches in all provinces, and you have rapidly expanded. I saw it, but I did not dare to say anything. But if you have been able to deceive my father, do not hope to do the same with me. You want all the Chinese to become Christians. I know well that this is something required by your religion. But if that happens, what will we become? The subjects of your kings? Your Christians only recognize you, and in time of trouble they will listen



only to your voice. I know well that there is nothing to fear now. But when more and more boats come from your countries, then there could be disorder.<sup>201</sup>

Culture wise, the Yongzheng emperor suspected that practicing Christianity would break down the Chinese social norm that was based on Confucian ethics particularly ancestral worship. His policy towards Christianity was heavily affected by a Manchu-language memorial sent to him by a Manchu official named Famin 法敏 in the Board of Rites in 1723. In this memorial, the official stated that:

Those who joined this religion neglect completely their parents, brothers, wives, and children, and respect only the Lord of Heaven. Moreover, they were given printed symbols of the Lord of Heaven to paste on their doors, and this is truly a treasonous and heterodox act of great gravity. Without any previous relationship, and without an apparent reason, they distribute money to people, trapping their minds, and they certainly must have some [secret] intention. If we do not forbid [those teachings], they will spread everywhere. Now, in the compilation offices for the imperial calendar, we still need these [Western] people, and with exception of their servants and cooks, no Manchu, Mongol, Chinese bannermen (hanjun 汉军) or Chinese, including also the bondservants and the slaves, should be allowed to come and go [from and to their quarters]. Officials and soldiers should be sent to the places where the Westerners live in the capital to exert surveillance over them, and in the provinces local military and civil officials should be given orders to enforce the [full] prohibition. Anyone who violates the order shall be punished severely. Only by doing this would they rectify their minds and those who already joined these teachings would leave voluntarily.<sup>202</sup>

Influenced by this memorial, the Yongzheng emperor ordered all provinces to investigate foreign missionaries and send them to Guangzhou and Macau. Local officials

---

<sup>201</sup> Louis-Aimé Martin, ed., *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses concernant l'Asie, l'Afrique et l'Amérique: avec quelques relations nouvelles des missions, et des notes géographiques et historiques*. 1875-77. 4 vols (Paris: Paul Daffis Libraire-Éditeur), vol: 3, p.364, cited in Eugenio Menegon, *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars: Christianity as Local Religion in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2009), p.120.

<sup>202</sup> Guan Xiaolian et al., ed., *Yongzheng chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe quan yi* (A complete translation of the Manchu-language vermilion-rescripted memorials from the Yongzhen era) (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1998), vol. 1, no. 59, dated the 10<sup>th</sup> day of 2<sup>nd</sup> month of 1<sup>st</sup> year of Yongzheng (Mar. 16, 1723), pp.30-31.

in Fujian, Jiangsu, and Guangdong pasted the announcement to the public, conducted extensive campaigns on this issue and reported their findings to the emperor.<sup>203</sup> In 1729, the Yongzheng emperor dispatched a secret letter to all provincial governors, expressing his deep concern over local stability caused by the presence of Western missionaries and the conversion of Chinese. Following the Yongzheng emperor's order, local magistrates made inventory of church properties, pasted public announcements forbidding practicing Christianity, and confiscated building materials belonged to churches. Those who were already Christians were ordered to abandon the religion. Encouraged by the official order, many Christian properties were taken by non-Christians to use for other purposes. As a result, many pious Christian individuals and communities either went underground, or escaped to the mountains in order to maintain their faith.<sup>204</sup>

The Qianlong emperor (r. 1735-96) adopted the Yongzheng emperor's policies toward Christianity, although he did not initiate large-scale campaign against Christianity until 1746. The Qianlong reign was a largely peaceful period for most missionaries. In 1738, the emperor did give orders prohibiting members of Eight Banners from joining Christianity.<sup>205</sup> The campaign in 1746, however, was not initiated by the emperor

---

<sup>203</sup> Wu Min and Han Qi, ed., *Ouzhou suocang Yongzheng Qianlong chao Tianzhujiao wenxian huibian* (A Collection of Yongzheng and Qianlong Era [Chinese Language] Documents on Catholicism Preserved in Europe) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2008), pp.19-36.

<sup>204</sup> To see a copy of local officials' announcement following the imperial edict, please see Wu Min and Han Qi, ed., *Ouzhou suocang Yongzheng Qianlong chao Tianzhujiao wenxian huibian* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2008), pp.45-46; One of the best works on how Christian communities managed to maintain their faith under suppression during the Yongzheng period is Kang Zhijie, *Shang Zhu de putao yuan: E xibei Mopan Shan Tianzhujiao shequ yanjiu, 1634-2005* (In the Lord's vineyard: a study of northwest Hubei's Popan shan Catholic community). (Taibei: Furen daxue chubanshe, 2006).

<sup>205</sup> Eugenio Menegon, *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars: Christianity as Local Religion in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2009), p.129.

himself. It was rather a response to an accusation of heterodoxy leveled against these foreign missionaries by one Zhou Xuejian, an official in Funing of Fujian. Zhou persuaded the emperor that due to the crimes they committed, foreign missionaries deserved capital punishment instead of being expelled to Macau.<sup>206</sup> As a result of Zhou's success, all foreign missionaries arrested were executed. Thus, the Yongzheng emperor's policies toward Christianity had not been altered in general in the subsequent reigns, nor had much new regulations been added to it. In practice, Christianity enjoyed a period of quiet development despite occasional small scale anti-Christianity campaigns. Eugenio Menegon finds that in Mindong of Fujian province, the number of Christians and clergies actually increased by the end of the first two decades of the Daoguang era (1821-50).<sup>207</sup>

It was not until the Opium War that the Qing government's policies toward Christianity changed fundamentally. The Treaty of Nanjing and the Treaty of the Bogue (*humen* 虎门) signed in 1842 with Britain, and Treaty of Whampoa (*Huangpu* 黄埔) signed in December 1844 with France, and the Treaty of Wangxia 望厦 signed in 1844 with the United States, gave foreign missionaries freedom to build churches within treaty ports, which included Guangzhou, Shanghai, Fuzhou, Ningbo, and Xiamen. Extraterritoriality that was given to all foreigners also applied to foreign missionaries, which meant the missionaries were immune to Chinese laws. At this point, they were still forbidden to enter interior China, but they would be simply sent to the nearest consul if

---

<sup>206</sup> For a detailed account of the 1746 incident, see Eugenio Menegon, *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars: Christianity as Local Religion in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2009), pp.133-137.

<sup>207</sup> Eugenio Menegon, *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars: Christianity as Local Religion in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2009), p.146.

they were caught. According to these treaties, Chinese government should not punish Chinese Christians either. Furthermore, churches built from the Kangxi reign on, “if still standing and not otherwise in use,” should be returned to Christians.<sup>208</sup>

Nonetheless, it was the Sino-French negotiations that eventually abolished the century-long Yongzheng emperor’s ban on Christianity in China. On December 28, 1844, Théodose de Lagrené obtained an imperial edict to revoke the Yongzheng emperor’s ban of Christianity.<sup>209</sup> Later on February 20, 1846, the Qing government issued imperial edict allowing previously confiscated church properties during the Yongzheng reign returned to Christians and the edict arrived at Guangzhou on March 18. The full text was the following:

Catholicism teaches people to be good, those who follow it should not be punished, their places of worship, together with their crosses, pictures and books, should not be banned..., all the churches in the provinces existed during the Kangxi reign, except those had been transformed into temples and residential houses, should be returned to Christians after careful investigations. After all provincial officials received this edict, those who still arrest Christians who were not bandit members shall be punished. ...According to the regulations, foreigners are not allowed to go to the interior of China.<sup>210</sup>

The above treaties enabled foreign missionaries and Chinese Christians to enjoy more freedom, until the Xianfeng emperor (r. 1850-1861) took the throne. The Xianfeng

---

<sup>208</sup> Paul A. Cohen, “Christian Missions and Their Impact to 1900”, in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10, *Late Ch’ing 1800-1911*, Part 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p.550; Gary Tiedemann, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China*, Vol. 2: *1800 to the Present* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), p.296; For details of Treaty of Nanjing, Treaty of Bogue, and Treaty of Huangpu, see Wang Tieya ed., *Zhongwai jiu yuezhang huibian* (Compilation of former treaties and conventions between China and foreign countries) (Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhishilian shudian, 1957), vol. 1, pp.32, 35, 62.

<sup>209</sup> Full text of the edict, see Wenqing, Zheng Jia and Baoyun, eds, *Chouban yiwu shimo* (*Daoguang chao*) (Taipei: Guofeng chubanshe, 1963), p.2898.

<sup>210</sup> Angelus Francis J. Gross-Aschhoff, *The Negotiations Between Ch’i-ying and Lagrené, 1844-1846* (St. Bonaventure, N.Y.: Franciscan Institute, 1950), pp.20-21; Chinese record of the negotiation can be seen in *Zhongguo diyi lishi dang’anguan*, Fujian shifan daxue lishi xi, eds., *Qingmo jiao’an* (Late Qing Religious Cases) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), vol. 1, pp. 2-18.

emperor had a negative view on foreigners in general. However, the Xianfeng emperor's dislike of foreign missionaries and Christianity was soon forced to be replaced by even more favorable treaties toward Christianity. France signed two treaties in 1858 and 1860 as part of the Sino-French agreement. The treaty signed in 1858 was called the Treaty of Tianjin, and the one signed in 1860 was called "convention". Among the treaty clauses, those concerning Christianity were:

Article eight of Treaty of Tianjin between Russia and the Qing, signed on June 13, 1858:

The Chinese Government, considering missionaries as good men, seeking for no material advantage, will permit them to propagate Christianity among its subjects, and will not prevent them from moving about in the interior of the empire. A certain number of missionaries leaving open towns or port shall be provided with passports signed by the Russian Authorities.<sup>211</sup>

The American Treaty of Tianjin, signed on June 18, 1858:

The principles of the Christian religion, as professed by the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches, are recognized as teaching men to do good, and to do to others as they would have others do to them. Hereafter those who quietly profess and teach these doctrines shall not be harassed or persecuted on account of their faith. Any person, whether citizen of the United States, or Chinese convert, who, according to these tenets, peaceably teaches and practices the principles of Christianity shall in no case be interfered with or molested. Christian missionaries have full liberty to preach & propagate the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ in every and all parts of the Chinese Empire.<sup>212</sup>

One of the most substantial results of the second Opium War was the signing of the Sino-French Convention of Beijing on October 25, 1860, as it paved the way for the subsequent Sino-French interactions up to the communist takeover of China. Article

---

<sup>211</sup> English translation reproduced in Vi Kyuin Wellington Koo, *The Status of Aliens in China*, (Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, 50, 2=126) (New York: Columbia University, 1912), p. 292, cited in Gary Tiedemann, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China*, Vol. 2: *1800 to the Present* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), p.298.

<sup>212</sup> This article was drafted by American Presbyterian missionaries S. Wells Williams and W.A.P. Martin. Cited in Michael C. Lazich, *E.C. Bridgman (1801-1861), America's First Missionary to China* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 2000), p. 365.

thirteen of the treaty gave missionaries freedom to preach Catholicism anywhere in the country and gave Chinese followers the freedom to practice Catholicism. All previous official documents that denounced Christianity were revoked. There were some discrepancies between French and Chinese texts regarding article six. The French text regulated that all confiscated churches should be restored. The Chinese text was as following:

It shall be promulgated throughout the length and breadth of the land, in the terms of the Imperial Edict of the 20th of February, 1846, that it is permitted to all people in all parts of China to propagate and practice the “teachings of the Lord of Heaven,” to meet together for the preaching of the doctrine, to build churches and to worship; further all such as indiscriminately arrest (Christians) shall be duly punished; and such churches, schools, cemeteries, lands, and buildings, as were owned on former occasions by persecuted Christians shall be paid for, and the money handed to the French representative in Peking, for transmission to the Christians in the localities concerned. It is, in addition, permitted to French missionaries to rent and purchase land in all the Provinces, and to erect buildings thereon at pleasure.<sup>213</sup>

The last clause in the Chinese text regarding missionaries’ right to purchase land was the first official edict in the Qing dynasty to offer property rights to foreign missionaries, and this was not part of the original French text.<sup>214</sup> However, the discrepancy between the Chinese and French texts contributed to subsequent negotiations

---

<sup>213</sup> English translation in Edward Hertslet, Hertslet’s China treaties. *Treaties, & amp; c. between Great Britain and China; and between China and foreign powers; and orders in council, rules, regulations, acts of Parliament, decrees, & amp; c. affecting British interests in China. In force on the 1<sup>st</sup> January 1908* (London: Printed for H. M. Stationary off., by Harrison and sons, 1908), quoted in Vi Kyuin Wellington Koo, *The status of Aliens in China*, (Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, 50, 2=126) (New York: Columbia University, 1912), p. 293 note. 1.

<sup>214</sup> The French text is: “conformément à l’édit imperial rendu le 20 Mars, 1846, par l’auguste empereur Tao-kououng, les établissements religieux et de bienfaïance qui ont été confisqués aux Chrétiens pendant les persécutions don’t ils ont été victims, seront rendus à leurs propriétaires par l’entremise de son excellence le Minister de France en Chine auquel le Gouvernement Impérial les fera délivrer avec les cimetières et les autres edifices qui en dépendaient.” The original French text can be found at Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, Taiwan. Cited in Kang Zhijie, *Shangzhu de Putaoyuan: Exibei Mopanshan Tianzhujiao Shequ Yanjiu, 1634-2005* (Taipei: Furen daxue chubanshe, 2006), p.110.

between France and the Qing, particularly over foreign missionaries' rights to purchase properties in China.

In response to these treaty regulations on Christianity, the Qing government also deleted earlier negative regulations on Catholicism when they revised and republished the Great Qing Legal Code (*Da Qing lü li* 大清律例) in 1870. In 1892, there were some unofficial new editions of the Great Qing Legal Code, which still contained the prior-1870 regulations on Catholicism. The French Legation in China complained about it in 1895, and the Qing government promised to send officials to find these unofficial versions of the book and delete those outdated articles.<sup>215</sup> If such unofficial versions of the Code were found in any bookstore, such bookstores would be forced to destroy these pages on old regulations of Christianity in China. All the officials in the provinces were also ordered to do so.<sup>216</sup>

Despite signing of these treaties, the Qing government's policies on Christianity were still quite guarded. On February 9, 1871, the Zongli yamen sent a series of regulations on Christianity to all treaty powers. Article one abolished Catholic orphanages or at least they should only include Christian children. Article two suggested that Chinese women should not be permitted to enter foreign churches and female missionaries should not be allowed to work in China. Article three asked that missionaries should not interfere in Chinese lawsuits. Article four announced that Chinese and foreigners were equal in front of Chinese laws, and missionaries should not

---

<sup>215</sup> F6.7\_033, 034. Ricci Archives.

<sup>216</sup> Letter from Extraordinary envoy of the Republic of France at Beijing to French Consul at Guangzhou, dated 1 October 1895. F6.7\_031. Ricci Archives; Auguste Gérard, *Ma Mission En Chine (1893-197)* (Paris, Plon-Nourrit et cie, 1918), pp. 84-85.

protect Christians who were guilty of crimes. Article five offered new guidelines for issuing passports to French missionaries. Passports should be specified by provincial officials and should not be transferred to Chinese Christians. Those who carried the passport should not go beyond that area. Article six demanded that the church should register the names of all members of the religion with the local *baojia*, and allow Chinese authorities to inspect the church. Article seven stated that missionaries should adhere to the established institutions and customs of China. They should not submit official communications *zhaohui* 照会 to yamens but should use the petition *bing* 禀 form of correspondence with Chinese officials. Moreover, they should observe proper etiquette and not barge into the yamens. Article eight was about properties. It regulated that missionaries did not have the right to designate any building of confiscated church property they wished to have returned to them. In property transactions the parties concerned should submit the matter to the local authorities who would investigate to ensure that there was no conflict with Chinese geomantic notions and no opposition from the local people.<sup>217</sup> The regulations were fiercely opposed by missionaries. The harshest criticism came from the MEP missionary André-Félix-Chrysostome-Joseph Gennevoise. He even wrote a pamphlet to refute this.<sup>218</sup>

The evolution of the content in these treaties regarding Christianity in China demonstrates that although legally foreign missionaries gained more freedom in spreading the religion in China, the Qing government was still reluctant to give them full

---

<sup>217</sup> Handbook, p.315.

<sup>218</sup> Paul A. Cohen, *China and Christianity: the Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860-1870* (Harvard East Asian Series, 11) (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963), pp.257-259.



freedom in China. This determined that in practice, missionaries would encounter difficulties, and the negotiations would continue.

### **Surviving under the Imperial Government**

The signing of those treaties after the Opium War did not guarantee proper execution of all the articles in the Qing Empire; rather it was the beginning of constant negotiations and perfection of written texts and practical procedures of related issues. Even in the immediate aftermath of the first Opium War, when the Qing was defeated and the Treaty of Nanjing was forced upon the Qing, the local government still took rather strong stance in dealings with Western powers. Governor Ye Mingchen of Guangdong and Guangxi provinces even refused to receive delegates from those treaty countries. It was partially due to the hard attitudes of the Qing officials that Britain and France, together with Russia and the United States, insisted revision of treaties that were signed earlier, resulting in the second Opium War. As a result of subsequent treaties, Britain and France obtained part of Guangzhou city, Shamian as a concession. From then on, they abandoned the Cohong, and instead concentrated on managing Shamian. Foreign consuls, banks, and other business headquarters moved to this concession, making Shamian a political, cultural and commercial center for foreigners living in Guangzhou.

While the Qing government was determined to restrict missionaries' property rights in China, France's aim was to maximize the rights of missionaries. The process of negotiation was not only a game of words, but also a game based on political strengths. It was one of the examples to show the close connection between rhetorical skill and

political power. French missionaries participated actively in treaty negotiations with the Qing, and also benefitted greatly from the treaties. Many scholars argue that French missionaries had for some time been trying to gain French governmental support in their dealings with the Qing government.<sup>219</sup> It is believed that the additional clause on missionaries' right to buy land in China was added by the MEP priest Louis-Charles Delamarre (1810-1863) who acted as interpreter for the French Legation, Eugène-Herman (baron) de Méritens (1832-1898?).<sup>220</sup> Although French missionaries were allowed to purchase land and houses in the interior of China, the actual procedure of such acquisitions brought argument between the French minister in China and the Zongli yamen. Their negotiations on this subject resulted in two conventions, one was the Berthemy Convention of 1865, and the other was the Gérard Convention of 1895.

Not only purchasing and renting properties in China was difficult, but in the early years after the signing of the treaty of 1844, even European missionaries' safety in China was often under jeopardy. For example, in 1855, priest Jacquemin in Jiaying prefecture of Guangdong province was put into prison for five months. In 1853, Father Chapdelaine, was arrested by the sub-prefect of Xilin county only ten days after his arrival at

---

<sup>219</sup> Jean-Paul Wiest, "Understanding Mission and the Jesuits' Shifting Approaches toward China", in *Missionary Approaches and Linguistics in Mainland China and Taiwan*, edited by Gu Weiyang (Leuven: Leuven University Press: Ferdinand Verbiest Fondation, 2001).

<sup>220</sup> Louis Tsing-sing Wei, *La politique missionnaire de la France en Chine 1842-1856. L'ouverture des cinq ports chinois au commerce étranger et la liberté religieuse* (Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1960), p. 457 ; Paul A. Cohen, *China and Christianity: the Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860-1870* (Harvard East Asian Series, 11) (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 298-299, note 13. This was not the only time when missionaries acted in such role for religious purposes. American Presbyterian missionary S. Wells Williams, while serving as the Secretary of the Legation of U.S.A. in China, also secured the clause in the American treaty with China in 1858 regarding the toleration of Christianity. Harriet Newell Noyes, *History of the South China Mission of the American Presbyterian Church, 1845-1920* (Shanghai, Printed at the Presbyterian mission Press, 1927), p.6.

the destination. Father Chapdelaine eventually died due to torture in prison.<sup>221</sup> Two decades later, the situation overall was still quite challenging to the MEP. In various apostolic vicariates of China, there were continuous persecutions. In Sichuan, Father Hue and Father Tay, two indigenous priests, were massacred on September 5, 1873. Three mission stations in Tibet were completely destroyed. Father Baptifaud was murdered in Yunnan.<sup>222</sup>

### **The Berthemy Convention of 1865**

Right after the signing of Treaty of Tianjin between the Qing and France in 1858, the governor, minister of war and the Inspector General of Guangdong and Guangxi provinces together ordered all the local governments of Guangdong province to return churches and houses that were confiscated earlier, and to paste announcement of the returning of friendship between China and France, and French citizen enjoyed the same rights as those of British, Germans, and Americans in China.<sup>223</sup>

According to the treaty regulations, missionaries had the right to buy and rent property in interior China, but should be in the name of Catholic mission, not individual priests. The new French minister plenipotentiary, Jules-François-Gustave Berthemy (1826-1902) also warned missionaries that the article six of the Sino-French Convention

---

<sup>221</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 3, pp. 330-335.

<sup>222</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères* (Paris: Téqui, 1894), vol. 3, p.507.

<sup>223</sup> C11.3\_005. Ricci Archives.

should not be seen as legal protection for them to accumulate land for profit, rather the property obtained should only be used for religious purposes.

In practice, this posed great difficulty for missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, to purchase or rent properties in China. American Presbyterian missionary Andrew P. Happer reported around 1846 that:

The treaty required that when any Chinese were willing to rent to any American the matter should be reported to the Chinese officials through the Consul that they might inquire if it was all correct. The result was that in every case the owners who were willing to rent were imprisoned for being willing to rent to foreigners. In some cases under false pretexts they were deprived of their houses, and one died in prison. My colleague Mr. French<sup>224</sup> and I were twice driven out of a home we had rented.<sup>225</sup>

To make the procedure simple, Berthemy negotiated with the Zongli yamen in 1865, ruling that from then on, any Chinese citizen who sold property to Catholic church only needed to state in the contract that: “I <name> intend to sell my property to the Catholic church and to make this property part of the communal property of the church.” There was no need to write the name of Christians and missionaries, and no need to obtain approval from local government either. On February 20, 1865, the Zongli yamen informed the French ambassador in China, Mr. Berthemy that official documents had been sent to provincial officials about procedures regarding missionaries’ land and house purchases in interior China. The property deeds only needed to include the name of the seller, stating that the seller was willing to sell his/her property to the Catholic Church,

---

<sup>224</sup> John Booth French: came to China in 1846, and embarked on a ship sailing for America in November 1858 due to health issue, and died on the voyage at the end of November. Harriet Newell Noyes, *History of the South China Mission of the American Presbyterian Church, 1845-1920* (Shanghai, Printed at the Presbyterian mission Press, 1927), p.11.

<sup>225</sup> Harriet Newell Noyes, *History of the South China Mission of the American Presbyterian Church, 1845-1920* (Shanghai, Printed at the Presbyterian mission Press, 1927), p.8.

and it was unnecessary to include names of the missionaries and Chinese Christians.

Together with this letter, the Zongli yamen attached a copy of an official letter sent by the Zongli yamen to the governor of Jiangsu province Li Hongzhang, in which instructing Li to follow the above regulations.<sup>226</sup> The regulations that were concluded during the negotiations between Berthemy and the Zongli yamen became the guiding rules for French ministers later.

In 1871, the Chinese government created a complete set of regulations for all foreign missionaries in China, and it specifically stated how they should buy properties in China in practice:

If the missionaries wanted to purchase a piece of land for the construction of a church or to rent a house to be their residence, they should verify the property with the local authority before the conclusion of the transaction. The local officials will examine to see if the construction would damage the *fengshui*. If the official did not find any damage to the *fengshui*, they would consult the local residents near the location. The transaction could only be finalized only all the residents had no objection. In purchasing a property, it was not allowed to use the name other than the true purchaser.<sup>227</sup>

The French minister of foreign affairs Du Comte de Rochechouart refuted the entire regulation and saw it as the Chinese government's intention to remove missionaries' liberty in China.<sup>228</sup> Subsequently the practical procedure on this matter was debated by the ministers of France and the Zongli yamen for thirty years, from 1865 to 1895, and the problem was not completely resolved by the end of the imperial regime.

---

<sup>226</sup> "Lettre du Tsong-Li Ya-Men à M. Berthemy, ministre de France", le 20 Février 1865, ABF, *Convention Berthemy*, pp.2-3.

<sup>227</sup> Prosper Giquel, *La politique française en chine : depuis les traités de 1858 et de 1860* (Paris : Librairie de Guillaumin, 1872), p.64. The book is from Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

<sup>228</sup> Prosper Giquel, *La politique française en chine : depuis les traités de 1858 et de 1860* (Paris : Librairie de Guillaumin, 1872), pp.67-70. The book is from Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

*Case 1:*

On the fifth day of the fifth month of 1879, the custom commissioner of Beihai visited Lianzhou with a foreign missionary. While touring the city, they took some photos with their camera and then returned to Beihai. This raised the suspicion of the majority of the local population. Some said that these foreigners had stayed in the home of Chinese Catholic Zhou Chaodong 周朝栋. After some voluntary investigation, it came to know that Zhou had purchased two houses for the construction of a chapel. Hearing this, the local population became agitated. Seeing the developing situation, Zhou escaped to Beihai. The local people, under the leadership of some local gentry, went to the house of the sellers Cai Jungui 蔡君贵 and Wu, demanding they get back their houses from the buyer Zhou. While Wu agreed immediately, Cai refused to do so. On the 22<sup>nd</sup> day of the same month, hundreds of people dragged Cai to the office of the local magistrate Lu Chuanlin 鹿传霖. A court session was immediately arranged, with thousands of local population as audience. Cai confessed that he sold his house to Lu Yuheng 陆毓恒, the Confucian instructor (*jiaoyu* 教谕) of Hepu county, who later sold it to Zhou. Under interrogation, Lu claimed that because Cai owed him money, so Cai mortgaged his house to Lu, and later Cai sold this house to Zhou and used the price to pay off the debt. In any case, Cai was put in jail, and Lu was ordered to get the house back from Zhou. The agitated local mob was persuaded by the magistrate to go home and wait for the result quietly. Seller Wu, who agreed to get the house back from the very beginning, was told by Zhou to wait for the decision on the case of Cai. If Cai's house should be returned, then Zhou would return both houses at the same time. Three days later, Zhou did not

return any of the houses. The local crowd again came together to discuss about the solution.<sup>229</sup>

As the case was pending, and the local population became more and more angry and the situation was increasingly going out of control, the magistrate initiated thorough investigation and at the same time reported the case to the Zongli yamen. The French consul Gérard at Beihai also imposed pressure to magistrate Lu for proper solution of this matter.

While the case was under investigation, a placard appeared in the city of Lianzhou. It said that:

Zhou Huixiang 周会详's second son, nicknamed Dougu Er 豆鼓二 (Black beans chilli No.2), whose harmful activities are beyond counting, joined the Catholic Church last year. He often hosts foreigners at home and cheats them of their money. None of his neighbors complained and they tolerated his behaviors, and thus have created such serious trouble that he even brought barbarians to take photos at the Small Southern Gate for the construction of a chapel. There is also the ignorant fellow Cai Jinyu Chang 蔡金鱼肠 (Cai the golden fish intestine), who gobbled his brother and friends' money, and has made a fortune for himself. He sold the house that was built by his grandfather and a piece of land that bought from his lineage fellow illegally so those barbarians can have their chapel. As long as you are a gentleman and someone who knows what justice is, please unite with us to report them to the magistrate as soon as possible!<sup>230</sup>

Magistrate Lu was aware of the treaties on missionaries' right to buy and rent properties in China, and knew that there was nothing fundamentally wrong with what Zhou did. Zhou was a native of Gaozhou and he came to Lianzhou to preach Catholicism. The problem was, explained by Lu, missionaries needed to report their intent of purchase to their consul, and the consul would discuss with local officials to see if the purchase

---

<sup>229</sup> Zhong Guiyong and Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, ed., *Jiaowu jiaoan dang* (Archives of religious affairs and cases) (Taibei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 1974), vol. 4, pp.1336-1337.

<sup>230</sup> *Jiaowu jiaoan dang*, vol. 4, pp.1336-1338.

and the construction of a chapel at a particular location was proper. Zhou did not report to the French consul and bought the property secretly, so it was invalid.<sup>231</sup>

Consul Shi accused magistrate Lu for not knowing the supplemental treaty between China and France and an imperial edict dated the 25<sup>th</sup> day of the 1<sup>st</sup> month in 1846, in which it is stated that all the subject of the emperor were allowed to practice Catholicism and build chapels. Anyone who persecuted it should be arrested and punished. All the previously confiscated properties including houses and land should be restituted. Shi demanded magistrate Lu to provide concrete evidences to prove that Zhou committed crimes before so that he deserved to be described as someone who “had a bad reputation.” Otherwise his purchases should be considered valid as he had property deeds and witnesses.

Shi’s dissatisfaction was based on not only the purchasing contracts, but also the use of “barbarian” in the placards, and the mass protest against foreigners’ purchasing of properties in Lianzhou. The treaties had clearly forbid the Chinese to use the word “barbarian” to refer to foreigners. Yet commoners still used it in the placard. Besides, since the incident, people were frightened to hear that the seller was put in prison because he sold house to foreigners. So nobody dared to sell anything to foreigners anymore. This meant that foreigners would have no chance to reside even in treaty port.<sup>232</sup>

Magistrate Lu provided a statement of repentance written by Zhou Yaliu, Zhou Chaodong’s brother. Zhou Yaliu 周亚六 once stole some clothes and money in 1873 and was caught. He was forced to write this statement of repentance as promise that he would

---

<sup>231</sup> *Jiaowu jiaoan dang*, vol. 4, pp.1339—1340.

<sup>232</sup> *Jiaowu jiaoan dang*, vol. 4, pp. pp.1341-1342.



not do it again, so the neighbors did not report him to the police.<sup>233</sup> Nonetheless, this statement of repentance could not prove to consul Shi that Zhou Chaodong was someone had a major moral problem. Zhou Yaliu was not a Catholic. He and Zhou Chaodong had split as a household a while ago, and Zhou Yaliu had nothing to do with the purchase of the houses.<sup>234</sup>

In the end, the French consul accepted the way magistrate Lu resolved the case, but demanded that an official announcement was posted in the city, informing the local population about treaty articles. The announcement said that:

We are informing you about the resolution of the case regarding the purchase of a house by Catholic Zhou. As there were many twists and turns, he did not inform the neighbors about the transaction, causing much panic among you. Now both transactions have been nulled, and houses returned to the sellers. You should ease your mind. French consul Shi has requested us to show you the treaty articles. We reassure you that foreign missionaries came here to spread their religion and to teach people to be kind and it is allowed by the emperor. You should respect the treaties and not to prejudice against Chinese Christians and cause trouble. Chinese Christians should not rely on the protection of their religion and create disorder too.<sup>235</sup>

The announcement was followed by a copy of article eight of Sino-British treaty, article ten of Sino-French treaty, and article six of Sino-French supplemental treaty.

The annulment of the transactions and the pasting of announcement did not mark the close of this case. Soon after Zhou returned the houses, the angry local people demanded him to return another house that was purchased by him from Wu Binghui in 1877. Some even forced Zhou's wife to submit the deed of their residential house to the magistrate for verification, but the deed was never returned to Zhou. There was also rumor that Yuheng, the *jiaoyu* of Hepu County was removed from his position due to his

---

<sup>233</sup> *Jiaowu jiaoan dang*, vol. 4, p.1343.

<sup>234</sup> *Jiaowu jiaoan dang*, vol. 4, p.1347.

<sup>235</sup> *Jiaowu jiaoan dang*, vol. 4, p.1349—1350.

involvement in this case, and militia groups were formed at various parts of the city to prevent the entrance of foreigners.<sup>236</sup>

This whole story began with the purchase of two houses by a Chinese Catholic for the construction of a chapel. As the story unfolded, it became more and more complicated. The attitude of the French consul had been consistent: all he wanted were full liberty to missionaries in China and simplifying their property buying procedure. Magistrate Lu, however, had more to worry about. Firstly, he did not want the incident to evolve into a mass riot by the local population, which would prove his incompetence as an official. Secondly, while it was important to maintain his dignity as a Chinese official, he did not want to bear the accusation by the French consul for being “unfamiliar with treaty articles.” As to the local people, some got involved because they simply did not want to see foreigners there. Others might just saw it as an opportunity to occupy others’ properties.

The Sino-French War from 1884 to 1885 brought the negotiation to a sudden halt. In 1884, France invaded Vietnam and attempted to enter China.<sup>237</sup> Although the two countries were in hostility, Zhang Zhidong 张之洞, the Governor-General of Guangdong and Guangxi provinces, did not confiscate properties belonging to the MEP. Instead he protected their properties by temporarily sealing all the churches and chapels. He asked French missionaries and merchants to retreat to Hong Kong temporarily, and ordered local officials not to persecute Chinese Catholics and priests. When the war was over, he removed the seals from church properties and returned them to the mission. He also

---

<sup>236</sup> *Jiaowu jiaolan dang*, vol. 4, p.1350-1352.

<sup>237</sup> *Qing Guangxu chao zhongfa jiaoshe shiliao* (22 juan) vol. 16 (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1967).

pasted imperial edict announcing that France and China had resumed their friendship, and French citizens should be treated as equally as citizens of any other Western nation. The MEP requested compensation for whatever damages they had suffered during the war, but it was declined by Zhang.<sup>238</sup> The French Legation in Beijing also suggested Bishop Chausse to wait for “more favorable” circumstances to ask for compensations for past damages so to improve chances of success.<sup>239</sup>

The impact of the Sino-French War was nationwide, and other provinces especially those near the battlefield such as Guizhou, Yunnan and Guangxi also witnessed many anti-French and anti-Catholic activities. Many Christians moved to other places for safety. As a result, under the request of the French consul, similar official announcements were pasted at those places as well. For example, one was pasted outside the county yamen of Gaoyao by magistrate Wang in December 1886, assuring people that officials would treat Christians and non-Christians equally, urging local population not to prejudice against Chinese Christian.<sup>240</sup> In the announcements pasted by officials of Guangzhou, Nanhai and Panyu, local militias and gentry were ordered to suppress immediately if there was anti-Christian activity.<sup>241</sup>

Besides demanding official announcements be pasted almost everywhere across the country to ensure better treatment of missionaries and Chinese Catholics, the winning of the war also gave the French authorities more confidence in general in their dealings with the imperial government of China. In order to clarify one of the articles of the Treaty

---

<sup>238</sup> *Jiaowu jiaolan dang*, vol. 4, p. 1390.

<sup>239</sup> Letter from French Legation in Beijing to Bishop Chausse, dated April 6, 1892. F2.1\_014. Ricci Archives.

<sup>240</sup> C11.3\_002. Ricci Archives.

<sup>241</sup> C11.3\_004. Ricci Archives.

of Beijing, Mr. Berthemy succeeded at concluding an agreement with the Chinese government. The agreement recognized the missionaries' right to purchase properties without prior authorization by local officials. However, the practical impact of this agreement was rather short-lived.

Besides the dispatch of imperial decrees, the Legation of France in China and Father Chausse, the Vicar Apostolic of Guangdong, continued to push the Qing government to execute every article in the decree. Negotiating with the Zongli yamen was time-consuming if not futile due to its slow progress. After some exchanges and negotiations through mails, the Legation of France in China advised that Father Chausse, together with the French consul at Guangzhou, should negotiate an agreement with the local Chinese authorities at Guangzhou.<sup>242</sup> They eventually realized that it might be more efficient to bypass the Zongli yamen and to negotiate with the lower level of the bureaucracy directly.

### **The Gérard Convention of 1895**

After the anti-Christian incident in Lezhi county of Sichuan province, Auguste Gérard<sup>243</sup> (1852-1922), the new French minister, wrote to the Zongli yamen to complain about it on July 6, 1894. The Zongli yamen replied that, based on the official document that was concluded in Shengjing in 1869 and the regulations from the Convention of Berthemy, whoever intended to sell property to Catholic missionaries should obtain

---

<sup>242</sup> Letter from French Legation in Chian to Chausse, dated December 14, 1891. F2.1\_013. Ricci Archives.

<sup>243</sup> His Chinese name was Shi Alan 施阿兰.

approval from local officials first. In his reply dated July 24, 1894, Gérard pointed out that it was clearly stipulated in the Convention of Berthemy that sellers no longer needed to obtain official approval anymore. He attached previous treaty stipulations to the Zongli yamen to demonstrate that local officials were not following the treaty regulations. Furthermore, he argued that the procedure regulated in the treaty is derived from Chinese customary law because, “in China, when one wants to buy property, they seller and the buyer can make contract by themselves, and then show the contract to local authorities in order to obtain documents on taxation and ownership, so to avoid cheating and lawsuits. They always do so after the transaction, not before. The Catholic Church are following the same practice, and not adding new rules to the customary practices.” He requested the Zongli yamen to send the official regulations of the Convention of Berthemy to officials at all levels.<sup>244</sup>

The Zongli yamen insisted that local officials were just following the old treaties,<sup>245</sup> and they assured the French minister that the updated version of the treaty would be sent soon, and after that official approval of missionaries’ property deeds would not be required. The French minister was satisfied with this solution, and also sent the instructions to all French consuls and directors of Catholic missions in China written in both Chinese and French.<sup>246</sup>

---

<sup>244</sup> “Dépêche de M. Gérard, Ministre de la République Française en Chine, à Son Altesse Mgr. Le Prince K’ing et à Leurs Excellences MM. Les Ministres Du Tsong-Li Ya Men”, Pékin, le 24 Juillet 1894, ABF, *Convention Berthemy*, pp.6-13.

<sup>245</sup> “Dépêche du Tsong-Li Ya Men à S. Exc. M.A. Gérard, Ministre de la République Française en Chine”, le 14 Novembre 1894, ABF, *Convention Berthemy*, pp.14-15.

<sup>246</sup> “Dépêche de M. Gérard, Ministre de la République Française en Chine, à leur Altesse Mgr. Le Prince Kong et K’ing et à Leurs Excellences MM. Les Ministres Du Tsong-Li Ya Men”, Pékin, le 3 Décembre 1894, ABF, *Convention Berthemy*, pp.22-23.

Although the Zongli yamen claimed that they would send the new instructions to all the provinces, in reality local officials either maintained that they never received the imperial decree or refused to obey even if they received. On March 26, 1895, Gérard pointed out that:

In Hunan, Hubei, Zhili, Mongol, and Manchuria, the local authorities declare that they never received instructions related to application of Convention. In other provinces, despite having received the instructions, continue to require sellers to obtain official approval prior selling property to Catholic missionaries. Two proclamations from the sub-prefect of Sihui and the Daotai of Leizhou can prove to you that your instructions are either misunderstood or ignored. It is impossible that when an agreement so clear to understand was finally reached after such long negotiations, despite your orders, ambiguity and darkness remain. However, as it is important that the treaties and Conventions are scrupulously observed and that my government is determined to allow no offense.<sup>247</sup>

Gérard obviously had lost his patience by then. In the same letter, he insisted on the Zongli yamen sending instructions to officials of the entire empire, ordering them not to require local authorities's approval prior to the conclusion of such transactions. It would be unnecessary to write the names of the missionary or Christian. The Catholic mission would pay the same amount of registration fees as Chinese.<sup>248</sup> Gérard's fierce complains did receive prompt reply from the Zongli yamen. On April 9, 1895, the Zongli yamen sent a letter back, agreeing everything that Gérard had demanded.<sup>249</sup>

This exchange of letters shows that the Qing government claimed that they had followed and supported the updated treaty stipulations. Nonetheless, the practice of

---

<sup>247</sup> "Dépêche de M. Gérard, Ministre de la République Française en Chine, à LL. AA. Mgrs. Les Princes Kong et K'ing et à LL. EE. MM. Les Ministres Du Tsong-Li Ya Men", Pékin, le 26 Mars 1895, ABF, *Convention Berthemy*, pp.6-7.

<sup>248</sup> "Dépêche de M. Gérard, Ministre de la République Française en Chine, à LL. AA. Mgrs. Les Princes Kong et K'ing et à LL. EE. MM. Les Ministres Du Tsong-Li Ya Men", Pékin, le 26 Mars 1895, ABF, *Convention Berthemy*, pp.6-7.

<sup>249</sup> "Dépêche du Tsong-Li Ya-Men à S. Exc. M.Gérard, Ministre de la République Française en Chine", le 9 April 1895, ABF, *Convention Berthemy*, pp.10-11.

provincial and local officials seemed inconsistent with the stipulations. In fact, provincial officials' attitudes on such matters were rarely the same. Even in early eighteenth century when imperial persecutions against Christianity was among the most severe, Christians and foreign missionaries at some provinces (Henan, Hubei, Hunan, Jiangxi, Zhejiang and Shandong) enjoyed certain peace, while Christians at other provinces were punished heavily (Fujian, Shanxi, Shaanxi, Sichuan).<sup>250</sup>

The process of negotiations shows that between the French minister in China, the Zongli yamen and local *yamens*, it was a triangular relationship. The Zongli yamen claimed that they did what they should do, but they could not control actions of the local governments. The local governments claimed that they only followed instructions sent by the central government and would not listen to the French minister. At this point, the French minister in China was greatly annoyed. He angrily demanded that three conditions were absolutely nonnegotiable: the content of the entire stipulation should be "correct"; the central government should send official copies to all levels of the bureaucracy; and the central government should disclose all the communications they conducted with local officials to the French minister.<sup>251</sup> The Zongli yamen complied with all of them.<sup>252</sup>

Zhang Zhidong was one of the few Chinese officials who realized the difference between the French and Chinese versions of the Sino-French Convention of 1860. He noticed that although in the Chinese version of the treaty it stipulated that missionaries

---

<sup>250</sup> Joseph Krah, S.J., *China Missions in Crisis: Bishop Laimbeckhoven and his Times 1738-1787* (Roma: Gregorian University Press, 1964), pp. 50-51.

<sup>251</sup> "Dépêche de M. A. Gérard, Ministre de la République Française en Chine, à LL. AA. Mgr. Le Prince Kong et K'ing et à LL. EE. MM. Les Ministres Du Tsong-Li Ya Men", Pékin, le 12 Avril 1895, ABF, *Convention Berthemy*, pp.12-13.

<sup>252</sup> "Dépêche du Tsong-Li Ya-Men à S. Exc. M.A Gérard, Ministre de la République Française en Chine", le 14 Avril 1895, ABF, *Convention Berthemy*, pp.14-19.

had the right to rent and buy properties in China, this clause was not in the French version. As stipulated in both versions of the treaty, when discrepancy occurred, they should follow the French version. Zhang believed that if foreigners were allowed to reside in China freely and they did not need to obey Chinese laws due to extraterritoriality, problems could happen easily. He suggested the Zongli yamen that although no prior approval from local officials was required anymore, local officials should still investigate each property purchase, and should annul transactions that involved problematic properties such as those with unclear ownership or harmful to public welfare.<sup>253</sup>

Although the Convention of Berthemy was not completely put into practice by Chinese officials, the efforts of the French minister had greatly improved the working environment of missionaries in China. In 1899, L. du Plessis, lieutenant of Vaisseau, wrote to Bishop Chausse, the Vicar Apostolic of Guangzhou that: “this is a good occasion because the French authorities, who are running the administration of the occupied territory, have goodwill toward the missionaries. We could obtain land easily in order to build residences, chapels and schools”.<sup>254</sup> In 1902, Father Canac was able to open an oratory in a grand ceremony in Ran-Fong. He also took possession of a huge house in the center of the city of Chenping without much trouble.<sup>255</sup> Among all the achievements by the MEP, permanently renting the former residence of Governor-General of

---

<sup>253</sup> “Huguang zongdu Zhang Zhidong zou wei jiaotang maidi ying you difangguan chaming wufang fang zhun shuiqi zhe”, dated August 8, 1895, Zhongguo diyi lishi dang’anguan, Fujian shifan daxue lishi xi, eds., *Qingmo jiao’an* (Late Qing Religious Cases) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), vol. 2, no. 1025, pp. 593-596.

<sup>254</sup> Letter from L. du Plessis to Chausse, dated April 25, 1899. F10.32\_029. Ricci Archives.

<sup>255</sup> Letter from Canac to his superior, dated August 16, 1903. F10.51\_010. Ricci Archives.



Guangdong and Guangxi provinces and building the Sacred Heart Cathedral on it was the most notable.

After 1895, the local government of Guangdong province issued new regulations on mission's property acquisitions, creating more obstacles in the process. Missionaries who wanted to purchase land had to submit their requests to the French Consul, the French Consul would then submit to local officials. The contract would be approved only after local officials were convinced that the acquisition had no harm.<sup>256</sup> Thus according to these new regulations, only the French Consul was allowed to interact with Chinese government, and Chinese officials had more leverage in refusing mission's property contracts. The Vicar Apostolic of Guangzhou was very clear about the intentions of these rules. Bishop Mérel complained that these new rules made it difficult for the mission to acquire properties because "in this way it was completely in the mercy of mandarin."<sup>257</sup>

This regulation was established by Cen Chunxuan 岑春煊 (1861-1933), the Governor-General of Guangdong and Guangxi. As someone who was actively involved in the reform (1901-1911) in the late Qing dynasty, Cen advocated the abolition of the imperial examination system in 1905, fired and punished many officials who bought their positions, and took a strong stance when dealing with Western powers in China. Due to the humiliation that China had suffered during the invasion of Beijing by the Eight-Power Allied Forces in 1901, Cen's attitude toward Western powers and missionaries was not surprisingly negative. While letting local notables decide whether building chapels by missionaries was acceptable seemed reasonable from the Chinese perspective, to

---

<sup>256</sup> F4.7\_VI.II\_010. Ricci Archives.

<sup>257</sup> Letter from Prefect Apostolic Mérel to French Consul of Guangzhou Mr. Kahn, dated January 19, 1905. F6.5\_037. Ricci Archives.

missionaries, it was another barrier for their evangelical work in China. Druais reported to his superior that in Guangdong, “the mandarin depends on the will of the notables...but the notables ignored the treaties and the will of the emperor”.<sup>258</sup>

Cen Chunxuan’s negative attitude toward Christianity had a great impact on the fate of Christianity in Guangdong province. Because of Cen’s animosity toward Christianity, his inferiors did not dare to release Christian prisoners even if they knew they were innocent. On April 15, 1904, the Vicar Apostolic of Guangdong wrote to French minister, reporting the persecutions suffered by Christians, missionaries, and bishop since the arrival of governor Cen. He urged the minister to liberate the imprisoned Christians by Cen, adding that it was necessary to liberate them because other mandarins were following the example of the governor in order to jail other Christians.<sup>259</sup>

Since the establishment of this new regulation, most local officials who received purchase contracts refused to endorse them, either because the transaction was opposed by local notables, or the transaction was illegal. They sometimes would even threaten the sellers with serious punishment if they insisted selling their property to foreigners.<sup>260</sup> Bishop Mérel believed that most of the explanations as told by local officials were just excuses because about 95% of the contracts were declined.<sup>261</sup> To Father J. Durand, governor Cen was “a man whimsical, capricious, and cruel, and whose priority is hating foreigners and Christians”. He concluded that the only way to have peace under Cen’s

---

<sup>258</sup> Letter from Joseph Druais to his superior, dated September 18, 1909. F10.15\_005; Ricci Archive.

<sup>259</sup> Letter from Prefect Apostolic of Guangdong to French Minister, dated 15 April 1904. F 6.2-III.II\_017. Ricci Archives.

<sup>260</sup> Letter from French Consul at Guangzhou to Prefect Apostolic of Guangdong Mérel. Dated July 6, 1910. F6.2-III.II\_043. Ricci Archives.

<sup>261</sup> Letter from Prefect Apostolic to French Consul at Guangzhou, dated December 6, 1908. F6.2-III.II\_051. Ricci Archives.

rule was standing in the protocol and not fearing him.<sup>262</sup> Such complains alarmed the French minister in China about the difficulties encountered by the mission in buying properties in interior China. The French Consul at Guangzhou decided to initiate a new round of negotiations with the Chinese government, demanding them to respect the Berthemy Convention and Gérard Convention.<sup>263</sup>

Cen's harsh measures forced some missionaries not to register purchased properties due to fear of being rejected. But this posed a new problem to the purchased properties, as warned by the French Consul at Guangzhou. Firstly, all purchased properties must be registered through local government according to the Berthemy and Gérard Conventions. The Chinese government would have the right to collect fine or even confiscate the property for fiscal fraud if unregistered transactions were discovered. Secondly, in case of a lawsuit, the mission would be in a powerless position if the property concerned was unregistered. Thus the minister made the mission know that: "not registering the purchasing contract is not a mean to avoid difficulty, it is just keeping them back, and give way to more serious difficulties by putting themselves in a legally vulnerable position, which puts the buyers at the mercy of the Chinese authorities, and makes any attempt difficult and illusionary."<sup>264</sup> This was proved correct later during the Republican era.

---

<sup>262</sup> Letter from J. Durand to Msgr. Mérel, dated August 9, 1903. F10.13\_001. Ricci Archives.

<sup>263</sup> Letter from French Consul at Guangzhou to Prefect Apostolic of Guangdong Mérel. Dated July 6, 1910. F6.2-III.II\_043. Ricci Archives.

<sup>264</sup> Letter from French Consul at Guangzhou to Prefect Apostolic of Guangdong Mérel, dated August 18, 1910. F6.2-III.II\_045. Ricci Archives.

Around 1900, during the Boxer Uprising, the Guangxu emperor sent an imperial edict, dated the 13<sup>th</sup> day of 12<sup>th</sup> month of 1900, to all the provinces:

Since treaties were concluded between China and foreign powers, it has been stipulated in the treaties that foreigners are authorized to go into the interior.

The court in order to guarantee and maintain relations with other countries has issued decrees directing the high authorities of the provinces to afford full protection; meanwhile the local authorities have not paid attention to their duties, so trouble have been caused by evil-doers, and attacks have been directed against foreigners, incidents of this kind have reoccurred several times.

We recognize that our efforts have been very feeble to lead the ignorant people to reform and this has brought us to grave faults. Not a single local mandarin has endeavored to obtain knowledge of European affairs in ordinary times, and none has understood the importance of foreign relations.

Thus the conflagration has spread itself everywhere among the empire and if they will examine themselves they will feel easy.

Henceforth each among you ought to apply himself to begin anew and to get rid of his prejudices. You ought to know that the maintenance of friendly relations with foreign countries has always been a fundamental rule... We order all the high responsible authorities civil and military, of all the provinces to instruct their subordinates to protect in the most effective manner the agents and national of foreign powers who may come into their jurisdictions. In a case where audacious malefactors excite to maltreat and massacre foreigners, they must go to the place to establish order, arrest the guilty and punish them. There should be no delay. If on account of indifference or by voluntary tolerance great calamities come or some actions against the treaty, order is not immediately established, and the guilty arrested and punished, the governors general, and governors and provincial or local authorities responsible will be dismissed and be ineligible to hold office in other provinces, nor can they hope to be rehabilitated to receive new honors.<sup>265</sup>

This imperial decree was pasted across the entire province of Guangdong and Guangxi by Governor-General Tao Mu. Inspired by the edict, and mostly reminded by the Boxers about the urgency and seriousness of the mission issue, the foreign powers decided to work with the governor to tackle this problem together. After some

---

<sup>265</sup> Both the Chinese version of the imperial edict and its English translation are from Cheng Huanwen, ed., *Meiguo zhu Zhongguo Guangzhou lingshiguan lingshi baogao*, 1790-1906 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2007), vol. 18, pp.164-168.

discussions between Tao Mu, Charles Hardouin,<sup>266</sup> consul of France, and Robert M. McWade, consul of the United States, McWade was given the task of making a draft on how to govern missionaries in Guangdong and Guangxi provinces. McWade's draft was entitled "Regulations for the Guidance and Governance of our Missionaries, their Assistants, and their Converts throughout the Two Kwangs." The regulations firmly prohibited foreign missionaries from interfering with Chinese justice in any way, and the consul would "not take up any case that has had its origin prior to the reception into the mission of the person or alleged converts concerned." The regulations also prohibited Chinese outlaws from escaping punishment by putting symbols on their residence as being a chapel or church.<sup>267</sup> These regulations were adopted by the governor, and he pasted it in public in December 1901. The regulation was seen as "excellent," but it was believed that it would only succeed if everyone involved fulfilled their part of the responsibility.<sup>268</sup>

While the British, the Americans, the Germans, and most foreign missionaries welcomed and were in favor of the regulation, French missionaries disliked it. Charles

---

<sup>266</sup> It was said that Hardouin protected French political and commercial interests vigorously and ingeniously. He was born in Penang, had served in Siam and was very familiar with the Chinese and other Asiatic races. Since his arrival at Guangzhou, the French had established a free school where the natives could learn French; a free hospital where the sick and indigent could receive attention; and a very aggressive post-office. A branch of the Banque de l'Indo-Chine was also opened there. He also built two large river steamers for the passenger trade between Guangzhou and Hong Kong. See Alfred Cunningham, *The French in Tonkin and South China* (Hong Kong: Printed at the office of the Hong Kong Daily Press; London, S. Low, Marston & Co, 1902), pp.27-30.

<sup>267</sup> Cheng Huanwen, ed., *Meiguo zhu Zhongguo Guangzhou lingshiguan lingshi baogao*, 1790-1906 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2007), vol. 19, pp. 2-6. The Chinese version is on page 296.

<sup>268</sup> "Editorial Comment", *The China Mail*, January 21, 1902, Hong Kong, from Cheng Huanwen, ed., *Meiguo zhu Zhongguo Guangzhou lingshiguan lingshi baogao*, 1790-1906 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2007), vol. 19, p.23.

Hardouin, the French consul at Guangzhou called McWade to inform him that Bishop Merél had written to him protesting against Governor Tao Mu's proclamation. Hardouin claimed that the priests were all exceedingly angry because they felt that the regulation interfered with their work. He believed that the proclamation should only emanate from the French Legation at Beijing. Hardouin thus requested McWade to postpone the execution of the proclamation until their next conference on January 25, 1902, which McWade agreed. This conference never took place, as Hardouin twice wrote to Governor Tao Mu demanding the withdrawal of the proclamation, without discussing with McWade, a behavior that disappointed McWade.<sup>269</sup>

In fact, the French authority and French missionaries seemed to be the only party in Guangdong who wanted things done differently. Although almost everyone else approved the regulation, Governor Tao Mu had to order the withdrawal of the proclamation due to the opposition of French consul. The French consul also allowed one French missionary to use a deputy consular seal. An act that was despised by McWade, who reported this misconduct to the US State Department at Washington and the US minister at Beijing.<sup>270</sup>

American consul McWade's active efforts to make the regulations accepted by consuls and missionaries (both Catholic and Protestant) of other countries indicated a fundamental difference between those Western countries in China. America was mostly

---

<sup>269</sup> Letter from Consulate of the United States to Assistant Secretary of State David J. Hill, February 24, 1902. From Cheng Huanwen, ed., *Meiguo zhu Zhongguo Guangzhou lingshiguan lingshi baogao*, 1790-1906 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2007), vol. 19, pp.95-97.

<sup>270</sup> Letter from Consulate of the United States to Assistant Secretary of State David J. Hill, February 24, 1902. From Cheng Huanwen, ed., *Meiguo zhu Zhongguo Guangzhou lingshiguan lingshi baogao*, 1790-1906 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2007), vol. 19, pp.100

interested at trade, and wanted China to be peaceful internally and have good relations with foreign countries. However, missionaries' interference in Chinese lawsuits often made the relations between Chinese and foreigners sour, thus finding a way to improve the relations between Chinese people and missionaries and foreigners in general became the key solution to the larger situation. Nonetheless, this goal might be difficult to achieve because those countries whose main interests lay in Christianity might want things done differently. A memorandum from Bureau of American Republics expressed this concerns directly:

If the Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries throughout China can be induced to accept and strictly carry out a body of rules similar to those sent herewith, I firmly believe that one of the most serious obstacles to the peaceful spread of Christianity and to the establishment of friendly relations with officials and people will be removed... Might it not even be possible to take up the subject with the various governments chiefly interested in the question of missions in China (Great Britain, France and Germany) , and reach a general understanding on the subject?<sup>271</sup>

Nonetheless, dealing with the local government directly did not really make it much easier.

*Case 2:*

In 1903, Father J. Mollat was working in Maoming. He submitted two purchase contracts to be registered to the local officials in January, but was told there were new regulations and specific instructions sent in April the previous year on purchases made by foreigners. So these two contracts had to be left in the sub-prefect's office and waited to be processed. After inspecting the piece of the land that was purchased by the foreigner, the sub-prefect refused to register the transaction. The reason was that the property

---

<sup>271</sup> Memorandum of bureau of American Republics on December 6, 1901. From Cheng Huanwen, ed., *Meiguo zhu Zhongguo Guangzhou lingshiguan lingshi baogao*, 1790-1906 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2007), vol. 18, pp.511-512.

purchased by foreigner should only be used for religious purposes. The contract should be sent to the French consul, who would submit it to Chinese officials in Guangzhou. After examining the transaction from all aspects, the contract would be sent to the sub-prefect of the region and process further. Because of the “painful” procedures taken to legalize such purchases, as showing in Father J. Mollat’s experience, French priests in Guangdong wrote to each other to warn about the difficulties of property purchasing.<sup>272</sup>

*Case 3:*

In Lo-ting of Dongzhen, Father Odilon Baldit reported similar obstacles in building a chapel to his superior in 1904. He rented a shop in the city of Lo-ting in order to convert it into a chapel. Before the formal construction, he wrote to the local mandarin, asking him to publish a decree to put on the gate of the new chapel to inform the general public. Instead of issuing the requested decree, the mandarin blamed the owner of the shop that he (the owner) did not inform the mandarin about his intention to sell his shop to Christians. Under pressure, the seller declared that he had no intention to make his shop into a chapel. Local notables were on the side of the mandarin. Their dislike of Catholicism was quite obvious to the missionaries who worked in the region. A more practical reason was that the chapel, if built, would be right in front of an ancestral temple. The residents worried that the chapel would impede the well-functioning of the geomancy (*fengshui*). Baldit concluded that the local mandarin either ignored the Convention of Berthemy, or pretended that he did not know.<sup>273</sup>

---

<sup>272</sup> Letter from Father J. Mollat to Father Fouquet, dated January 14, 1903. F5.3\_006. Ricci Archives.

<sup>273</sup> Letter from Odilon Baldit to his superior, dated November 8, 1904. F10.36\_009. Ricci Archives.



*Case 4:*

In September 1909, after having purchased two pieces of land and made the contracts of both transactions in Heyuan of Guangdong province, Father Joseph Druais tried to obtain local government's approval to build oratories on the land. One of the contracts was sent to the local mandarin's office in 1907, and the other was sent in June 1909. The first one went through three mandarins who succeeded each other in the same office, but was still not endorsed. The mandarin who was in the position in 1909, though had good will toward missionaries, refused to endorse both contracts. The explanation he offered was that, the regulations from the governor was that all contracts of building chapels and oratories should be approved by the local notables before being endorsed by local government. The first contract gained negative reply so it was not endorsed. The second one was refused a reply, so it was not endorsed either.<sup>274</sup>

The strong stance taken by the Qing government worked to a certain degree. The French Legation in China, Mr. Dulail advised the vicar apostolic to instruct his missionaries to be extremely careful in selecting catechists and not to admit anyone who was involved in lawsuits before. The reason was that:

The role of government agents in China, similar with those of the mission, should not intervene in the lawsuits. Such meddling would rather irritate the Chinese clerks, would create new difficulties, especially in the provinces where the populace is reluctant to welcome the influence of Europeans. It is important not to ignore the rules of being prudent and strict. It is therefore important not to depart from the rules of prudence and strict moderation, if we do not see renewed complaints that the Chinese government has repeatedly made.<sup>275</sup>

---

<sup>274</sup> Letter from Joseph Druais to his superior, dated September 18, 1909. F10.15\_005; Ricci Archive.

<sup>275</sup> Letter from Dulail to Msgr. Mérel, dated May 27, 1904. F6.2-III.II\_014. Ricci Archives.

He also suggested that all the missionaries should not use the edicts of 1898 and 1899 without authorization from the vicar apostolic himself. Dulail's successor Father De Margerie again wrote to Vicar Apostolic Mérel in 1911, assuring the latter that the French Legation in Beijing, as well as French consul in Guangzhou would do their best to protect interests' of the church. He also advised the vicar apostolic that "judicial intervention of our agents is likely to cause among Chinese authorities a current of discontent which could ultimately have to suffer the exercise of the religion itself."<sup>276</sup>

Until the end of the Qing dynasty, the French Legation in China, the French consul at Guangzhou and French missionaries were still greatly troubled by the difficulties encountered in property purchases. On May 31, 1910, a French journal in Shanghai reproduced an entire article published in a Chinese newspaper, in which it announced that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Waiwubu* 外务部)<sup>277</sup> of the Qing government had created six new articles on the acquisition of real estate by the missions, which would cause more difficulties. The French Legation in China, anxious to ensure the tranquility of the mission, wrote to the mission that the article's content was unfounded, and missionaries should still follow regulations in the Berthemy and Gérard Conventions.<sup>278</sup>

The reason that the French Legation in China and the French consul at Guangzhou were so actively involved in the mission's right to acquire properties in interior China was due to political reasons. France wanted to use the mission as a tool to

---

<sup>276</sup> Letter from French Legation in China, P. De Margerie to Vicar Apostolic of Guangdong Mérel, dated February 28, 1911. F6.2-III.II\_084. Ricci Archives.

<sup>277</sup> The Ministry of Foreign Affairs replaced the Zongli Yamen in 1901.

<sup>278</sup> Letter from French Legation in China, F. Georges-Picot, dated June 27, 1911. F6.2-III.II\_086. Ricci Archives.

maintain and expand French influence in China. French minister Auguste Gérard explained it clearly that: “Since 1844, the principle motive of our intervention in China together with our establishment in Indo-China is for the protection of the Catholic mission and the propaganda of our civilizing influence.”<sup>279</sup> The properties acquired by the mission were seen as tools or symbols of French influence in China. Thus, failure to obtain more properties, or selling mission properties to the Chinese or anyone not from France would only mean losing French influence. Both the French government and the French Catholic mission agreed on this.

To the mission, this might be a good reason to push the French authorities in China to negotiate with Chinese authorities in favor of the mission. Father Mérel believed that since the French concession was suffocating within its limit, it was necessary to establish properties outside of it, which means it was necessary to purchase properties outside of the concession, so the French authorities should work on to press the Chinese government to follow the Gérard Convention.<sup>280</sup> Earlier, right after the allied troops left China, then vicar apostolic Father Guillemin claimed that: “we already collected the precious fruit of this long occupation. The most unquestionable result is the concession of vast land that were accorded, and yes, of course, we hope to raise the majestic monument of our holy religion of the glory of France on this foreign land.”<sup>281</sup> Near the end of the Qing, when French influence in China became weaker, Father Becmeur complained that:

---

<sup>279</sup> Auguste Gérard, *Ma Mission En Chine (1893-1897)* (Paris, Plon-Nourrit et cie, 1918), p. VII.

<sup>280</sup> Letter from Prefect Apostolic of Guangzhou Mérel to French Consul of Guangzhou Mr. Larest, dated September 11, 1905. F6.5\_038. Ricci Archives; Letter from Prefect Apostolic Mérel to French Consul of Guangzhou, dated April 30, 1902. F6.5\_058. Ricci Archives.

<sup>281</sup> “Déjà nous recueillons les fruits précieux nous en avons l’espoir, s’élèvera l’auguste monument qui redira sur cette terre étrangère le nom de notre sainte religion de la gloire de la France.” F8.15\_013. Ricci Archives.

“our influence at the mandarin’s office becomes zero, because the lack of the support from France [government]....” Without the diplomatic support from French government in China, it had become very difficult for French missionaries to deal with Chinese authorities and solve problems.<sup>282</sup>

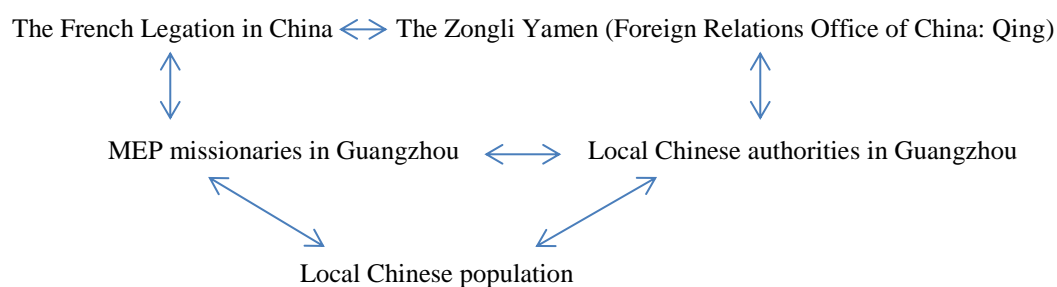


Figure 3-1. Description of relations between the involved parties.

To the central government of the late Qing, the process of dealing with the French minister on the Catholic missionaries’ rights to purchase land and houses in interior China demonstrated its failure in both foreign relations and internal administration. In effect, when French Minister Gérard arrived at Beijing for his new position in April 1894, after his first meeting with Chinese ministers in the Zongli yamen, he found that China was “in sleep” due to a series of domestic and external crisis including the Muslim and Taiping rebellions, as well as wars with Britain and France. Thus China at this time completely lost the arrogance that was seen during the prosperous reigns of Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong. The Qing empire as a whole seemed not concerned about the

<sup>282</sup> Letter from Becmeur, dated August 22, 1906. F10.39\_016. Ricci Archives.

future at all, simply busy with making peace with all powers without noticing the growth of Japan.<sup>283</sup>

It shows that the central government of the late Qing had limited control over local authorities. While it is possible that the Qing government, central and local, was trying to create obstacles intentionally to prevent the mission from purchasing properties in China, it might also be true that some officials at the local level were not doing their job. Nonetheless, the diversity and vastness of the empire did serve as an excuse for its ineffectiveness. While the French minister in China became more and more aggressive and impatient rhetorically, the Zongli yamen kept its slow pace. In many places, approval of local authority was still an important step when missionaries purchased land or houses. It is highly possible that it was exactly the Zongli yamen's passive reaction on the treaty that enabled a governmental awareness and interference of the Church's property purchases.

In fact, there are evidences showing that the Zongli yamen adopted the policy of "protecting Christianity on the surface but restricting it in practice." Whenever problems happened and foreign powers dealt with the government, the Zongli yamen would cooperate and tried to meet their demands. Other than that they would put surveillance and restrictions on missionaries' activities. In October 1867, seeing that it was not long before the agreed ten-year treaty revision agreement with foreign powers, in preparing to deal with their demands from Britain and France, the Zongli yamen made six plans and

---

<sup>283</sup> Auguste Gérard, *Ma Mission En Chine (1893-1897)* (Paris, Plon-Nourrit et cie, 1918), pp. XXIV-XXV.

ordered governor-generals across the empire to discuss it. When no definite measures seemed appropriate, the Zongli yamen concluded that:

As we have to worry about people's feelings and local practices, the best solution seems to cooperate with local gentries and commoners, while protecting it [Christianity] on the surface, secretly we can guide them to prevent troubles from happening, either by pointing out their [missionaries'] mistakes, or destroying their malicious plans, so that we can prohibit it while relaxing on it.<sup>284</sup>

In December, Li Hongzhang also suggested that they should “protect it on the surface, but restrict it secretly.” Li believed that it could be achieved by reducing poverty through charity halls and cultivating the morality of the mass.<sup>285</sup> It is clear that both the Zongli yamen and local officials agreed on this measure of although protecting and obeying treaty articles on the surface, but secretly they wanted to prohibit it with all means.

While it is true that Catholic missionaries benefited greatly from French efforts to protect their rights to rent and purchase land and houses in China, the above examples also show that the Catholic mission overall had only mixed success in China. On many occasions, the treaty articles were unable to be executed due to the discrepancy between the central and local governments of the late Qing regime. It seems that no matter how efficient the Zongli yamen's responses to French ministers' demands, somewhere in the empire, there were always troubles of varied degrees to Catholic missionaries and their activities. Furthermore, in local societies, even with clear imperial decrees in hands,

---

<sup>284</sup> “抱人心风俗之忧，而存补偏救弊之念者，惟有平日联络绅民，阳为抚循而阴为化导，或启其误，或破其奸，是亦不禁之禁也”。From Wenqing, Jia, Zheng, and Baoyun eds., *Chouban yiwu shimo* (Complete record of the management of barbarian affairs) (Taipei: Guofeng chubanshe, 1963), Tongzhi Court, vol. 50, p. 35.

<sup>285</sup> Wenqing, Jia, Zheng, and Baoyun eds., *Chouban yiwu shimo* (Complete record of the management of barbarian affairs) (Taipei: Guofeng chubanshe, 1963), Tongzhi Court, vol. 50, p. 16.

Catholic missionaries were often powerless and helpless in their dealings with local Chinese authorities. From this perspective, it is safe to conclude that although the French authority in China worked very hard to benefit Catholic missionaries in China, the results were rather mixed to the Catholic enterprise in China.

Besides the discrepancies between the central and local Chinese authorities on these issues, local society's interaction with the foreign communities in general was another great factor that contributed to local society's hostility towards foreign presence. Dealing with the foreign communities who enjoyed many special rights in China was a daily task for local population of Guangzhou, but to the central government in Beijing, this was something they did not need to deal with daily, at least no need to face to face. Thus, besides political discrepancies between the two levels of authorities, there was also a certain degree of misunderstanding or lack of understanding of the local situation on the part of the central government. As a matter of fact, there was much unrest between 1880 and 1890. In Guangzhou, small scale incidents involving foreign communities and Chinese subjects often worsened the relationship between Chinese and foreign residents. In August 1883, a drunken foreigner shot and killed a boy on the street and wounded two others. He was put into prison for a short term, but the Chinese were dissatisfied with the punishment. On the morning of September 10, a Chinese was pushed from the deck of a British steamer by one of the employees, and drowned. A mob soon gathered and threatened to burn the steamer if the steamship company did not make reparation before

the vessel departed for Hong Kong. The mob even burned some residences of the foreign concession.<sup>286</sup>

---

<sup>286</sup> Harriet Newell Noyes, *History of the South China mission of the American Presbyterian church, 1845-1920* (Shanghai, Printed at the Presbyterian mission Press, 1927), pp. 44-45.



## Chapter 4

### Urban Profit: the French Catholic Mission in the City of Guangzhou

Among all the properties and establishments that the MEP had in Guangzhou, the most important and magnificent was the Sacred Heart Cathedral. Adopting the Gothic style, particularly that of the Saint Clotilde of Paris, the Sacred Heart Cathedral is still one of the grandest cathedrals in East Asia. In Guangzhou, this cathedral is one of the major tourist attractions. For contemporary visitors, the cathedral is easy to find because it is located at the center of the city. Although only the cathedral belongs to the Catholic Church today, almost all the properties surrounding the church were part of the MEP's real estate empire until about 1930. This chapter examines the MEP's real estate empire in the city of Guangzhou, from the acquisition of the land for the construction of the cathedral to the purchase of nearby properties.

A visitor to Guangzhou in the 1880s left this vivid description of the Sacred Heart Cathedral:

Occupying a most desirable location, on the site of the official residence of the famous viceroy Ye, with several acres of ground enclosed, it excites the envy, and not infrequently the open hostility, of the populace. The ground was obtained in restitution for property destroyed in the interior many years ago, but the people believe it to have been wrested unjustly from the Government. The cathedral itself is a fine Gothic structure, built of granite, and will compare favorably in size and proportions with many of the renowned churches of Europe. It rises above every other building in the city, its tower spires showing conspicuously for many a league. It is not simply the spirit of arrogance which they trace in so lofty a structure, but the omen of ill luck which their theory of geomancy shows it to be, that leads them to regard it with the greatest disfavor, and has made it necessary to station guards of soldiers for months at a time to protect it.<sup>287</sup>

---

<sup>287</sup> B. C. Henry, *Ling-Nam; or, Interior Views of Southern China, Including Explorations in the Hitherto Untraversed Island of Hainan* (London: S.W. Partridge, 1886), p.38.

This short paragraph gives us a sense of the location, history, style and people's reception of the cathedral. Yet it is difficult to convey the broader social context that this cathedral has represented in modern Chinese history.

Scholars have conventionally divided the history of Christianity in China into four stages: the Tang dynasty, the Yuan dynasty, the late Ming and early Qing period, and after 1840. The period after the Yongzheng emperor's imperial persecution of Christianity in 1725 was usually seen as a dark age for Christians because most foreign missionaries were expelled from China, and many Christians had abandoned their faith. Nonetheless, more and more studies have shown that while the overall environment was quite harmful to the development of Christianity in this period, some individuals and communities did manage to continue this faith. Kang Zhijie's study of the Mopanshan Catholic community in southwest Hubei province reveals the secret of a Catholic community's survival strategy.<sup>288</sup> In Shanxi, Italian Franciscans also stayed during the persecution period, relying on the support and protection from local Christians.<sup>289</sup> These cases share one similarity, which is the importance of support from Chinese Christians and the adaptation of priests to local society to the survival of Catholicism in China.

In Guangzhou, the MEP also managed to maintain their "God's business" during such difficult time. A list of property deeds brought to the MEP's cathedral in Siam during the Yong era shows that, by 1733 the MEP in Guangdong province possessed at

---

<sup>288</sup> Kang Zhijie, *Shang Zhu de putao yuan: E xibei Mopan Shan Tianzhujiao shequ yanjiu, 1634-2005* (In the Lord's vineyard: a study of northwest Hubei's Popan shan Catholic community). Taipei: Furen daxue chubanshe, 2006.

<sup>289</sup> Henrietta Harrison. "British Imperialism, French Charity and the Changing Behaviour of Italian Franciscan Missionaries in Shanxi Province, 1800-1850." *Journal of modern Italian studies* (1354-571X), 15 (4), p. 519.

least eight chapels. The earliest known year of purchase dated back to 1695 (see Appendix 1). Although we have no access to the original deeds, thus cannot tell how they managed to buy these properties, we can assume that almost all of them were obtained with the goodwill of the local Chinese population.

Without the local population's help, it would be tremendously difficult even to reside in Guangdong. Not long after the first Opium War, in May 1847, a British surveying group tried to measure the land in Henan, the suburb of Guangzhou, so they could build residential houses there. They were attacked by about 3,000 villagers from forty-eight counties. The next year, when British requested to enter the city, the local population organized a militia patrolling on the shore of the Pearl River. Militias were also organized in Panyu and Nanhai and were prepared to assist whenever needed.

Fearing public riot, the British abolished their plan to enter and reside in the city of Guangzhou.<sup>290</sup> This episode demonstrated that the Cantonese did not want foreigners to stay in Guangzhou and to occupy land and houses there. Such attitude only gradually changed long after the Opium War, albeit with pressure from local officials. In 1858, when Guangzhou was occupied by the allied forces of Britain and France, the prefect of Guangzhou, and magistrates of Nanhai and Panyu pasted announcement stating:

“Yangren xiexiang, yi li xiangdai, buke tiaoxin!” 洋人下乡，以礼相待，不可挑衅 (If foreigners go to the countryside, they should be treated with courtesy; no provocation is allowed).<sup>291</sup>

---

<sup>290</sup> Panyu shi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Panyu Xian zhi* (Gazetteer of Panyu county) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1995), p.24.

<sup>291</sup> Panyu shi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Panyu Xian zhi* (Gazetteer of Panyu county) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1995), p.25.

Given the achievements of the MEP in Guangdong province in the eighteenth century, the construction of the Sacred Heart Cathedral in the late nineteenth century was undoubtedly the continuation and the culmination of their work in south China. Nonetheless, the working environment in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries changed greatly from that of the eighteenth century. Firstly, Christianity was officially permitted in China; secondly, foreigners were allowed to buy land and houses in China; and thirdly, foreign powers established diplomatic representatives in China. While in eighteenth century, European missionaries were often the only group of foreigners seen by Chinese commoners; missionaries were just part of the foreign communities in China since the mid-nineteenth century. Thus missionaries' activities were related to the broader colonial enterprise in China.

In this sense, the Sacred Heart Cathedral in Guangzhou is important not because it was the first European style cathedral in China. In the middle of the eighteenth century, the Qianlong emperor had requested three European missionaries Giuseppe Castiglione, Michel Benoist, and Jean-Denis Attiret to build a set of European houses in the Summer Palace. But those buildings were burned in 1860 by the British and French allied forces.<sup>292</sup> In Beijing, Chinese emperors also patronized four European style cathedrals that were built by the Jesuits in the 17-18 centuries. There is a big difference between those early European style architecture in China and the Sacred Heart Cathedral. The earlier ones were patronized by Chinese emperors, but the Sacred Heart Cathedral was constructed by the French. This comparison between voluntary acceptance and being

---

<sup>292</sup> Cécile Beurdeley; Michel Beurdeley, *Giuseppe Castiglione, a Jesuit painter at the court of the Chinese emperors* (Rutland, Vt.: C.E. Tuttle Co., 1971), pp. 65-75.

imposed by force from the perspective of China demonstrates the changed circumstances of Sino-Western interactions. The story of the construction of the Sacred Heart Cathedral at Guangzhou shows the interplay between religion and politics, and how Christianity and French colonialism played in a local Chinese society.

### **Obtaining Land for the Construction of the Cathedral**

The acquisition of the land for the construction of the Sacred Heart Cathedral was related to the religious persecutions initiated by the Yongzheng emperor. As a result of the Yongzheng emperor's persecutions, many church properties were confiscated by the Qing government. After the Opium War, a series of treaties were signed between Britain, France, the United States, Russia and the Qing government, one of the purposes was to obtain freedom for foreign missionaries to spread Christianity and purchase properties in China. In the subsequent treaties it also stipulated that all previously confiscated church properties would be rendered to the French government, who would transmit them to the Christians of the villages. Christians would be able to build whatever they like on the restituted property [if it was about land]. Among these treaty articles, article ten of the Sino-French treaty, and article six of the supplemental Sino-French treaty became the reasoning for the restitution of previously confiscated properties.<sup>293</sup>

In Guangzhou, as it was difficult for the local government to identify the location of such confiscated properties, the local government and the MEP made an agreement

---

<sup>293</sup> Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, ed., *Jiaowu jiaolan dang* (Archives of religious affairs and cases) (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 1974), vol. 5, no. 4, p. 2176.

that the government would allow the mission to choose a piece of land in the city of Guangzhou freely, in exchange of all the confiscated properties in the city. In 1858, Bishop Guillemin, vicar-apostolic of the MEP at Guangzhou, had chosen a piece of empty land located outside the old city that was previously occupied by the government offices of the Governor-General Ye Mingchen 叶名琛. When Britain and France attacked Guangzhou in 1857, they bombed this official residence of the Ye and took him prisoner.<sup>294</sup> But until 1860, the local government was still reluctant to give it to the mission due to the opposition of local officials.

The situation only changed after Mr. de Bourboulon, the minister plenipotentiary of France in China, ordered Mr. Coupvent des Bois, the superior commander of French forces in Guangzhou, to resolve the matter in 1860. At that time Guangzhou was still under occupation by the British and French allied troops, and their gunboats were just docked on the river. As a consequence an official agreement was soon made between Coupvent des Bois, Mr. de Tanouarne, French commissioner in Guangzhou, and Lao Chongguang, governor of Guangdong and Guangxi provinces on January 25, 1861 (the 10<sup>th</sup> year of the Xianfeng reign). It stipulated that the Guangzhou government agreed to lease this piece of land to France perpetually. The superior commander, after receiving

---

<sup>294</sup> On December 15, 1857, British force occupied Henan, French force occupied Shamian. On December 28, the allied British and French force bombed the governor-general's official residence, as well as the south gate, Shuangmendi, Dongzhulan, Zengsha and so on from the Haizhu fort, all the shops and houses were burned. The next day, they attacked various forts on the north part of the city, occupied the Yuexiu Mountain, and controlled the city. On January 5, 1858, Ye Mingchen, the Governor-general of Guangdong and Guangxi, commander of Guangzhou troops Muke dena, Grand coordinator of Guangdong province Bo Gui, and several other officials were all captured by the allied force. Ye was taken to India and died in Calcutta. The allied force evacuated from Guangzhou only on October 21, 1861. See Panyu shi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Panyu Xian zhi* (Gazetteer of Panyu county) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1995), p.25.

the land through the intermediary of the French commissioner, would send the lease to the Minister of France in Beijing, who would forward the lease to the missionaries in Guangdong in order to build a church, a residence for missionaries, a seminary, a school for French citizens living in China, an asylum for the poor, a hospital, and an orphanage. All of these institutions would serve priests of the the MEP congregation. It was agreed that all other confiscated church properties in Guangdong and Guangxi provinces would be forfeited, including three chapels near the capital city of Guangzhou, and another eighteen in Foshan 佛山, Shunde 顺德, leizhou 雷州, Zhaoqing 肇庆, Lechang 乐昌, Wuzhou 梧州, and Guilin 桂林.<sup>295</sup>

The land chosen by Guillemin was divided into two pieces, and the agreement signed with the local government was only about part of it. The leased land was roughly the western half of the entire property occupied by the former governor, and used to be where the governor's office was located. It was located near the wall of the houses by the street of Baimi xiang 白米巷 (Street of White Rice) on the east, on the west, by the street of Yuzi xiang 玉子巷 (Rue of Jade). To the south, it was by Maima jie 卖麻街 (Street of Vendors or Street of Madness). In the north, it was by Daxin jie (Grand New Rue). In total it covered an area of 3 hectares 7 acres and 28 centiares.<sup>296</sup> A small piece of land on the south was attached to this property. Together they covered an area of 19 acres and 83

---

<sup>295</sup> Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, ed., *Jiaowu jiao'an dang*, ser. 2, vol. 3 (Taipei: 1974-1981), pp.1562-1564.

<sup>296</sup> Zhang 丈, chi 尺, cun 寸, and fen 分 are traditional Chinese units of length measurement. Through treaties (1842-44 and 1858-60) signed between China and Britain, France, 1 zhang equals to 10 chi (3.58 meters). From Encyclopedia Britannica.

centiares. Both pieces of land together measured an area of 42 *mu* 6 *fen* 6 *hao* (3 hectares, 27 acres and 11 centiares).<sup>297</sup>

According to the agreement, the mission would pay a rent of 1, 500 *wen*<sup>298</sup> per *mu* to the local Chinese government annually, because the ownership of the land remained with the Chinese government and the mission was only renting it. Apart from this rent, it was forbidden to Chinese officials, local notables and anyone else to ask money from the mission under any pretext. All such demand would be fraudulent. The missionaries who previously owned properties in the city and the outskirts of Guangzhou should not demand other compensation from the Chinese government either.<sup>299</sup>

After the first agreement was made, the French negotiators, followed by their escorts, together with Bishop Guillemin and two Chinese officials sent by the governor-general immediately went to inspect the ground. The commander Mr. Coupvent des Bois pushed his horse up to the highest point of the street, declared aloud that he took possession of it in the name of France. Stakes were at once set up at the four corners of the plot, bearing the following words: “French ground.” An inscription in Chinese characters: “Restitution made to the French government for the churches taken from the former missionaries.” The next day, Bishop Guillemin had the property fenced with a bamboo railing. Guillemin also installed himself with his baggages and he was “anxious

---

<sup>297</sup> Mu 亩, also spelled mou, is a Chinese unit of land measurement that varies with location but is commonly 806.65 square yards (0.165 ace, or 666.5 square meters). Based on the chi, a unit of length after 1860 measuring 14.1 inches, the mu has been defined by customs treaty as 920.417 square yards. From Encyclopedia Britannica.

<sup>298</sup> Wen 文, is a Chinese unit of copper cash issued in late imperial China. The silver system had several units and by the Qing dynasty were: 1 tael (liang 两)=10 mace (qian 钱)=100 candareens (fen 分)=1000 li (li 里)=1.33 oz. (silver cash).

<sup>299</sup> F8.15\_001, 002. Ricci Archives.



to take possession of this ground in the name of the Lord, as our officers had in the name of the sovereign of France”.<sup>300</sup>

To Bishop Guillemin, this meant that a new era was open for the mission, and he believed that the construction of a cathedral at this location would mean:

The cross of the Saviour will no longer be trampled underfoot by these unenlightened people, who still ignore its divine virtue. Henceforth the religion of Jesus Christ will no longer be despised and banished from the empire, and looked upon as the worship of the parias; when its temple shall appear on the very spot where but recently the first magistrate of the province held sway, a different idea will be formed of its grandeur; the people will seek to learn it and to love it, and those who despised it will become its disciples and children. From this exalted position it will extend the divine influence of its doctrine and morality to instruct and civilize the forty millions of inhabitants who form the population of this mission alone, and who are still buried under the shadow of paganism and death. Oh! How well our Christians understood this position!<sup>301</sup>

Philippe-François-Zéphyrin Guillemin was the first MEP missionary sent to Guangdong after the district of Guangdong and Guangxi provinces was officially entrusted to the MEP by Rome. He was born in Vuillafans (Doubs) on March 16, 1814. After studying with the Jesuits in Dole and Fribourg in Switzerland, he was ordained on September 8, 1839 in Besançon. He entered the seminary of the MEP on May 5, 1848 and on August 9 that year he left for the mission of Guangdong and Guangxi. After staying in Hong Kong for several months, he arrived at Guangzhou in October 1849.<sup>302</sup> On November 16, 1853, he was appointed apostolic prefect of Guangdong and Guangxi provinces.

---

<sup>300</sup> “Extract from a Letter of Mgr. Guillemin, Vicar-Apostolic of Canton, to Messrs. The Directors of the Association of the Propagation of the Faith, at Lyone and Paris”, Dated Canton, November 25, 1860, *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, Volumes 21-22, p.137.

<sup>301</sup> “Extract from a Letter of Mgr. Guillemin, Vicar-Apostolic of Canton, to Messrs. The Directors of the Association of the Propagation of the Faith, at Lyone and Paris”, Dated Canton, November 25, 1860, *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, Volumes 21-22, p.138.

<sup>302</sup> “Letter of the Rev. Dr. Guillemin, Apostolic-Missioner of the Society of Foreign Missions, to his Mother”, dated February 12, 1850, feast of St. Eulalie, and first day of the Chinese year, *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, Volumes 11-12, p.338.

He was a major advocate for the separation of Guangdong and Guangxi from Macau jurisdiction. In 1856 he went to Rome, asking the separation directly from the Pope. There he was nominated as bishop of Cybistra on January 25, 1857. Pope Pius IX consecrated him in his chapel. On February 29 that year, Cardinal di Pietro signed the composition of separating Guangdong from Macao in Lisbon. Pius IX signed it on September 17, 1858, stating that the provinces of Guangdong, Guangxi, and the island of Hainan, no longer formed an apostolic prefecture, and were entrusted to Bishop Guillemin of the MEP. Guillemin also met with Napoleon III and obtained the emperor's and empress's patronages for the construction of the Sacred Heart Cathedral.<sup>303</sup> Such successful trips made Guillemin well-known for his negotiation skills among his colleagues and superiors.

The concession of this piece of land to the MEP was believed to benefit all the European residents in China. Before the Opium War, foreigners were not allowed to live in this country. During the occupation of Guangzhou by the allied forces of Britain and France, foreigners could stay there safely. However, they worried that once the occupation ended, they would be forced to leave again. The concession of the land and the construction of a European cathedral in the middle of the city would "secure the opening of the town gates". When the chief commissioner announced the concession of the cathedral land to the English general, the general was "especially gratified", because

---

<sup>303</sup> Philippe François Zéphirin Guillemin, AMEP, accessed March 8, 2014, <http://archives.mepasie.org/notices/notices-biographiques/guillemin>.

it would serve as “the strongest guarantee that the gates of Guangzhou would remain open”.<sup>304</sup>

After the first agreement, the land was given to Bishop Guillemin for the construction of a Catholic church and other charitable institutions, on the request of Count Kleezkowski, first secretary of the French Legation in Beijing, following instructions of the French minister Bourboulon. However, the previously ceded land did not meet the needs of the MEP in this city. The mission requested the use of the land situated to the east and south side of the already leased land. This new land used to serve as the courtroom, two stables, a servants’ quarter, and archery-practicing field for the former governor Ye. In the South it faced the city wall, to the west it faced the land that was already ceded to the mission, in the north it faced the Daxin jie, and in the east it was the Baimi xiang. Two stables and the archery-practicing field of the former governor together formed a single field whose boundaries were: in the west it faced Baimi xiang, the north, east and south were residential houses.<sup>305</sup> This piece of new land, together with

---

<sup>304</sup> “Extract from a Letter of Mgr. Guillemin, Vicar-Apostolic of Canton, to Messrs. The Directors of the Association of the Propagation of the Faith, at Lyon and Paris”, Dated Canton, November 25, 1860, *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, Volumes 21-22, p. 139.

<sup>305</sup> In the Ming dynasty, the governor-general’s yamen was located at Zhaoqing, and it was relocated to Guangzhou in 1746 during the Qianlong reign. The new yamen was located at the Maima street inside the Jinghai gate. After the new yamen was bombed by the allied force during the second Opium War. The governor-general at the time Lao Chongguang, after obtaining approval from the emperor, moved the governor’s yamen to the old town. From *Guangzhou fu zhi* ([Guangxu] *Gazetteer of Guangzhou Prefecture*), vol.65, in *Guangdong lidai fangzhi jicheng* (A Collection of Guangdong Gazetteers), *Guangzhou fu bu* (Volume on Guangzhou Prefecture), vol. 6, edited by Guangdong sheng difang shizhi bangongshi ji (Guangzhou: Linnan meishu chubanshe, 2009), p.965, 967. So the first piece of land chosen by the French Catholic mission was the former Governor-general’s yamen, and the second piece of land occupied by the mission was the vice-commander of the governor’s middle troops 督标中军中营副将署. The Chinese language version of the contract can be seen in Zhang Guiyong and Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, eds, *Jiaowu jiaonan dang* (Archives of religious affairs and cases), ser. 2, vol. 3 (Taipei: 1974-1981), pp.1562-1566.

the first leased land faced the city walls on the south, the Daxin jie to the north, the Yuzi xiang to the west, and the Baimi xiang on the east.

After the selection of the second piece of the land, another agreement was signed between Lao Chongguang and Kleezkowski, premier secretary of the legation of the emperor of France in Beijing on March 23, 1862 (the 1<sup>st</sup> year of the Tongzhi reign). It was agreed that these two pieces of land would be ceded to the French Legation in China in perpetuity, which would transfer to the MEP of Guangzhou to construct a Catholic Church, a college, a hospital, an asylum, and a residence for the missionaries. It also stipulated that the land should not be used for other purposes, and if used for other purposes the lease would be invalidated automatically.<sup>306</sup>

Governor Lao Chongguang 劳崇光 was someone who was very friendly toward the Catholic mission, thus he was liked by the mission and the French forces at Guangzhou. When he was removed from his position and recalled to Beijing, his departure immediately changed how the mission was treated. Those lower-level mandarins who were previously afraid of going against the mission began their anti-Christian activities. They allowed the anti-Christian placards and encouraged public hostility against the mission. Mr. de Kleezkowski even requested Prince Gong 恭亲王 to allow Lao Chongguang to retain his official title and be sent to Guizhou.<sup>307</sup>

From the first contract in 1861 to the second in 1862, with the help of French authorities in China, the MEP received a large piece of land in the city of Guangzhou. As shown in the plan drawn by the MEP missionaries in Guangzhou (see figure 4-1), the

---

<sup>306</sup> F8.15\_001, 002. Ricci Archives.

<sup>307</sup> lettre n<sup>o</sup>, dated June 20, 1863. AMEP. Acceded March 9, 2014.  
<http://archives.mepasie.org/lettres-communes/lettre-nadeg-23>.

territory within pink lines was ceded to them during the first agreement, and the territory within red lines was ceded during the second agreement. Those within the yellow line were houses and land purchased by the bishop, and those within black lines were privately owned properties.<sup>308</sup>

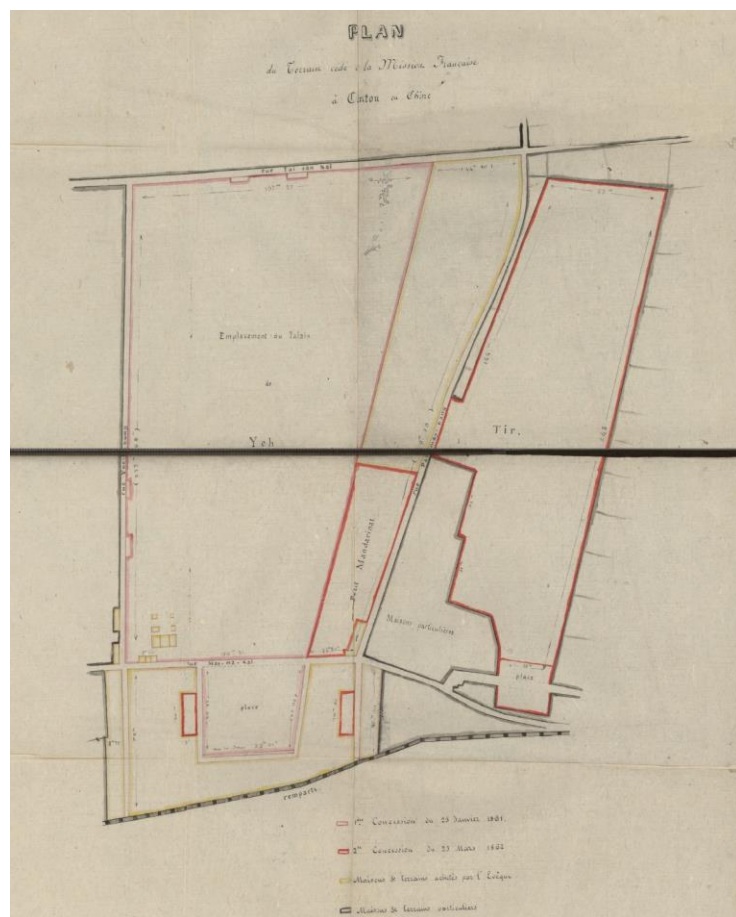


Figure 4-1. Plan of territory ceded to the French Catholic Mission at Guangzhou.<sup>309</sup>

<sup>308</sup> The leasing of these two pieces of land to MEP did not prevent them from requesting the Chinese government to return other previously confiscated chapels in the province. In 1867, Bishop Guillemin was still asking the Chinese government to return other five chapels in the province. He was replied that it was unacceptable for priests to demand certain piece of land without evidences, besides according to the contracts, all the other church properties of both Guangdong and Guangxi provinces were forfeited, Zhang Guiyong and Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, eds., *Jiaowu jiaoran dang* (Archives of religious affairs and cases), ser. 2, vol. 3 (Taipei: 1974-1981), p.1561-1566.

<sup>309</sup> F8.15\_019. Ricci Archives.

Obtaining these well-located land was a result of cooperation between the French Catholic Church and the French authorities in China. To the French government, this would expand French influence in China, and offer protection to the Catholic mission “purely for political reasons.”<sup>310</sup> To the church, this would provide them with a good foundation for their ecclesiastical work. The MEP and the French government became two inseparable entities in this mission. Both the French government and the mission knew that without the protection of the French government, it would be difficult for the mission to deal with the Chinese government.

Moreover, the decision of the French Legation in China to get a hold of a piece of land and construct a church in Guangzhou was supported by the Holy See, the Cardinal Barnabo, prefect of the Propaganda, as a way to counter the pretention of Portugal missionaries. Due to this reason, although the cathedral belonged to the mission, Bishop Guillemin left the property in the name of France instead of the Church. When dispute with the Chinese government about the territorial right of the cathedral rose in 1948, the MEP headquarter in Paris explained that what Bishop Guillemin did was necessary because in 1860 the apostolic prefect of Guangdong could not deal with the Chinese government on behalf of the Catholic Church without relying on France.<sup>311</sup>

Bishop Guillemin was a strong believer that the construction of a cathedral in Guangzhou was not only a religious work for the missionaries, but also a work of any French citizen. He offered three reasons for this: firstly, it was the French emperor who

---

<sup>310</sup> F5.43\_022. Ricci Archives.

<sup>311</sup> Letter from Mgr. Guillemin to M. Thouvenel, Minister of Foreign Affairs on 24 October 1860, Arch. M.E. Vol. 553, p. 2125, mentioned in letter from Paris to Bishop of Guangzhou, dated 27 April 1948, F8.15\_011. Ricci Archives.

wanted to pay for the construction; secondly, it would be the only monument they had in Guangzhou that would recall the memory of France. Since, in reality France did not have a single trading house, while the English and the Americans had their magnificent factories that would reflect the glory of their influences. And that religion was the only way to represent France in Guangzhou; and thirdly, France and Portugal were vying for the patronage of Catholicism in these regions, so it was the only way, wrote recently by Cardinal Prefect, to ensure that France had the prerogative, and if they missed the chance, there would be no any vestige of their country in this city or province where France had been victorious for four years.<sup>312</sup>

For the above reasons, Guillemin not only wanted to take advantage of the treaties that promised the restitution of old churches all over the empire, but also wanted this particular piece of land. This land was known to the foreign community as Tir,<sup>313</sup> because the previous governor had his archery-practicing field here. It was also his riding academy (where he rode horses). It was one of the most beautiful places in the city. This area was located at the most healthy, most visited place of the city. It was close to the Pearl River and everything was there, making it a land of choice (*terrain de choix*) that had a high value. If it were for sale, according to the price of the surrounding land, it would not have been sold for less than 40,000 piasters, which was more than 200,000 francs. But the price of the land was only a small advantage in comparison to other places it offered. There was a fear that if the property remained under the Chinese government, it would be used later as a military barrack, or as a weapon warehouse, or as a yamen for

---

<sup>312</sup> Letter from Mgr. Guillemin to M.de Quiliez, Arch. M.E.Vol. 553, p.2095. Excerpted in Letter from Paris to Bishop of Guangzhou, dated April 27, 1948. Ricci Archives.

<sup>313</sup> Tirer in French means Fire.

one of the principle mandarins of the city. Already, considerable work had started in this scope because it is located right in front of a principle gate.<sup>314</sup>

Tir referred to a Chinese barrack that was called Jiandao, where the governor's troops were quartered. When touring such a barrack in Guangzhou in 1870s, John Gray described his observation below:

It consists of a large court yard, which, in form, resembles a parallelogram, and on each side of which are rooms for the accommodation of the troops. At the extreme end of this barrack yard, there is a long building in which they officers reside, and in front of which, when the soldiers are on parade, the commanding officers sit in state. To this barrack, there is attached an armory in which weapons of various kinds, and banners are deposited. In the barrack's rooms, no weapons are kept. Thus, the soldiers, when off duty, are not only dis-armed, but their weapons are, by being locked up in the armory, placed beyond their reach...Of barrack yards, the one to which we are now particularly referring, and a second, in which are quartered the troops of the governor, and a third, in which are lodged the soldiers of the general of the Chinese forces, are the only places of the kind, which the city of Canton contains.<sup>315</sup>

To Guillemin, this land was valuable also because it held a building that was convenient for the establishment of an orphanage. To the sisters of the Holy Infant Association (St. Enfant), Guangzhou was a perfect place to have an orphanage because the relationship between Europeans and Chinese seemed quite secure there, and it would make a good harvest for the Holy Infant Association. Guillemin agreed on this point and had been looking for a suitable place for it. It seemed perfect to build an orphanage at the chosen land. If they built it there, it would mean a missionary could go to the orphanage without having to spend a night, and at the same time, there was enough distance between the sisters' place and priests' residence, and it would not seem like the sisters and the priests stayed in the same building. Due to all these reasons, Guillemin felt that if they

---

<sup>314</sup> Letter from Mgr. Guillemin to M.de Quiliez, Arch. M.E.Vol. 553, p.2095. Excerpted in Letter from Paris to Bishop of Guangzhou, dated April 27, 1948. Ricci Archives.

<sup>315</sup> John Henry Gray, *Walks in the City of Canton: with an Itinerary* (1875; reprint, San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1974), p.585.



missed this place, they could not find another piece of land that was comparable to this one again, even if they had a lot of money.<sup>316</sup> When he first arrived at Guangzhou in February 1850, Guillemin already decided that he should have a fixed residence and “known to all,” because Guangzhou was destined to become the center of all the Chinese Catholics who came from all parts of the empire.<sup>317</sup>

Thus the choice of this piece of land was due to a combination of factors. The convenience to the mission’s religious work and strategic benefits to French influence in China, as well as what it might bring to the broader foreign communities in China, all contributed to its selection. To make the concession successful, both Bishop Guillemin and the French authorities in China cooperated to make it happen. The way the land was ceded to the mission showed the interplay of religion and international politics in late nineteenth century China.

### **The Construction of a Holy Image**

The construction of the cathedral began in 1863, and was completed in 1888. It was built of solid granite. The foundation stone was brought from Jerusalem, from a spot not far from Cedron and the Garden of Olives, near the place where, according to the traditions, the body of Virgin Mary ascended into heaven. The French emperor offered all the expenses and the empress furnished the vessels for the celebration of the sacred

---

<sup>316</sup> Letter from Mgr. Guillemin to fellow members of MEP, dated July 1, 1862. F7.2\_010. Ricci Archives.

<sup>317</sup> “Letter of the Rev. Dr. Guillemin, Apostolic-Missioner of the Society of Foreign Missions, to his Mother”, dated February 12, 1850, feast of St. Eulalie, and first day of the Chinese year, *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, Volumes 11-12, p.333.

mysteries.<sup>318</sup> All the stones needed for the construction was taken from a mountain called Niutou jiao 牛头角 (Buffalo horn) of Jiulong 九龙, Xin'an County 新安, according to an agreement made with the local government. They were allowed to use the stones from 1866 to 1869.<sup>319</sup> However, they wanted to continue to use stones from there when the agreement expired in 1869. The local Chinese government refused to extend the agreement. Partially because the agreement itself was out of kindness, another reason was that the local government worried that the mission wanted to extend it intentionally so they could sell stones obtained from the mountain for profit. Stones were quite rare and valuable in the coastal areas, where most land was sand. Only after several rounds of negotiations between the French Legation in Beijing and the Zongli yamen 总理衙门 did the Chinese government eventually allow them to use the stones for another two years.<sup>320</sup>

Bishop Guillemin aimed to build a cathedral at this particular site that would make people think highly of the Christian God, and exhibit the generosity of the head of the French nation.<sup>321</sup> The architectural design of the cathedral was done on purpose. It was two hundred and thirty-six feet in length, and eighty-eight feet in width. The style was gothic. He had grand ceremonies during the construction as much as possible. In fact, Bishop Guillemin was a master of symbolic strategies in order to gain respect from

---

<sup>318</sup> “Extract from a Letter of Mgr. Guillemin, Vicar-Apostolic of Canton, to Messrs. The Directors of the Association of the Propagation of the Faith, at Lyone and Paris”, Dated Canton, 25<sup>th</sup> November, 1860, *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, Volumes 21-22, p.140.

<sup>319</sup> Zhang Guiyong and Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, eds., *Jiaowu jiaoran dang* (Archives of religious affairs and cases), ser. 2, vol. 3 (Taipei: 1974-1981), p.1568.

<sup>320</sup> Zhang Guiyong and Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, eds., *Jiaowu jiaoran dang* (Archives of religious affairs and cases), ser. 2, vol. 3 (Taipei: 1974-1981), p.1571, 1573, 1574.

<sup>321</sup> lettre n°, dated June 5, 1861, AMEP, accessed March 9, 2014.  
<http://archives.mepasie.org/lettres-communes/lettre-nadeg-21>.

the local Chinese society. In 1863 when the foundation stone of this sacred edifice was laid, the governor-general, together with high mandarins, were escorted by three-hundred banner soldiers to the ceremony. Six European consuls who were in full uniforms and many people from Guangzhou and Hong Kong were also present. The cannon, firecrackers, lights and etc. made it a festive ceremony.<sup>322</sup> On February 10, 1877, at the inauguration ceremony of the St. François Xavier statue on top of the mountain of the Shangchuan Island, the ceremony was joined by three bishops, thirty-five missionaries, many pilgrims, and a crowd of indigenous people. The consul of France and the commander of Talisman (a French boat) with his staff and crew were also present. Guillemin saw the ceremony as a “real triumph”. He had no doubt that this demonstration was for them to show that they were entitled to respect in Chinese eyes and was a powerful way to speed up the progress of the faith in the area. For this purpose, he also erected a monument in memory of French soldiers who died during the siege of Guangzhou in 1859.<sup>323</sup>

The construction of the cathedral in Guangzhou was a big event to both the French Catholic mission and the local Chinese population. While Guillemin had hoped to gain more respect from the local population to the mission and France, the reception of local society was mixed. An incident happened during the construction almost destroyed everything they had built. On September 15, 1880 (the 6<sup>th</sup> year of the Guangxu reign), the temporary wooden houses built by the stonemasons hired by the mission caught fire.

---

<sup>322</sup> Lettre n°, dated June 25, 1864, AMEP, accessed March 10, 2014.  
<http://archives.mepasie.org/lettres-communes/lettre-nadeg-24>.

<sup>323</sup> Rapport n° 137, AMEP, accessed March 12, 2014.  
<http://archives.mepasie.org/rapports-des-eveques/rapport-n-adeq-137>.

Neighbors volunteered to help put the fire down. When some of the helpers tried to enter the cathedral wall to get water from the well, a worker tried to stop them. A dispute started between them. The worker verbally abused the helper and even dragged the helper inside the cathedral to beat him. This provoked great anger among those who were helping. An angry crowd formed quickly and they attempted to enter the cathedral to take revenge.

Seeing that the situation was going out of control, Father Beal, the pro-prefect and superior of the mission in the absence of Bishop Guillemin, went to the European district asking for help and protection. As the French consul was absent, he then wrote to the British consul, who hastened to inform the governor and begged him to suppress the riot immediately.<sup>324</sup> Upon receiving the news, the governor sent soldiers promptly. Half of the crowd was dismissed immediately. However, the rumor soon spread to the streets and more and more people came to the scene and joined the angry crowd. As soldiers prevented them from entering the cathedral, they then burned about seven houses and damaged another ten, although the cathedral itself did not suffer any damage.<sup>325</sup> They refused to leave the scene, and even threw stones at Chinese officials and soldiers, forcing the soldiers to fire their firearms and arresting Chen Yasheng 陈亚胜, Li Yaquan 李亚全, Luo Yaxin 罗亚新, and Yang Yabao 杨亚宝.<sup>326</sup>

---

<sup>324</sup> Rapport n ° 595, AMEP, accessed March 13, 2014.

<http://archives.mepasie.org/rapports-des-eveques/rapport-n-adeq-595>.

<sup>325</sup> Zhang Guiyong and Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, eds., *Jiaowu jiaoran dang* (Archives of religious affairs and cases), vol. 4, No. 2 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 1974), p.1366.

<sup>326</sup> Zhang Guiyong and Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, eds., *Jiaowu jiaoran dang* (Archives of religious affairs and cases), vol. 4, No. 2 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 1974), p.1363.

The local population was so angry because their request that the missionaries deliver two of the alleged perpetrators to them was refused. The anger from the local population continued into the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> of that month. The situation gradually calmed down largely due to the station of Chinese soldiers at the cathedral compound.<sup>327</sup> The mission not only refused to surrender the perpetrators, instead they demanded the local government to compensate for the burned houses and other damaged properties, a total of 3, 571 taels. This request was most likely made by the priest as he refused to surrender the perpetrators and wanted to divert attention.<sup>328</sup> Out of their kindness to help their neighbors, the residents near the cathedral donated foreign money 4,000 *yuan* to the local government, who would give to the mission through the French consul.<sup>329</sup>

While the Chinese government never found out the cause for the riots, local rumors offered several explanations. Some said that the conflict was between the Punti and Hakkas. The workers employed by the cathedral were Catholic Hakkas, and they had some disputes with other workers who were Punti, and this dispute developed into a larger commotion. Some believed that it was purely an anti-Christian activity. Still others argued that the cathedral had thrown four children into a well. The more moderate insisted that the arrogance and rudeness of the workers toward the helpers ignited the anger of its neighbors.

Although the cause of this particular incident was unclear, the mission believed that this was a planned incident against them because ten months prior to the incident,

---

<sup>327</sup> Rapport n ° 595.

<sup>328</sup> Zhang Guiyong and Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, eds., *Jiaowu jiaodan* (Archives of religious affairs and cases), vol. 4, No. 2, p.1370.

<sup>329</sup> Zhang Guiyong and Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, eds., *Jiaowu jiaodan* (Archives of religious affairs and cases), vol. 4, No. 2, p.1381.

there were announcements in the Daily Press stating that on the 10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> day of the eighth lunar month (September 15, 16 and 17), the cathedral and the seminary would be burned and destroyed together with their inhabitants. Even in the countryside that was quite far from the city of Guangzhou, there were rumors that the mission would be attacked, forcing missionaries working in these areas to write to the cathedral to investigate. One of them wrote to the interim superior of the mission on September 12: “So what are the rumors about? The people here said that people in Guangzhou were against the Christians, the cathedral was destroyed, the fathers fled; everywhere chapels are burned.” This missionary added that because of these rumors, the non-Christians in his district had molested catechumens, looted their homes and extorted money from them, and he was insulted everywhere.<sup>330</sup>

What does this incident tell us about the interactions between the MEP and the local society? From the distances the rumors had spread, it seems the news that a European style cathedral was under construction had been known to every corner of the province, and most likely people knew that it was built by the French. From this point, Guillemin’s predication that the cathedral would increase French influence in the region was already fulfilled. The behavior of the Chinese workers hired by the mission showed that they relied on the protection of the mission. The development of the incident had reached a totally different level, from a minor dispute to official dealings between the governor-general of two Guangs and the French consul. It showed that from the obtaining

---

<sup>330</sup> Rapport n ° 595, AMEP, accessed March 15, 2014.  
<http://archives.mepasie.org/rapports-des-eveques/rapport-n-adeq-595>.

of the land for the construction, to the process of construction, the French government was there every step of the way.

Probably it was the involvement of the French government in such cases that angered the local Chinese population most. The next year after the fire incident, a Chinese woman Qu Huangshi 瞿黄氏 (Huang from the Qu family) who was selling snacks inside the cathedral was beaten by Catholic Wu Jinling 吴金陵, causing anger among the local population. Local government had to station troops again to prevent further aggravating the incident.<sup>331</sup>

### **Creating a Real Estate Empire for the Mission**

Permanently leasing these two pieces of land in Guangzhou was already a great achievement for the MEP. However, Bishop Guillemin's ambition was much larger than this. His ideal cathedral would be located at the center of a real estate empire that belonged to the mission.

The streets surrounding the cathedral were very rich streets—Daxin jie on the north, Yuzi xiang on the left, Baimi jie on the right, and Maima jie on the south. Many well-known shops were located at this area. South of the Maima street was the Jinghai 靖海 gate of the southern side of the city wall. Outside of the wall, from the Jinghai gate to the small gate on the west called Bianmen 便门 (Convenient gate) was where the famous Thirteen Hongs were located before they were completely burned down during the

---

<sup>331</sup> Zhang Guiyong and Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, eds., *Jiaowu jiaonan dang* (Archives of religious affairs and cases), vol. 5, No. 4, pp.2170—2172.

second Opium War. Before the fire, the local imperial government established more shops at the area close to the Thirteen Hongs to make it easier for foreign merchants to buy Chinese products without going into the city. The area that the Sacred Heart Cathedral was located, the southwest part of the city, was situated right behind the Thirteen Hongs, and was naturally the best location for exporting-oriented shops to settle. This area became even more commercialized after the Thirteen Hongs fire, and especially when Guangzhou became a treaty port and foreigners were allowed to go anywhere inside the city after the Opium War. Since it was close to the river, it was convenient to buy products from these shops and load up the boats.

When John Henry Gray (1823-1890), who was Archdeacon of Hong Kong, visited Guangzhou between the 1850s and 1870s, he compared the organization of streets and shops in Guangzhou with that of English towns. He found that while the shops in English towns were often scattered indiscriminately throughout the city, in the city of Guangzhou, shops usually occupied a certain part of the city because each branch of trade had its distinct and separate locality. For example, it was customary to see rows of shops on each side of a certain street featuring commodities of one and the same kind.<sup>332</sup> Even today, Chinese cities generally arrange their shops in this way.

In Guangzhou, Baimi xiang was a street for Chinese porcelains. The most well known shops such as Baoxing ciqu pu 宝兴瓷器铺 (Baoxing Chinaware shop) and Yichang ciqu pu 怡昌瓷器铺 (Yichang Chinaware shop) were located on this street. The porcelains in these shops were elegantly designed and elaborately painted. Most of its

---

<sup>332</sup> John Henry Gray, *Walks in the City of Canton: with an Itinerary* (Reprinted by San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1974) (Originally printed by Victoria, Hong Kong: De Souza & Co, 1875), pp.19-20.



customers were foreigners.<sup>333</sup> The Yuzi xiang specialized in elephant bone products.<sup>334</sup>

The Daxin jie had been a center of tea trade during the Ming dynasty, so it was originally called Shancha xiang (Alley of Mountain tea) 山茶巷. The name was changed into Daxin jie because of the construction of the New Town at late Ming. In the late Qing dynasty, even little kids knew the prosperity of this street by chanting “My fair aunty, please marry nowhere by the backstreet, for there are lots of things sold there, fish and meat and pretty flowers. So many flowers keep dropping to your bedside. And even mice carry them to sell. Where? To Daxin Street, of course!”<sup>335</sup> The shops on this street both sold and produced ornaments made of jade, coral, lapis-lazuli, pearls, and diamonds.

For instance, horn lanterns were manufactured in some shops whereas in workmen in other shops were engaged in metallurgy, making copper and silver earrings, hair pins, bracelets, enamel consisting of kingfishers’ feathers, and other ornaments. These feathers adhered to the various articles by gluing. Feathers for this purpose were forwarded to China from the islands of Java and Sumatra. On this street, there were also shops in which drums and other instruments of percussion were made.<sup>336</sup> The adjacent street, Xiaoshi jie 小市街 (Street of Little Market), consisted of several working jewelers’

---

<sup>333</sup> John Henry Gray, *Walks in the City of Canton: with an Itinerary* (Reprinted by San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1974) (Originally printed by Victoria, Hong Kong: De Souza & Co, 1875), p.154.

<sup>334</sup> John Henry Gray, *Walks in the City of Canton: with an Itinerary* (Reprinted by San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1974) (Originally printed by Victoria, Hong Kong: De Souza & Co, 1875), pp. 11-12.

<sup>335</sup> “阿姑乖，嫁后街。后街有嘢卖，后街有鲜鱼鲜肉卖，又有鲜花戴。戴唔晒，栖落床头被老鼠拉。拉去边，拉去大新街”。In Guangdong shengli Zhongshan tushuguan ed., *Lao Guangzhou* (In Search of Guangzhou Lost in Time) (Guangzhou: Lingnan meishu chubanshe, 2009), p.35.

<sup>336</sup> John Henry Gray, *Walks in the City of Canton: with an Itinerary* (Reprinted by San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1974) (Originally printed by Victoria, Hong Kong: De Souza & Co, 1875), p.289.

shops, in which gold and silver earrings, bracelets, and hair pins were made and sold. The most famous among these shops were Tianfu jinpu 天福金铺 (Gold Hong of Heavenly Happiness).<sup>337</sup>

The lucrative products sold in the shops and the commercialization of this area in general made it expensive to buy any part of the street, let alone all the shops on several streets near the cathedral. Despite its exorbitant cost, the French Catholic Mission eventually bought all of the shops and houses that shared borders with the church compound. Due to the numbers of properties and potential difficulties of purchases, Bishop Guillemin was well aware of the potential difficulty of purchasing numerous properties in this area when he signed the first contract leasing him cathedral land in 1861. He immediately purchased property after acquiring this land, and by June 1862, Guillemin had already bought fifty houses and barracks.<sup>338</sup> After the purchases, most of them were rented out again, but many houses on the southeast and southwest were occupied by Christian families (see figure 4-2).

---

<sup>337</sup> John Henry Gray, *Walks in the City of Canton: with an Itinerary* (Reprinted by San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1974) (Originally printed by Victoria, Hong Kong: De Souza & Co, 1875), pp.293-294.

<sup>338</sup> lettre n<sup>o</sup>, dated June 1862, AMEP, accessed March 15, 2014.  
<http://archives.mepasie.org/lettres-communes/lettre-nadeg-22>.



Figure 4-2. The neighborhood of the Sacred Heart Cathedral.<sup>339</sup>

With support of the French authorities in China especially the French military force as back up, it was comparatively easy for the MEP to obtain the land for the construction of the cathedral. However, buying off more than forty shops required dealings with each property owner separately without the coercive power of any government. Nonetheless, the MEP managed to purchase all the properties located on the adjacent streets, most of the transactions were completed between 1861 and 1862. Everything on these streets, be it land, shops, or houses, were eventually in the hands of

<sup>339</sup> F2.1\_052. Ricci Archives.

the mission. The money and time that the MEP had spent on such acquisitions show that it was a well-planned purchasing campaign.

Between 1861 and 1892, the MEP purchased at least 130 pieces of properties surrounding the cathedral (see Appendix 2). Among them 93 transactions were made in 1861, 87 were made in 1861, and only 6 were made after 1862. Among all the transactions, only two were made during Bishop Chausse's time, the remaining was all purchased by Bishop Guillemin. The property deeds show that all the transactions were made between the mission and sellers directly, without anyone being the second-hand buyer.

The direct purchases of properties by the mission were conducted successfully largely due to the commercialization of the city. As mentioned earlier, although Chinese in Guangdong province had been dealing with foreigners for a long time, many of them were still hostile toward foreigners. Selling property to foreign missionaries or to Catholic Church (*tianzhu tang* 天主堂) was still a daunting idea. Nonetheless, the mission was able to conclude so many purchases without causing any major problem. In fact, in several cases, the sellers voluntarily walked into the cathedral and asked the missionaries to buy their properties. For example, He Yunguang 何云光 sold his house located at Daxin street to Bishop Guillemin because he wanted to move away due to the military unrest.<sup>340</sup> A woman whose surname was Zhao sold her house located on Daxin street to Bishop Guillemin because she owed money to another woman whose surname was Liang. When the contract was concluded, it was Liang who received the payment,

---

<sup>340</sup> C12.19\_002d. Ricci Archives.

not Zhao.<sup>341</sup> Around this time, it might already be known that the mission was buying properties and they paid well. So it was easy and convenient for anyone who needed money to sell their properties to the French cathedral. Almost all the purchases were paid by foreign currencies (*yangyin* 洋银), another attraction to the local population due to the instability of the Chinese currency that I have discussed earlier.

Although some purchases were concluded due to the willingness of the sellers, most of them might have done due to the persuasion of the middlemen. In many deeds, it stated clearly that they sold the property to the mission because “the bishop wants to build a cathedral and needs to use this land”. This statement of reason was not exactly true as the mission already obtained land for the construction of the cathedral.

In this process, the role of the middlemen was crucial. An inspection of the purchasing deeds shows that middlemen were involved in almost every transaction. The existing deeds show that some people were “professional” middlemen. Among the purchases of properties surrounding the cathedral, Wang Zhongjun 王钟俊 was the middleman in ten transactions; Bai Jinghou 白敬侯, Jian Jue'an 简觉庵 and Liao Leshan 廖乐山 each acted as the middleman in six of them; Liao Najue 廖纳爵 in four of them. Bai Jingyan 白敬严, Bai Andang 白安当 and Bai Ruose 白若瑟 also acted as middlemen. Their names indicated that many were Chinese Christians because their names were typical Chinese Christian names. Najue is the Chinese translation of St. Ignatius, Andang is the Chinese translation of St. Antonius, and Ruose is the Chinese translation of St. Joseph. Thus Liao Najue was a Chinese whose baptismal name was

---

<sup>341</sup> C12.19\_002g. Ricci Archives.

Ignatius and surname was Liao; Bai Andang was a Chinese whose baptismal name was Antonius and surname was Bai; Bai Ruose was a Chinese whose baptismal name was Joseph and surname was Bai. It was possible that the Bais were from the same lineage.

The way that the MEP formalizing their purchasing contracts demonstrates their adaptation into local practices while acquiring properties. As shown in Chapter 3, from 1865 to 1895, until the end of the Qing dynasty, the French Legation in China had continuously negotiated with the Qing government about the procedures for missionaries to buy land and houses in China. The negotiations were centered on if missionaries could buy properties in their names, and if such transactions should be approved by local Chinese authorities before it could be finalized. This long-running battle between the French Legation in Beijing and the Zongli yamen (later *waiwubu* 外务部) seemed to have no effect on the MEP's economic activities in Guangzhou. Most transactions were made in the name of missionaries, mainly Bishop Guillemin. In those deeds, the buyer's name was Ming zhujiao 明主教 (Bishop Ming), referring to Bishop Guillemin's Chinese name Ming Jizhang 明稽章. The deeds were made exactly in the same way as how Chinese commoners usually made theirs.

For instance, a contract made in 1861 reads as following (see figure 4-3):

The name of the seller is Li Yichang 李义昌. He has a shop that was inherited from his father. It has two courtyards and is located at the northern side of Maima street. As he needs money urgently, he is selling the shop, asking 160 yuan based on the market price. The seller was brought to Bishop Ming by middleman Jian Jue'an 简觉庵. Bishop Ming was willing to buy the shop. The buyer immediately checked out the borders of the shop and paid the full amount of the price. After the selling, Bishop Ming could rent or reside or do anything else with it, and would have no business with the seller. The seller has given the old deeds and

official title of this shop to Bishop Ming. Middleman: Jiang Jue'an. September 5, 1861 (the 11th year of the Xianfeng reign).<sup>342</sup>

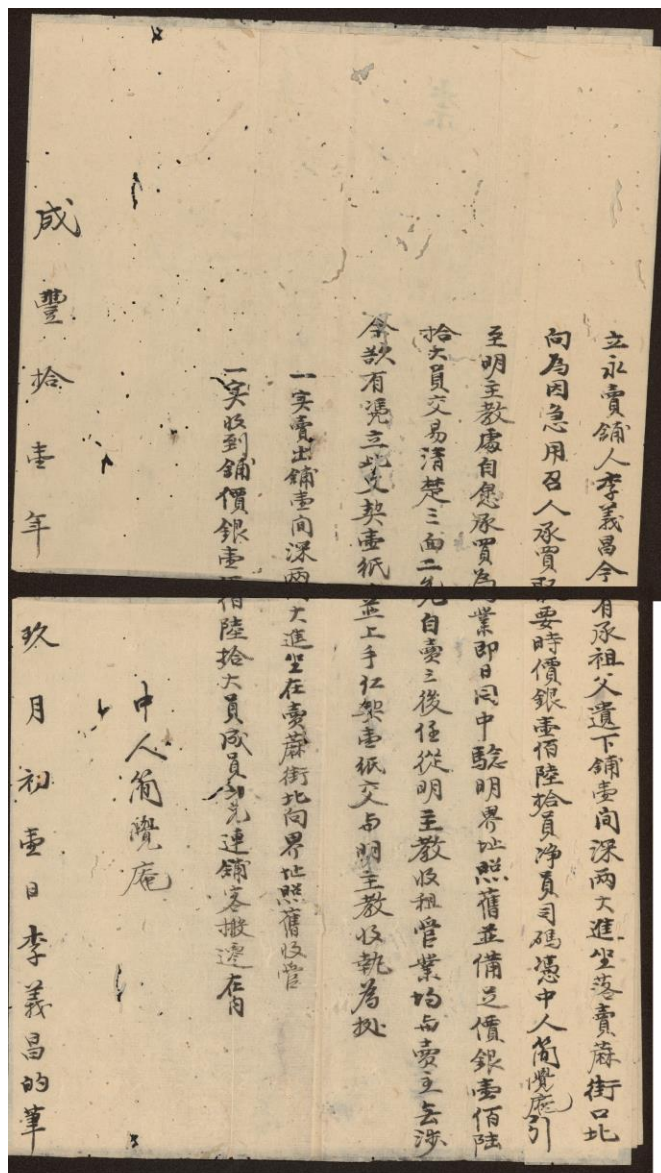


Figure 4-3. Property deed in 1861 belonging to the MEP.

<sup>342</sup> C11.15-II.I\_015. Ricci Archives.

As shown in this example, the deed included the name of the seller, a description of the property, the name of the buyer, the price, the middleman and dates. Although the property was sold to the mission, it did not state this in the deed. Instead the property was sold to Bishop Guillemain as an individual. The format of the contract was almost exactly the same as how the local people had been making such contracts. A shop purchasing contract made in 1786 (the 51<sup>st</sup> year of the Qianlong reign) went as below (see figure 4-4):

The name of the seller is Lai Yaoduo 赖耀多, a native of Shunde County, now lives at Shoupu xiang (Shoupu alley) [street name]. As he needs money, the mother and son have discussed and decided to sell their shop that they inherited from his father. It is located at Baimi xiang (street of White Rice) of Daxin Street. It includes two courtyards, the front one was eleven keng wide and the back one was fifteen keng wide. The front side of the shop reaches the street, the back reaches the house belonging to the Lai family; the left extends to the house belonging to the Wen family. The borderlines are clear. All the facilities including doors and floors are recently renovated and in good condition. The shop is not currently rented to anyone. They have made advertisements but none of their relatives wants to buy it. Then the middlemen brought them to the house of Luo Yunzuo 罗允佐, who was willing to buy. They have settled at a price of 330 taels based on the market price. After deducting all the fees, they have agreed on the final price of 300 taels and made the contract right away. The seller received all the money and the buyer received the old deeds of the shop. After the transaction, the shop would belong to the Luo family forever. As Lai Yaoduo did not need to pay land tax and the shop is not rented to anyone, the Lai family's ownership to the shop is genuine. It was divided to the Lai family by their predecessors and had no relation to his brothers, uncles and nephews, thus it was not a shared lineage property. If anyone disputes over this shop, the seller would deal with it, and the buyer does not need to get involved. It was inconvenient for the seller to provide the old deed because it was connected with other properties, but the seller has provided part of it and made notes on it. The deed was made with middlemen Zeng Shengmei 曾胜梅 and Zeng Yongda 曾永大. Seller Lai and his mother have received full amount of the price and provided fingerprints. September of the 51st year of the Qianlong reign.<sup>343</sup>

---

<sup>343</sup> C1.11-II.I\_019. Ricci Archives.



立明斷賣舖屋連地契人賴耀多係賴德縣人現住丹璫巷今  
 前進滿拾壹坑後進滿拾五坑前至街口至賴宅左至翁宅  
 右至翁宅右至明白門扇舖忠樓閣瓦面木磚石安地入牆各項俱全新修完固並無項首  
 欠明里羅先佐承買實取實還今時舖屋連地價銀叁佰叁拾兩貳錢司馬發書  
 銀契兩相交訖並無欠金毫實銀實契並無加寫自賣之後舖交羅宅永遠管  
 業並無地稅地租其舖果係賴耀多承祖遺業經分名下  
 同中理明不干買主之事至上手文因共別業相連未便  
 一實賴耀多子丹當親手接列 四羅宅舖屋價銀叁佰叁拾兩貳錢司馬  
 中人 曾勝梅  
 曾永大  
 同賣舖如賴氏指摸  
 初九日立賣舖契賴耀多花押  
 乾隆五十一年丙午九月

Figure 4-4. A property contract made in 1786 belonging to a Chinese commoner.

A comparison of these two deeds shows that although they were half a century apart, the formats of the contracts were strikingly similar. It was evident that the mission adopted the local format of making property contracts. All the contracts made by Bishop Guillemin between 1861 and 1862 were made in his own name, not the mission. Due to the negotiations between the French Legation in Beijing with the Chinese government, the MEP began to purchase properties in the name of the mission instead of missionaries one decade later. So purchases concluded in the 1870s and 1880s were made in the name of the *tianzhu tang* 天主堂 (Catholic Church). This modification shows that the MEP was making great efforts to make sure that their purchases were legal and successful. Adopting the local contract format would make the local population feel comfortable about it. Changing the buyer from missionaries to the mission would make sure that the local Chinese government would endorse their purchases.

The occupation of Guangzhou by the allied forces of Britain and France from 1857 to 1861 also helped these purchases because diplomatically it gave pressure to the Chinese government. Soon after the departure of the allied forces, the local government issued a proclamation, informing the local population about the evacuation. It also reminded the local population that British and French consuls would stay, and merchants and ordinary foreigners would constantly come and go, or even reside at their pleasure, so the local population should continue to treat foreigners with courtesy.<sup>344</sup>

The commercialization of Guangzhou also made the purchases easier. As discussed earlier, the location where the cathedral was situated was the most

---

<sup>344</sup> “The Evacuation of Canton”, *The London and China Telegraph*, December 14, 1861, vol. IV-No. 74, pp. 25-26.

commercialized part of the city. Chinese who had been living or doing business here were used to the presence of foreigners, so selling houses and shops to foreigners was not a big deal for them. To them, it simply meant another business transaction.

Among all the properties that the mission obtained near the cathedral, only one was a rental property. In 1887, a dispute broke out between Christian Yang Qisheng 杨其生 and non-Christian Xian Deming 洗德明 over the ownership of a piece of land located not far from the cathedral. The magistrate of Nanhai County did not give the land to any of them, instead ruled that the land belonged to the local government. In 1888, this piece of land was rented to Xu Deyuan 许德源 by the government.<sup>345</sup> In the same year, Xu Deyuan gave up the tenancy and transferred the deed to the MEP for 3,000 yuan.<sup>346</sup> The timing of the story made it a suspicious one. It was unlikely that Xu Deyuan wanted to give up the tenancy immediately after having rented it from the government. It was possible that the mission had originally wanted to obtain this property via Christian Xian Deming. After the official ruling against the ownership of the Christian, the mission decided to buy off the ownership from tenant Xu.

Once the land was purchased and cathedral built, the MEP also took the responsibility to maintain the order of the neighborhood. Vicar Apostolic Merél once requested the police of Nanhai County to close a money-lending shop near the west side of the cathedral because the shop was suspected of hiring bandit members and was a potential trouble maker. The shop owners Qu Haoquan 区浩泉 and He Jucai 何矩财 had

---

<sup>345</sup> C12.28\_003. Ricci Archives.

<sup>346</sup> C12.28\_005. Ricci Archives.

to write to Bishop Merél, defending that the shop had problems before but not anymore, begging him to let them keep their shop there.<sup>347</sup>

After gaining the ownership of the nearby shops, houses and land, the MEP gradually built the Sacred Heart College, three schools, two orphanages, and a seminary. With the cathedral as the center, this area became the most powerful Catholic community in the entire province. It covered an area of about 7, 000 square meters, occupying 157 houses, hosting more than 500 Catholic families, most of whom had been Catholic for several generations.<sup>348</sup> The Seminary of the MEP was initially established in Hong Kong in 1851 and was relocated to Guangzhou in 1873. Both the boys' orphanage and the Girls' orphanage were founded by Father Guillemin in 1859. The Sacred Heart College was founded in 1904 in Guangzhou and had been administered by brothers from the Little Brothers of Mary (*Petits Frères de Marie*) since 1908.<sup>349</sup>

Purchasing all the shops on these adjacent streets made the MEP a major business owner in the area. Those shops and houses, once purchased by the mission, were rented out for profit. It brought a good amount of revenue to them. Between 1926 and 1927, these properties generated about \$11,000 annual income to the MEP. When reporting the income to Bishop Fourquet, accountant Father Biotteau said that: "This is obviously not what we were entitled to expect."<sup>350</sup>

---

<sup>347</sup> C1.2\_011. Ricci Archives.

<sup>348</sup> Zhao Chunchen et al., *Zongjiao yu jindai Guangdong shehui* (Beijing: Zhongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2008), p.188.

<sup>349</sup> Adrien Launay, *Histoire des missions de Chine : mission du Kouang-Tong* (Paris : Anciennes Maisons Douniol et Retaux, 1917), pp. 5-7.

<sup>350</sup> F10.40\_173. Ricci Archives.

### **Properties Belonged to the French Catholic Mission in Other Parts of the City**

In Guangzhou, besides the area surrounding the cathedral, the MEP also owed several other parts of the city. The land for the construction of the Sacred Heart Cathedral was the result of restitution of previously confiscated properties. Other properties were obtained either by restitution or purchasing.

Shameen (*Shamian* 沙面), the British and French concession, was among the most famous places of Guangzhou in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It was originally a tiny island in the Pear River. During the Opium War, the British and France obtained it as a concession from the Chinese government in September 1861. They expanded this island and made it a much larger territory. The British owed 4/5 of it, and the French owed 1/5. The entire territory was divided into smaller lots; each lot was given a number. The French part of the territory covered an area of about 66 *mu* in total. The French government gave lots No. 12, 14, 18, 19, 20, and 24 to the MEP. The mission built a chapel named Our Lady of Lourdes on the island. The rest of its land was sold or rented to other foreigners, mostly French citizens. Their lots valued roughly \$175, 000 in 1917.<sup>351</sup>

To both the MEP and the French authorities in China, acquiring properties in China was for the “higher good” of French influence. That is why they always wanted to keep their properties in the hands of fellow French citizens. When Bishop Merél, vicar apostolic of Guangdong and Guangxi, sold the mission’s lots to Jean Francois Maries Trevoux, inspector of silks, it stated in the selling contract that the buyer should not sell

---

<sup>351</sup> F5.43\_211. Ricci Archives.

the land to people who were not French citizen. If it was sold to non-French, then they needed to inform the French consul three months in advance.<sup>352</sup> The reason that they did not want to sell their properties to non-French was because it could lead to the loss of part of the French concession.<sup>353</sup>

Besides their lots on Shameen, there was another piece of property that was obtained largely due to the high-level diplomacy. Outside the Xiaobei men 小北门 (Little Northern Gate) on the northeast part of the old town there was a hill called Taojin keng 淘金坑 (Gold Panning Hole). It was a place comprised of two hills. It had been a cemetery for Christians since the Ming dynasty after the Wanli emperor gave it to the missionaries. In 1827 (the 7<sup>th</sup> year of the Daoguang reign), the Hubei Huiguan 湖北会馆 (The Hubei Guild) had bought part of this place from commoner Zhong Gaofa 钟高发 and renamed this part as Jinchai ling 金钗岭 (Hill of Golden Hairpin) . Since then this place had been used by the guild to bury Hubei natives who died in Guangdong. In 1861, the allied forces of Britain and France requested the Panyu government to return Taojin keng to the MEP and they succeeded. The hills were given back to the mission, although Hubei natives were allowed to clean their ancestral tombs and to offer sacrifices there.<sup>354</sup> After regaining the ownership of Taojinkeng, the mission continued to use the cemetery to bury Christians, and gradually purchased houses and land at this area as well.<sup>355</sup>

In the obtaining of Taojin keng, the allied forces of Britain and France were crucial in their dealings with the local government. Although the hill was given by the

---

<sup>352</sup> F6.06\_001. Ricci Archives.

<sup>353</sup> F6.5\_029, dated April 13, 1906. Ricci Archives.

<sup>354</sup> C12.24\_001-002, 025, 045, 057. Ricci Archives.

<sup>355</sup> C12.24\_018-019. Ricci Archives.

Wanli emperor as a gift to the missionaries, it had been almost abandoned by missionaries after the Qianlong emperor banned Christianity. Christians continued to be buried there, but they did not dare to claim the ownership of this place. Gradually non-Christians settled here and formed a village. The magistrate of Panyu County did not want to return it initially, arguing that it had been so long and there was no evidence to prove the mission's ownership. In order to prove the ownership, Bishop Guillemin found nine of the oldest Christians in the city of Guangzhou who knew the story about Taojin keng to testify. These Christians together sent a petition to the local government in October 1860 and testified that Taojin keng belonged was given to Christians permanently by the Wanli emperor and should belong to the mission.<sup>356</sup> After the regaining of the ownership, Bishop Guillemin wrote to Tanouarne to express his gratitude and satisfaction.<sup>357</sup> The Chinese who had been living there was persuaded to sell their houses and land to the mission and to move away (see Appendix 3). Thus the formation of the Christian community at Taojin keng was similar with that of the cathedral. All the properties surrounding the officially leased property were gradually bought off. In both communities, the driving force was Guillemin.

Besides properties near the cathedral and the cemetery at Taojin keng, the MEP had another center at Jiucang xiang (Old Warehouse Alley). Properties at this community were purchased between 1873 and 1917 (see Appendix 4). Thus it was developed later than the previous two communities.

---

<sup>356</sup> C12.24\_051-052. Ricci Archives.

<sup>357</sup> Letter from Guillemin to Tanouarne, dated June 16, 1861, Canton. C12.24\_036. Ricci Archives.

With these properties, the MEP became stronger than ever. The number of French priests was the largest among all the mission orders in Guangdong. The bishop was actively involved in Chinese Catholics' lives. From 1848 to 1881, the number of its Catholics in the province increased from 2,000 to 21,882. The number of its chapels increased from 3 or 4 to over 100. Two small schools were replaced by 2 large orphanages and 60 schools.<sup>358</sup> In 1898, the governor of Guangdong reported to the Zongli yamen that all the French missionaries relied on Bishop Chausse. Bishop Chausse had converted many Chinese Catholics in recent years and helped them with their lawsuits. Just within ten days in March that year, there were already eight cases that were related to Bishop Chausse. Larger cases included murder, stealing, raping and kidnapping; smaller ones included debts and land disputes. The governor felt that the power of the bishop was greater than that of the French consul. Because the consul "seemed a peaceful person, but the religious affairs were more important than political ones. While the consul could not fire a priest, a priest could on the contrary accuse the consul." To solve the problem, the governor suggested the Zongli yamen to ask the French government to either call Bishop Chausse back to France, or dispatch him to other places, so to avoid trouble.<sup>359</sup>

The Chinese official's feeling about the relation between French bishops and the French consul was quite right. Coupvent des Bois once described his relations with the missionaries that: "Missionaries want our protection when they are threatened and

---

<sup>358</sup> Philippe François Zéphirin GUILLEMIN, AMEP, accessed March 8, 2014. <http://archives.mepasie.org/notices/notices-biographiques/guillemin>.

<sup>359</sup> Zhang Guiyong and Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, eds., *Jiaowu jiaoan dang* (Archives of religious affairs and cases), vol. 6, No. 3, p.1561.



pursued after, but out of these circumstances, they avoid our constant concerns, thus we create embarrassment and difficulties that could have been avoided”.<sup>360</sup> The construction of the cathedral at the particular location was Bishop Guillemin’s idea completely. Although he was supported by the French authorities in China, Baron Gros, the representative of France in China hesitated initially. Even the clause that allowed missionaries to get back their confiscated properties in the treaty with China was inserted secretly, without the knowledge of Baron Gros, by the French interpreter Pierre-Marie Osouf, who was also the procure of Hong Kong at the time.<sup>361</sup>

In 1929, the No. 6 district police force of the local Republican government conducted an investigation. According to their research, the MEP had forty-one priests (twenty three indigenous priests and eighteen foreign priests) serving a total of 2,603 Chinese Christians in Guangdong. The police’s research also found that the mission had no borrowed or donated property in the city. In the same year the police force composed their report, the MEP possessed more than 130 *mu* land that valued more than 1,000,000 *yuan* in 1929. Among them about 40 *mu* were purchased at Fangcun, and 3 *mu* were purchased near the Sacred Heart Cathedral, and 60 *mu* were leased permanently from the Qing government. In addition to the Sacred Heart Cathedral, the mission had seven chapels within the city: one at Juxing li 聚星里 of Gaopo 高坡, one at Shahepu 沙河埔 on the east side of the city, near the East Gate, one was at Penglai li 蓬莱里 of the west

---

<sup>360</sup> Letter from Coupvent des Bois to the Secretary of State of France, cited in “Some Recent Books on China”, *The Church Missionary Review*, Volume 53, April 1902, p. 259.

<sup>361</sup> “Réminiscences d’un Ancien, En procure de Hongkong (1866-1868) 1”, AMEP, accessed March 8, 2014. <http://archives.mepasie.org/bulletin-des-missions-etrangees/ra-c-miniscences-dun-ancien-en-procure-de-hongkong>.

part of the city, one at Shahexu 沙河圩, one at Yatang 鸭塘 at the western mountain, one at Shamian, one at Bao gang 宝岗 at suburb Henan.<sup>362</sup>

The MEP in Guangzhou was not only capable of purchasing properties from individuals, but also made deals with large lineages. In order to maintain a foothold in the old city, the mission also bought properties at a beautiful location in the old town where they planned to establish a chapel, an instruction room for pagans, and a small pharmacy.<sup>363</sup> These properties were located at the Youlan xiang 幽兰巷 (Quite Orchid Alley) of Fangcao jie 芳草街 (street of fragrant grass) near the Eastern gate. It was a huge property purchased from local residents, which composed of twenty-three houses connected together. Northside reached Haoxian jie 豪贤街 (street of heroes and the virtuous), and southside reached Anhuaili 安怀里. In 1891, the mission decided to build the chapel at another location, so all the houses were sold as one huge piece to the powerful Qu lineage by Bishop Chausse for the price of 3,200 *yuan*. The Qu family bought these houses and another twenty-five houses from other sellers to become a lineage property where the descendants of the lineage could stay for educational purposes such as taking the civil examination.<sup>364</sup> In 1903, the mission bought a large set of houses located at Juxingli of Gaopo that covered a total of 60 *jing* (equals to 6000 square feet)

---

<sup>362</sup> C1.8\_003. Ricci Archives.

<sup>363</sup> lettre n°, dated June 1862, AMEP, accessed March 10, 2014.

<http://archives.mepasie.org/lettres-communes/lettre-nadeg-22>.

<sup>364</sup> Qu Zuolin (Qing) compiler, *Qu Shi Lin Shi Gong Zuci Pu* (Genealogy of the Linshi branch of the Qu family), 1891, from Sun Yat-sen Library of Guangdong Province, pp.1-11. I want to thank Huang Sujuan of Department of History at Sun Yat-sen University for providing me a copy of this material.

from the Chen lineage. The contract was made between the mission and descendants from five branches of the lineage for the total price of 1,850 taels.<sup>365</sup>

Although the cathedral made the mission stronger, it also became an easy target during anti-Christian campaigns. In 1891, many parts of China were affected by a rumor that claimed missionaries used eyes of Chinese children to make medicines, causing many anti-Christian activities across the country. For example, a placard that vividly criticizes the Sacred Heart Cathedral was widespread throughout the province:

There is a Roman Catholic chapel at “Mai-Ma street” where foreign-evils and native Christians are united in society, for the purpose of extracting the two eye balls of our Chinese youths to prepare their medicine. From the beginning to the present, there have been millions of years; even lions of gigantic of stone-lion hearing of it would shed tears. Supposing great the strength and vastness of our “Ta-ching” [great Qing] dynasty, can she watch unruffled sleeves stand by as a looker on? Brothers of the four directions! Let us together take revenge for our youths, by first killing the foreigner devils and native converts; and then, burn their chapels, exterminating them to their roots, so as to be free from a great calamity, the youths of our Ta-ching dynasty will be safe; it is ten thousand tunes hoped that the public will give its support.<sup>366</sup>

The MEP, as a major property owner in the city of Guangzhou, strongly contributed to the French government’s colonial interests in China and the entire East Asian region. One example of France’s attempt to exert influence in China involved

---

<sup>365</sup> C1.12\_031. Ricci Archives.

<sup>366</sup> 番鬼教民同谋华童目

卖麻街内天主堂，番鬼教民勾结党。  
将我清朝华孩子，取了双目造药材。  
由始至今千数万，石狮闻见也泪流。  
伏思我清朝强大，可能袖手与旁观。  
四方兄弟全孩报，先杀番鬼与教民。  
后将教堂来焚毁，绝其根株除大害。  
清朝华童得安然，万望众人扶持哉。

From Cheng Huanwen, ed., *Meiguo zhu Zhongguo Guangzhou lingshiguan lingshi baogao* 1790-1906 (Dispatches from U.S. Consuls in Canton, China, 1790-1906) (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2007), vol. 14, p.88-90.

demanding compensation after Father Chanès was killed in Botang on October 14, 1898. Stephen Pichon, director of the French Legation in Beijing, persuaded Théophile Delcassé, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, to utilize Chanès case to seek a whopping sum of 160,000 taels for both damages done to churches and Christian families during the Sino-French war of 1884-1885, as well as the Chanès case.<sup>367</sup> Pichon also used this opportunity to press the Qing government to resolve the *Guangzhou wan* 广州湾 (Guangzhou bay) issue to the satisfaction of France. Predictably, these demands met fierce opposition from the Chinese side, who eventually settled on 80,000 *yuan* silver money for the Chanès case.<sup>368</sup>

In conclusion, in the city of Guangzhou, the MEP obtained properties mainly through two ways: concession of land from the Chinese government and directly purchasing from local Chinese residents. Their land for the construction of the Sacred Heart Cathedral and the Taojin keng cemetery were given as restitution of former church properties by the Chinese government. Their land on Shameen was concession to Britain and France after the Opium War. The rest of the properties in the cities were purchased. With the patronage of the French authorities in China, particularly the allied forces of Britain and France during their occupation of Guangzhou, the mission seemed had an easy time acquiring properties in Guangzhou. The commercialization of the city helped the mission's purchases of land and houses as well.

---

<sup>367</sup> Letter from Pichon to Delcassé, dated November 20, 1898, Beijing. From *Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan, Fujian shifan daxue lishi xi*, eds., *Qingmo jiao'an* (Late Qing Religious Cases) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), vol. 4, no. 75, p. 24.

<sup>368</sup> Letter from Pichon to Delcassé, dated December 25, 1899, Beijing. From *Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan, Fujian shifan daxue lishi xi*, eds., *Qingmo jiao'an* (Late Qing Religious Cases) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), vol. 4, no. 82, p. 27.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Rural Economy: the French Catholic Mission in the Rural Areas of Guangdong**

In the city of Guangzhou, the MEP obtained their landed properties mainly through restitution of former confiscated properties from Chinese government and purchasing from local residents. In the countryside their modes of property acquisition were quite different. Their properties in the rural areas were often rented, donated and purchased, mostly from Chinese Catholics. In rare cases the MEP were compensated for properties by the Chinese government due to anti-Christian incidents. It was easy for missionaries to encounter difficulties in buying properties in the rural areas. The reasons could be anything and from anyone. Nonetheless, once missionaries obtained support from Chinese Catholics or local notables and even officials, their situations could be much better. Once they obtained their properties, the way they managed those properties at different mission districts also varied. Overall, with a much lower presence of the French authorities and any foreign power in the countryside, it was up to each individual missionary to meet their needs. It was definitely a challenging task for those missionaries who worked in the countryside.

### **The MEP's Regulations and Resources to Priests**

Generating economic resources from their mission districts was a necessity for French missionaries working in rural areas of Guangdong province. Although the MEP in Guangdong received annual financial support from France and other foreign institutions, the support that came down to each individual missionary was very limited. If they did not expand their income locally, most likely they would live in poverty. The MEP had detailed regulations on how to distribute funds and how each missionary should use their money. Each year the mission received two external funds, one from the Propagation of the Faith, another from the St. Enfant (Holy Child organization). The external funding for each priests came down to two parts: first, each priest had \$120 annual fund. This fund was called viatique and was missionaries' personal money, and did not require application and report of usage. Second, the money that was left after the distribution of the viatique and other necessary expenses of the mission would be divided between all missionaries based on their needs. To obtain this fund, a missionary had to provide a detailed application in which he should provide the reasons for the support, the plan for the construction (chapel, school, residence, etc.) and the budget. Nobody should buy land, build chapels and to form other establishment without written authorization from their superiors. These were the rules of missionaries of all provinces.

To get a sense of how much money was available to each individual priest, let us look at the fund distribution of the year of 1855. For that year, the Guangdong mission received \$22,000 francs (\$4,000 Hong Kong dollars) from the Propagation of the Faith

and \$18, 000 francs from the St. Enfant. After the viatiques for twelve missionaries and other necessary expenditures, \$860 was left to be divided between twelve missionaries.

Once an allocation was made for a location, it could not be used for another location. If the allocation was not used, it should be returned to the common budget. Even if a missionary had his own money, he still needed to obtain authorization from his superior before using the money to do anything for the mission district, as it was the superior who had the right to decide if it was appropriate to establish certain work in the mission or in a specific district. When a missionary moved from one place to another, he should not bring any property from the old district to the new one except his personal belongings, and he should not undo anything that his predecessors had accomplished in the new district either.

The MEP missionaries were required to report all their income resources, to obtain authorization for every use, and to report to their superiors at the end of each year a detailed account of their expenses. This was a common regulation that applied to all MEP missionaries, no matter which country or district they worked in. At the beginning of November of each year, each missionary was required to submit the financial report together with their spiritual report to their superiors. This regulation would make sure that the reports from the mission could reach the Propagation of the Faith and the St. Enfant by January and February the next year when they had general meetings.<sup>369</sup>

---

<sup>369</sup> Letter from Mgr. Guillemin to fellow members of MEP, dated February 2, 1855. F7.2\_004. Ricci Archives.

The Society obviously monitored closely how they used money. At the same time, missionaries were ordered not to show the Chinese Christians their wealth. As it was often enough to trigger rioting simply by letting people know that there was a missionary, the priests were asked to be prudent and stay in low profile. Moreover, the mission wanted Christians to contribute to sustain the mission, instead of thinking that missionaries' money belonged to them.<sup>370</sup> Creating resourceful mission districts was important to the mission because it helped the mission economically and it also demonstrated its spiritual development.

### **Local Chinese Authorities and the Mission**

In the city of Guangzhou, most purchases could easily be done following the local practices, and most of such contracts were not registered in order to avoid being declined by local officials. However, the MEP's purchases in the rural areas were not simply business transactions. In the countryside, the population was not as dense as in the city, and people knew about each other. They were clear about the ownership and the function of each house and land. Thus, it was difficult to hide activities such as selling and buying land or house. Given the overall hostility of commoners toward foreigners, it was necessary for missionaries to obtain official protection to avoid trouble. In property acquisitions, official protection meant registering every contract. Father Merle Pierre once reported that "the act of purchasing the land was registered because we are afraid of

---

<sup>370</sup> Letter from Mgr. Guillemin to fellow members of MEP, dated February 2, 1859. F7.2\_005. Ricci Archives.



difficulties.”<sup>371</sup> But it was not easy to obtain such protection. When Father Vacquerel bought a house from the lineage of Hou, although the contract was signed by the chiefs of four branches of the family, and legally registered in the mandarin’s office, he could not obtain the full title of the new property because one member of the lineage refused to give away his share of the title. Since the priest could not obtain the full title of the property, dispute could happen at any time about its ownership. Eventually he decided to ask for his money back and annulled the transaction.<sup>372</sup> Due to such circumstances, the French missionaries had to deal with the local Chinese officials frequently. Yet depending on the personalities and different attitudes toward Christianity, the outcome of their interactions varied greatly.

In 1904, Father Odilon Baldit rented a shop in Lechang 乐昌 of Dongzhen 东镇 and wanted to convert it into a chapel. Before he began the necessary repairs of the shop, he wrote to the local official, asking him to publish a decree to paste on the gate of the new chapel. The mandarin did not issue the decree after a month. Instead, he accused the seller for not informing him that the shop was rented to become a *tianzhutang* (Catholic chapel). Besides the opposition from the official, there was also opposition from local notables, mainly because the shop was located in front of an ancestral temple, and the chapel would be harmful to the geomancy.

The mandarin’s actions made the priest furious. He wrote to his superior Bishop Merél that: “Under what law that he has to be informed! Can’t I rent and buy anything I

---

<sup>371</sup> Letter from Merle Pierre to superior, dated August 23, 1910. F2.5\_022. Ricci Archives.

<sup>372</sup> Letter from French Consul at Guangzhou to bishop, dated November 29, 1904. F6.5\_026. Ricci Archives.

want, without the mandarins and notables knowing?” Baldit’s questions and feelings on this issue were typical among foreign missionaries who wanted to purchase properties in China. To them, this should be simply business. But to Chinese, especially Chinese villagers, these were not simply business transactions. Even among Chinese villagers, purchasing a house or a piece of land was not that simple, not to mention foreigners that involved the Catholic religion. In the end, this tentative chapel did not receive official decree of protection. In addition, there was rumor that the official would seal it.<sup>373</sup>

In Shangchuan Island, the MEP purchased a piece of land that included 100 *mu* rice fields from a Catholic member of the Ye family in 1910. The Ye family had official property deed and paid taxes for this property. At the time of the selling, another villager, Xiao Shibi 萧世弼, a Protestant, wanted to build a Protestant chapel on the location of a shop that shared a border with the Ye family property. While constructing, Xiao occupied a piece of land that belonged to the Ye family. After the MEP made the purchase contract with the Ye family, they sued Xiao to the local mandarin Qin Guan 覃官’s office. The mandarin arrested Ye and interrogated him: “why did you sell this land to a foreigner? The law prevents you from selling land to foreigners!” Ye replied that he did not sell the land to a foreigner, but to the Catholic mission. Ye was released by the mandarin. However, Ye was put into prison later for failing to register the contract of this land. Later, as the mandarin was unable to find further reasons to punish Ye, he requested Ye to return the money to the MEP and to sell the land to a Chinese person. As a Catholic,

---

<sup>373</sup> Letter from Odilon Baldit to his superior, dated November 8, 1904. F10.36\_009. Ricci Archives.

Ye refused the request. The mandarin then provided false information to his superior the governor, so the governor did not acknowledge the MEP's purchase of this land.<sup>374</sup>

These two examples demonstrated the reluctance of local government in allowing foreign missionaries to buy land and houses in China. While it was difficult for missionaries to accept the procedure of obtaining official approval before finalizing any such purchase, the imperial government insisted on it. The imperial government's concerns were about the local community and to prevent conflict between Christians and non-Christians. This was why both the central and local government of China insisted on prior approval from Chinese officials before finalizing such contracts despite various treaties giving freedom to missionaries to rent and buy properties.

At some places, there was even no presence of Chinese governmental apparatus, completely putting the missionaries in the web of local mechanism. Father Verchère was in charge of Haiyang 海阳 district of Guangdong province in 1867. This was a place that was located within huge mountains and was difficult to access. By 1867 there were only about 130 Chinese converts. About three league distance from Haiyang, it was Jieyang 揭阳, where there was quite a sizable Catholic community. At Jieyang, besides the Catholic community, there was a big and powerful lineage who was non-Catholic. Finding that Jieyang was a place easy to protect and difficult to conquer, this lineage wanted to make it a powerbase for them. They wanted to chase away the Catholics who lived here to occupy all the land. Their wish was difficult to realize due to the resistance of local

---

<sup>374</sup> Letter from Thomas to French consul in Guangzhou, dated March 11, 1910. F5.25\_063. Ricci Archives.

Catholics and their leader Father Verchère. This eventually became the cause of a serious incident. One day in October, Father Verchère decided to walk to Jieyang to visit his friend Tardy who just arrived here. When Father Verchère arrived at the village, he was arrested by people of this large lineage. He was kidnapped and jailed for about two weeks before he was rescued by the Chinese official at Haiyang under pressure from the British and French consuls. For his release, the priest paid some money as part of the ransom; some Catholics also lost some land. It took two weeks to rescue the priest because the remoteness of the region made it a time-consuming process for both the Chinese and foreign officials; it was the first time that a Chinese official ever visited this village.

From this case, we can tell that even though land was the most important natural resources for villagers, sometimes it was difficult to protect, not to even mention the prospect of gaining more. In this district, the powerful lineage was able to gain land by force and violence, largely due to the fact that no Chinese official visited this place for the last twenty years. In such a place, the strongest would survive and the weaker would perish. The absence of Chinese governmental apparatus and the sudden visit of officials because of the foreign priest further angered the local non-Catholics. They said: "For a damn foreigner, we now have to suffer restrictions and investigations of officials!" Such anger made them treat the priest more harshly. In fact, local government's rescue of the priest only succeeded at the third time, because during the first two times when they came, their little troop was too small to defeat the kidnappers. On the third time, the

official dispatched two troops.<sup>375</sup> It is obvious that in rural areas where diplomatic influence was small, the MEP missionaries had to rely on the local Chinese population, be they Chinese Catholics or local officials.

The necessity of indirect purchases and the obstacles from local Chinese officials were not only experienced by the MEP, but by all foreign missionaries who tried to buy properties. Both Catholic and Protestant missionaries had to go through the same efforts in order to make their transactions successful. On May 27, 1878, M. W. Mckibbin bought a piece of land at Chaozhou fu, planning to build a residence. He employed an agent for his purchase, just as merchants employed agents. Everyone got involved knew that this person was Mckibbin's agent. Five local middlemen were also engaged. A deed was executed transferring the land to Mckibbin's agent. Three old deeds were also delivered to them, showing the transfers of the land prior to this purchase. There was a stipulation that owners would pay 1, 200 cash (\$1.10) annually to a neighboring Buddhist monastery as a part of the purchasing deal. In buying the land Mckibbin accepted this condition and it was incorporated in the deed as well. The completed deed was sent to the *Yamen* to be stamped. After staying there for longer than expected, it was only found that the Chinese mandarin intended to refuse the transaction because the land was sold to a foreigner. However, an official offered to get it stamped and issued if Mackibbin would give him a "present" of \$225, which was declined by Mackibbin. This official then threatened not to stamp the deed. Mackibbin's agent drew up a lease-deed transferring the land to

---

<sup>375</sup> "Lettre de M. Verchère, de la Congrégation des Missions-Etrangères, à Mgr Guillemin, Préfet apostolique du Kouang-Tong et du Kouang-si", dated Tai-yong (Haiyang), October 26, 1867. From *Annales de la propagation de la foi*, vol.40, 1868, PP. 424-438.

Mackibbin. This lease-deed was subsequently sent to the *Yamen* through the American Consular in July with the request that it be stamped and returned. This request was also refused, and the officials took steps to prevent the transaction. An adjoining piece of land which Mackibbin had bought at about the same time was declared to be government property, although the seller from whom he bought it had held it for over a hundred years.

At the same time a Buddhist monk in charge of the monastery was encouraged to claim that the seller of the first piece of land had fraudulently sold land belonging to the monastery. The monk confessed later that all he had hoped was a little present, but he could not withdraw his claim because the mandarins would not allow him to. Without the pretext of an examination, the magistrate issued a warrant to release the man who had sold the ground, to give the ground back to the monk, and to set up stones marking the land as monastery property.

In the following correspondences between Mackibbin and the local mandarins, the mandarins showed several reasons for not approving the deed. Firstly, it was asserted that Chaozhou fu was not a treaty port but an “interior place.” Therefore foreigners had no right to buy properities except by publishing notice of such intent and otherwise conforming to regulations that would render nugatory the right of purchase conferred by the French and other treaties. Secondly it was alleged that to build on the place would seriously impair the *fengshui* of the city. But the mandarins refused to suggest a less objectionable site instead. Thirdly, they claimed that the seller only had power to “convey it” (赔断), and had no right to “sell” (卖). Mackibbin expressed his willingness to have the wording of the deed changed so as to rectify any alleged mistakes. But then again a

charge was brought forward that the seller of the land was only a “tenant” (佃户) and that the land belonged to the monastery, although the stamped deed of 1826 explicitly declared him to be the registered owner (业户).

Mackibbin replied to all the allegations and requested to have the red deed. He asked:

Here is a deed asserting in plain words that a certain man is the owner of this piece of land; this deed bears the red stamp of the Yamen. What is the value of a stamped deed, and where is the security of property, if a magistrate can, on any frivolous pretext, set aside an official grant made by a predecessor? If it were purely a transaction between Chinese no one can imagine that the slightest objection would be made to the transfer; the various deeds show that the land has been transferred repeatedly; what is the value of treaty stipulations if any petty mandarin can debar us from exercising the fundamental privilege of the treaty?<sup>376</sup>

Mackibbin was clear that the sole intention of the officials at Chaozhou fu and those at Guangzhou was to refuse foreigners the right to purchase and reside. The man who sold the land was brought before the magistrate, and by threat and intimidation was compelled to sign a document promising to reclaim the land from Mackibbin and give it over to the monk. This poor man was beaten a thousand strokes and put into prison. The middlemen were arrested. Because Mackibbin was unable to save any of those people from being punished, he eventually agreed to be refunded the money, to give up the old deeds, and to relinquish his claim to the land.<sup>377</sup>

---

<sup>376</sup> “Tenure of Property”, letter from W. K. Mackibbin to the Editor of the Chinese Recorder, dated Swatow, April 1880, from *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, volume 19 (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press.; January-February, 1880), pp.224-228.

<sup>377</sup> “Tenure of Property”, letter from W. K. Mackibbin to the Editor of the Chinese Recorder, dated Swatow, April 1880, from *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, volume 19 (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press.; January-February, 1880), pp.224-228.

For those missionaries who did maintain good relations with local officials, their situations could be much better. Local officials did not always obey rules set by the central government. Due to different personalities and attitudes toward Christianity and foreign missionaries, there was flexibility of what missionaries could accomplish depending on their relationship with local officials. For those who were hostile toward Christianity, the task could be very difficult for missionaries. For those who were friendly, it could help greatly. Father Canac, who worked in Lung Tsun district, wrote that at the opening of his chapel the local magistrate gave him the most honorable reception. By doing so it encouraged the conversion in the entire district. In fact, this magistrate violated the order from his superior by being friendly to the missionary. Soon, this magistrate was degraded and was replaced by a young man who was a faithful servant to the governor, and was eager to show his hostility towards Catholicism and caused a lot of fear among the local Catholic community.<sup>378</sup> Father Hervel had been working in Jiaying since 1877. He always maintained good relations with the notables of the local village. It was due to this relation that he was able to acquire some land that was around the chapel.<sup>379</sup>

Local officials not only created obstacles in property registrations, but also forbade local Chinese from acting as middlemen for missionaries. According to an investigation of the village life in north Guangdong province between 1918-1919, the

---

<sup>378</sup> Rapport n ° 1153, MEP Archives, accessed March 10.

<http://archives.mepasie.org/rapports-des-eveques/rapport-n-adeq-1153>.

<sup>379</sup> Toussaint HERVEL (1850-1889), AMEP, accessed March 12.

<http://archives.mepasie.org/notices/notices-necrologiques/hervel-1850-1889>.



role of middlemen was crucial to the daily functioning of village lives. They were necessary for the avoidance of embarrassment or strain. People used middlemen in land transactions, quarrels, betrothal and marriage, and the determination of prices for products. Middlemen usually charged commission fees, and they usually tried to secure good prices so they could get higher commissions. Those who were successful as middlemen would gain reputation. In their dealings with people involved, middlemen also obtained confidential information and became the source of village gossip.<sup>380</sup> But at certain places, whoever acted as middlemen for missionaries also sold properties to missionaries. In 1883, in Chaozhou, Father Boussac tried to build a larger residence and a chapel. The work was almost completed, when one morning a local mandarin appeared suddenly and forbade the workers to continue. The local notables soon claimed ownership of the property. They also attacked the Christians with the pretext that they were the middlemen in the purchases of the land, and they also attacked the non-Catholics who sold the property.<sup>381</sup>

### **The Importance of Lineages in Mission Economy**

Besides obstacles imposed by local Chinese officials, Chinese commoners were also not easy to deal with. Although Guangdong had a long history of foreign trade, the

---

<sup>380</sup> Daniel Harrison Kulp II, *Country Life in South China: The Sociology of Familism*, vol. I, Phenix Village, Kwantung, China (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1925), p.99.

<sup>381</sup> Rapport n ° 245, AMEP, accessed March 25. <http://archives.mepasie.org/rapports-des-eveques/rapport-n-adeq-245>.

Cantonese were usually hostile toward foreigners. Peng Yulin, who had worked several years in Guangdong as a military official commented that: “The Cantonese were strong and brave and they look down at foreigners.”<sup>382</sup> While in the city of Guangzhou, the hostility was largely shadowed by the high degree of commercialization, making it comparatively easier to do business between foreigners and the local population, resulting in convenience for the MEP in purchasing properties. It was in the countryside where the hostility was more visible, imposing more difficulties for the missionaries’ work. Many people did not want to sell properties to the church at all. To solve this problem, French missionaries in Guangzhou found it necessary to purchase properties indirectly through their Chinese Christians. In Nanxiong 南雄, Father Lanone bought two shops in 1899. It was a Chinese Christian who bought them on his own behalf. It was also on the Christian’s behalf that the contract was registered in the local official’s office. Father Lanone was afraid that if it was known that the purchases were for the Catholic Church, nobody would want to sell their properties. Even after the completion of the purchase contract, Father Lanone could only go to see the houses during the night, like a thief. But nobody, including the mandarin’s office, knew about his visit.<sup>383</sup>

With a much less powerful presence of the French authorities, the French missionaries had to rely largely on the local population, mainly Chinese Christians. The size and strength of Chinese Christians at different locations determined the overall

---

<sup>382</sup> “Huizou Guangdong tuanlian juanshu shiyi zhe” (On militia of Guangdong)”, Peng Yulin, *Peng Yulin ji* (A collection of Mr Peng Yulin), shang ce. Zou gao, dian gao (Changsha Shi: Yue lu shu she, 2003), 376.

<sup>383</sup> Letter from Barnier to Chausse, dated May 6, 1900. F10.37\_003. Ricci Archives.

success of the local mission's economic activities. Among all the locations in the villages of Guangdong, some districts were extremely successful economically and others were not. Although there were some similarities among the districts, different modes of economic activities also formed in the process.

The most successful method was obtaining the support from local lineages. In his research on the south Chinese society, David Faure points out that lineage has become the fundamental component of south Chinese society since the sixteenth century. There was no institutional change in South China, even when China was under heavy Western influences in the middle of the nineteenth century because people continued to edit genealogies, manage lineage properties and build ancestor halls.<sup>384</sup> Every lineage had its ancestral halls and sacrificial fields (*jitian* 祭田). The large lineages could have hundreds of *mu* of such fields, and even smaller lineages could have tens of *mu*. These lineage-shared properties were called *Zhengchang* 蒸尝.<sup>385</sup> This was the society that the French missionaries had worked in. Among all the mission districts administered by the the MEP in Guangdong province, the successful ones were those that had support from at least one lineage in the district.

One of the largest Christian villages of Guangdong was Fangdong 方洞 village of Shixing 始兴 County. In this village, all the villagers belonged to the He 何 lineage and

---

<sup>384</sup> David Faure, *Emperor and Ancestor: State and Lineage in South China* (Stanford University Press, 2007), p.316.

<sup>385</sup> Zhang Qu (Qing), *Yue dong wenjian lu* (A Record of Things Heard and Seen in Eastern Guangdong [preface, 1739] (Guangzhou: Guangdong gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 1990), juan 1, p. 49.

they were all Catholics. Catholicism arrived at Shixing during the Kangxi reign (1662-1722). The first Catholic was converted in Macau, and he established a chapel after he returned to Fangdong village.<sup>386</sup> Since then this village had been administered by missionaries from Macau. After Guangdong province was entrusted to the MEP, this village was under the care of French missionaries. When Father Collas arrived at this village to build a chapel in 1895, the He lineage members voluntarily sold houses and land to him (see Appendix 5). From 1893 to 1908, the He lineage members became each other's middlemen and witnesses in selling properties to the Catholic mission. Although the priest received sufficient support from the He lineage to build a chapel at this place, the mission in this district did not become a major landowner.

In Fuhou village 福厚村 of Jieyang 揭阳, Father Wu Mige 吴弥格 was also supported greatly by the Zhong 钟 lineage (see Appendix 6). The record from 1855 to 1901 states that this lineage sold a lot of land to the mission. In Lashiyue 蜡石约 and Huangtianyue 黄田约 of Heyuan 河源 County, it was the Liang and the Huang lineages that contributed mostly to the Catholic mission (see Appendix 7). In Heyuan 河源, the first Christian community was established in Huangtian 黄田. In 1862, a villager was baptized abroad. He came back to this village after making a small fortune. He preached the doctrine to his brothers, and became a catechist and the master of a school. Within a

---

<sup>386</sup> Zhu Qinglan, Liang Dingfen, *Xu Guangdong tongzhi weicheng gao bu fen juan* (Incomplete Gazetteer of Guangdong) (Guangdong tongzhi ju gaoben, 1916), p.493.

few years, the whole village was converted.<sup>387</sup> From 1863 to 1919, this mission acquired properties actively in these two districts.

In Boluo 博罗 County of Huizhou 惠州, when Deng Miuxiu, native of Shangtangwei 上塘围 was sent to preach here, his lineage together with the Zhang lineage sold and donated a lot of properties to him to build a chapel (see Appendix 8). In Nanzhuang village 南庄乡, Gaodun village 高墩乡, and Dongxing village 东兴乡 of Nanhai County, the conversion of 79 members of the Luo lineage from these three villages brought the donation of a shop to build a chapel.<sup>388</sup> In Zaomei village 藻美乡 of Nanhai, it was the Wu lineage that was the patron of the local chapel. The Wu Yuhuai 吴玉怀 family had donated land and houses both in 1867 and 1897.<sup>389</sup>

Such support from the local lineages was vital in the creation and sustenance of the Catholic communities in Guangdong province. In the middle of the nineteenth century, there were several Christian villages in Guangdong province. In the eastern part of the province, there were Haifeng 海丰, Luhe 陆河, Shanwei 汕尾, Jiexi 揭西, and Wuhua 五华. In the western part of the province, there were Leizhou 雷州, Lianjiang 廉江, and Gaoyao 高要. For example, around 1800, priests from Macao had worked in Shanliao village 山寮村 of Lianjiang. After the Opium War, many French priests arrived at this place and converted the majority of the local population. In 1859, the majority of people from Qiongzhou village 琼州村 and Shantou village 山头村 of Leizhou were

---

<sup>387</sup> Report to Merél. F4.2\_023. Ricci Archives.

<sup>388</sup> C11.11\_031-035 ; C11.11\_037. Ricci Archives.

<sup>389</sup> C11.11\_040-043; 047-049. Ricci Archives

converted; the nearby Xiakan village 下坎村 was later all converted as well. In 1872, French priest Father Su built a chapel in Jijia zhen 纪家镇 of Leizhou, and formed a Catholic village that was called Sheng sanyi village 圣三一村 (Holy Trinity village). Today this village is called Xianfeng village 先锋村.<sup>390</sup>

While the majority of lineage patronage came from pious Chinese Christians, sometimes such patronage was due to other reasons, mainly help received from foreign priests. The missionaries were able to provide certain help due to the diplomatic power they enjoyed, and often this assistance was the cause of non-Christians' dislike of foreign missionaries. For example, due to constant bullying from neighboring villages, all the villagers of Shiliukeng village 石榴坑村 of Taishan County 台山县 decided to be converted in order to obtain protection from the French missionaries in 1915. In exchange for the protection, the villagers swore that if any of them violated the promise, all the properties of the entire village would belong to the mission.<sup>391</sup> When it came to individuals, such donations acted as a way to show gratitude toward the foreign missionaries. In November 1902, Luo Bingjun 罗秉钧 donated some of his properties to the mission because he was helped in his property dispute with his brother Luo Jiayan 罗家彦. Before the help, he had to live in debt. After becoming a Catholic and with the help

---

<sup>390</sup> Guangdong sheng defang shizhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Guangdong sheng zhi · Zongjiao zhi* (Guangdong provincial gazetteer · Religion) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2002), p.324.

<sup>391</sup> C1.12\_081. Ricci Archives.

of the priest, he obtained his share satisfactorily. He happily donated a piece of property that was worth about 1, 000 yuan.<sup>392</sup>

With the support of local lineages, missionaries were able to build chapels and residencies, and operate its daily affairs normally. But not every mission district was rich enough to become landlord. Even for the mission districts that had land to lease out, the income did not always make them rich. In Zhangzai district of Heyuan, Father Mirambeau reported that the income largely depended on whether the year had a good harvest. Christians did not always pay rent on time. They either had difficulty paying, or delayed as much as possible and some had nothing to pay even at the end of the year.<sup>393</sup>

Among the MEP's mission districts, two of them fitted into the category of being landlords. The Chengshantang 诚善堂 of Zhongshan County 中山 and the Leshantang 乐善堂 of Nansha 南沙. Chenshantang was located at Fuxusha lu songwei 浮墟沙罗松围. The mission must had accumulated a large amount of land as it rented out 16 *mu* farmland to the Huang family in 1906 for thirty years.<sup>394</sup> In 1878, the mission bought 16 *mu* 4 *fen* farmland from He Hanhua 何涵华 for the price of 109 taels. This large piece of land was rented to Huang Yaotang 黄耀棠, Huang Manzhang 黄满章 and Chen Zuorong 陈作容 for 30 years starting with the year of 1906, for the price of 6 taels per year. When

---

<sup>392</sup> C11.14\_006. Ricci Archives.

<sup>393</sup> Letter from Mirambeau to superior, dated January 11, 1910. F2.8\_014. Ricci Archives.

<sup>394</sup> C11.8\_017. Ricci Archives.

the lease ended, it was rented out again to the same families for another 10 years for an annual rent of 90 yuan.<sup>395</sup>

Compared with the Chengshantang, the Leshantang 乐善堂 of Nansha 南沙 was more than a landlord. It was a combination of a lineage and a mission. The mission's economy was built on the donated property of the He 何 lineage. At the same time, members of this lineage took turns managing the mission's religious affairs.

The He lineage's ancestor Gangzhong 刚中 had five sons, the eldest was Mingyuan 明远, the second was Mingli 明礼, the third was Mingzhao 明照, the fourth was Minggao 明高, and the fifth was Minglun 明伦. The fourth son and his sons all passed away in 1834. As they had unpaid debt to *Yidehui* 义德会 (Association of Brotherhood and Ethics) when they were alive, the rest of the lineage had to pay the dead relatives' debt. In 1835 the lineage borrowed 200 taels from the Lin family 林家. In 1837 they borrowed 50 taels from the Mingyuans and 150 taels from the Minglis in order to pay *Yidehui*, but still could not pay it off. In 1841, the lineage decided to sell one large house left by Minggao's family, and Mingli's family took some mulberry fields and a shop to pay for the debt.

In 1866, Zongqian 宗潜, the wife of Mingli decided to sell another three pieces of farmland and a piece of mulberry field, and finally paid off all the debt left by Minggao's family. After paying off the debt, there were still some properties left by Minggao's family: four houses of varied sizes, one piece of land, three mulberry fields, one piece of

---

<sup>395</sup> C11.8\_017-018. Ricci Archives.



farmland, a shop, and a small amount of money from a previous sale. The lineage decided to give all the properties to the Catholic Church Leshantang 乐善堂圣教会. The remaining four families took turns to take charge of the affairs of the local chapel and of the grave of Minggao. The rent and interests of all the properties were also collected by whoever was taking charge. Each year the income and expenses were recorded clearly. The income was used to pay for all the expenses of the chapel, from priest's food to candles. Some of the donated properties were used as chapel, others were rented out. Although it was the lineage property that they donated, lineage members were not allowed to reside or store personal items in those donated properties.<sup>396</sup> The chapel often loaned money to others. The majority of the properties were rented to members of the lineage, but also to outside members. Anyone who borrowed money from the mission would leave their house deeds to the chapel, and their houses would belong to the mission if they failed to return the money by the agreed date.<sup>397</sup>

In her study on the Catholic community in Mopanshan 磨盘山 of Hubei province, Kang Zhijie has shown that when the Yongzheng emperor issued official persecution of Christianity in 1725, a group of pious Chinese Catholics escaped to Mopanshan, a reclusive mountainous region. With the help of Father Domin Parrenin, they purchased this mountain and made it a sanctuary for them.<sup>398</sup> They gradually created a community

---

<sup>396</sup> C11.10\_001-002. Ricci Archives.

<sup>397</sup> C12.17\_020-023. Ricci n Archives.

<sup>398</sup> Kang Zhijie, *Shang Zhu de putao yuan: E xibei Mopan Shan Tianzhujiao shequ yanjiu, 1634-2005* (In the Lord's vineyard: a study of northwest Hubei's Popan shan Catholic community). Taipei: Furen daxue chubanshe, 2006. pp.13-16.

in which economy and faith blended together perfectly.<sup>399</sup> Even without the leadership of the priest, Catholics could still function self-sufficiently. The Mopanshan community was similar to that of the Leshantang. The major difference was that while the Leshantang was mainly composed of members of the He lineage, the Mopanshan community was not based on lineage, but rather faith.

The most unique case of the Guangdong diocese was the leprosy colony at Shilong 石龙 of Dongguan 东莞 County. Around 1750, a villager of Hongwu village 洪屋村 was infected with leprosy and his family members were also infected from him. Starting from him, three generations of leprosy victims lived in this village. Poverty and the disease made them desperate about their lives, and they decided to convert into Christians. Upon being converted, they decided to donate their land to the MEP to host all the leprosy patients. The mission built a chapel, a priests' residence, more than ten rooms and a defense tower. On the tower there were three Chinese characters Guyuzhou 罟鱼洲 (see Figure 5-1). Up to the early twentieth century, MEP priests worked here among the leprosy patients. By 1884, there had been 50-60 Catholic houses and about 10 non-Catholic houses, and all of them were descendants of leprosy patients.<sup>400</sup> By the 1930s there were about 200 leprosy residents. The community was completely destroyed

---

<sup>399</sup> *Shang Zhu de putao yuan*, pp.21–27.

<sup>400</sup> Zhong Guiyong and Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, ed., *Jiaowu jiaodian* (Archives of religious affairs and cases), vol. 5, No. 4 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 1974), p.2195–2196.

during the Japanese air strikes in the 1930s, and all the local residents escaped. All the land was claimed by the local Japanese puppet governor.<sup>401</sup>



Figure 5-1. Guyuzhou chapel of the MEP.<sup>402</sup>

In such communities, the local lineages and villagers supported the development of the mission. However, in other cases, it was the opposite, and the local villagers relied on the resources brought by the missionaries to survive. Those priests who did not have enough resources were unable to sustain the Catholic community. Due to poverty, the majority of the population at Chen pin emigrated. Some went to Singapore and Siam, others went to Jiangxi. Those who could not afford necessary traveling expenses stayed behind. The emigration greatly reduced the population base from which the missionaries

---

<sup>401</sup> C11.7\_002. Ricci Archives.

<sup>402</sup> C11.7\_008. Ricci Archives.

could build a Christian community. It would not be that bad if many emigrated people eventually returned, unfortunately among ten who left, it was reported that only one came back. Those émigrés became the base of Christian communities in destinations such as Siam.<sup>403</sup> In some villages, Chinese Catholics relied on the mission economically. They hoped that the mission was strong and wealthy enough that they could get help when needed. In 1906, Christians in Weizhou 涠州 wrote to Bishop Merél, asking him to buy farmland in Xinning 新宁 County, so the poor Christian families in Weizhou could move there. They wrote this letter because the resources in Weizhou could not meet the needs of the increased population of Christians there, but the local priests did not want them to migrate. As a last resort, they wrote the letter to the bishop in order to save their community.<sup>404</sup>

During the early years of the Republican era, the patronage from local lineages continued to be important to the mission. During the Nationalist Revolution, the entire country was in disorder. The French missionaries working in the rural areas believed that the young Republicans “have paralyzed all our work, have annulled our efforts and have destroyed all our hope of conquest.”<sup>405</sup> This situation was partially caused by the presence of nationalist troops, but also by the revolution’s impact on ordinary people’s minds. The revolutionary spirit even penetrated to the countryside, making the commoners “too occupied by politics, too busy to discuss the afterlife or heaven of the

---

<sup>403</sup> Letter from Joseph Coustancis to superior, dated October 22, 1911. F10.1\_003bc, Ricci Archives.

<sup>404</sup> C11.6-II.I\_018. Ricci Archives.

<sup>405</sup> Letter from Canac to superior, dated August 16, 1912. F10.51\_002. Ricci Archives.

Christian way.” Politics took over all the people and they did not care about anything else.<sup>406</sup> During such time, it was crucial for any Christian community to have good relations with the non-Christians in local society in order to survive. In Chen ping, a place surrounded by affiliations of secret societies, the Christian community enjoyed peace, did not suffer in any way by the end of the revolution, all because of the protection from the notables and principle families of local society.<sup>407</sup>

On November 18, 1895, magistrate of Yong'an 永安 of Huizhou 惠州 reported a lawsuit. Lan Tianchong 蓝天崇 had sold a piece of land and a house to Lan Tianzhao 蓝天诏 through middleman Lan Tianqi 蓝天祺. At the time of purchasing, it was unknown that the place would be used to construct a chapel. It was only known when Lan Tianzhao put a stone tablet with the character of *Tianzhu tang* (Catholic chapel) there. As a local practice, he also invited neighbors and fellow villagers to have a dinner together at his home for the transaction, but no one came because of the tablet. He was blamed for selling the land to missionaries and was sent to the local *yamen*. Lan Tianzhao confessed that the priest asked him to buy a piece of land to construct a residence. The priest offered him 225 taels for the purchase. When making the contract, he was afraid that the transaction would be blocked by others if he made it known that it was for the priest, so he did not write in the contract that the property was sold to the Catholic mission. According to the treaty signed between China and France, it was necessary to write in the contract that the property was sold to the Catholic mission, so this contract was invalid.

---

<sup>406</sup> F10.51\_002. Ricci Archives.

<sup>407</sup> F10.51\_002. Ricci Archives.

Nonetheless, the priest was allowed to choose any piece of land from a list of seven locations offered by the local notables. As the priest insisted on buying the land in the original location, and the local population did not want to create any problem, so they agreed. Since the graveyard of the ancestors of the Lan lineage was close to this location, it was required that the chapel should not be taller than 3 *zhang* 2 *chi*.<sup>408</sup>

### **The Competition between Catholicism and Protestantism**

Because of Guangdong province's coastal location, it not only witnessed a lot of foreign merchants and Catholic missionaries, it was also home to many Protestant missionaries, the majority of whom arrived after the Opium War. The Protestant missionaries' activities created tremendous competition to the Catholic ones. When describing the presence of Protestant missionaries, one MEP annual report wrote that: "A veritable avalanche of [Protestant] ministers hit the whole country, as if they wanted to pick our heritage. In many places, they tried to settle in next to us, spreading the most annoying noises to attract our neophytes."<sup>409</sup> Bishop Guebriant also described that Americans particularly, had covered the country with hospitals, schools, clubs, chapels, and halls of worship. The buildings were often grandiose and were built everywhere, and

---

<sup>408</sup> Zhong Guiyong and Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, ed., *Jiaowu jiaodan dang* (Archives of religious affairs and cases). Vol. 6, No. 3 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 1974), pp.1543—1544.

<sup>409</sup> Rapport n ° 1153, AMEP, accessed March 20, <http://archives.mepasie.org/rapports-des-eveques/rapport-n-adeq-1153>.

posed a challenge to the Catholic missionaries.<sup>410</sup> In fact, not only did the MEP in south China feel the intense competition from the Protestant, Catholic missionaries from all of Asia had similar experiences. In an annual letter from the Paris seminary of the MEP to members of the MEP in 1907, it stated that: “Protestant propaganda is one of the most serious obstacles that the missionaries encounter everywhere in Asia. It is to be feared ... because it seeks to attract even Catholic children.”<sup>411</sup>

To missionaries working in rural Guangdong, the most important reason for acquiring land and houses was to build a chapel in their districts. A decent chapel was vital to the conversion and maintenance of the Catholic community. This became even more important when facing competition from the Protestant missionaries. A nice chapel could attract more converts, but it would be very difficult if they did not have one. To both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, this was the same. Father Joseph Coustancis, who worked in district of Leong San Chai believed that the Protestant missionary had stolen his most beautiful hope because he opened a school and a chapel. During his tour, Father Joseph saw that almost in all other villages there were beautiful chapels, and this made him realize that it was more urgent for him to build nice chapels in his village. To him, it meant that “without a Gongsuo 公所 [chapel], there would be no catechist.”<sup>412</sup>

Even with the support of local Catholics, the MEP missionaries still constantly

---

<sup>410</sup> Rapport n ° 1231, AMEP, accessed March 20. <http://archives.mepasie.org/rapports-des-eveques/rapport-n-adeq-1231>.

<sup>411</sup> Lettre n°44, dated 1907, AMEP, accessed March 23. <http://archives.mepasie.org/lettres-communes/lettre-nadeg44>.

<sup>412</sup> Letter from Joseph Coustancis to superior, dated September 29, 1904. F10.1\_007. Ricci Archives.

complained that they were not resourceful enough to compete against the Protestant missionaries. In a report written in 1901 Father Merle Pierre reported that everywhere they were threatened by Protestants who opposed their success with every possible means. They had established a grand enterprise and achieved big success by opening many schools to expand their influences. In Heyuan, Protestants had two or three times the number of priests than the Catholics.<sup>413</sup>

Competition not only existed between Catholic and Protestant missionaries, Chinese Catholics and Protestants also competed against each other. In 1896, in Jingbei village 迳贝村 of Dongguan 东莞, Luo Diankui 罗殿魁, a Chinese Catholic who was baptized by the MEP got into a fight with Luo Denggui 罗登贵, a Protestant who was baptized by German missionaries. They were from the same lineage. Luo Diankui was killed during the fight.<sup>414</sup> Because of Luo Diankui's death, the buildings, chapel, school and residence of the Berlin mission at Fa Yun were burned in February 1902. The same property had been destroyed in August 1900. An investigation showed that the culprits of both incidents were the same five men. After the first incident, these five men tried to obtain protection from missionaries so to escape punishment. They first applied the basil (berlin) mission, but were refused. They then tried the MEP and succeeded. They also asked their friends and clansmen to join the MEP, promising them the protection of Bishop Merél. Some agreed. However, many of their clansmen belonged to the Berlin

---

<sup>413</sup> Letter from Merle Pierre to superior, dated August 11, 1901. F2.5\_035. Ricci Archives.

<sup>414</sup> Zhang Guiyong and Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, eds, *Jiaowu jiaodan dang* (Archives of religious affairs and cases), vol. 6, no. 3 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 1974), p.1546.



mission and they remained loyal to it. As a result, the clan was divided into two groups due to their religious affiliations. One was the MEP affiliated, and another was the Berlin mission affiliated. These two groups fought many times since then. The followers of the MEP eventually burned down the Berlin mission in 1902 after Luo Diankui and Luo Denggui's dispute.<sup>415</sup>

The Protestant mission in Guangdong province in general had different sources of financial support compared with the MEP. Taken the American Presbyterian Mission in Guangzhou as an example, their preachers received all their support from local converts only two or three times. It was Chinese Christians in the United States who made generous contributions amounting over \$7,000, partly for the building of chapels and partly for the support of native assistants.<sup>416</sup> Thus the development of Protestant missions in Guangdong relied more on the overseas Chinese community. As a consequence, there were more disputes about land acquisitions and chapel constructions that involved France than that involved other countries. Because of this, when natives of Chaozhou 潮州 spread rumors against British consuls who wanted to enter the city in 1866, the Zongli yamen reported to the Tongzhi emperor that: "Actually cases related to Christian churches that took place in recent years were all done by the French, and we have never

---

<sup>415</sup> Letter from Consulate of the United States to Assistant Secretary of State David J. Hill, March 8, 1902. From Cheng Huanwen, ed., *Meiguo zhu Zhongguo Guangzhou lingshiguan lingshi baogao*, 1790-1906 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2007), vol. 19, pp.113-114.

<sup>416</sup> *The China Mission Hand-book* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1896), pp. 188-189.

heard such thing happened to the British. Whoever created the rumors in Chaozhou must be unable to distinguish between France and Britian.”<sup>417</sup>

### **The Economic Impact of Local Practices**

The subjects that determined the success or failure of missionaries' purchases included not only human beings, but also intangible factors such as *fengshui* 风水, a major factor affecting the location and function of landed properties in China, particularly in rural areas. This became one of the major factors that caused troubles to the MEP missionaries when purchasing properties. As *fengshui* was something intangible, and there was no way to tell if it existed or not, and if it was good or not, so sometimes it might be just pretext used by the local population to stop the purchasing.

In fact, Guangdong province in the nineteenth century had frequent land disputes among the local population. The official land regulations of Guangdong province were quite messy. Since the land survey conducted during the Kangxi reign (1662-1722), the land had not been surveyed. More farmland was reclaimed, and many changes had happened to the existing land. Although the local government continued to offer property

---

<sup>417</sup> Memorial sent to the Tongzhi emperor, dated February 4, 1866. Guangdong sheng difang shizhi bianweihui bangongshi, Guangzhou shi difangzhi bianweihui bangongshi, eds., *Qing shilu Guangdong shiliao* (Source Materials on Guangdong from “The Veritable Records of the Qing”), vol. 5 (Guangzhou: Guangdong sheng ditu chubanshe, 1995), p.339.

deeds, there was no official regulation to deal with such changes. Thus a lot of land was controlled by some big landlords.<sup>418</sup>

The local burial practices also contributed to the chaos, causing more land siaputes. The graveyards of Guangdong were often located at governmental owned mountains. The owners of such graveyards had no property deeds but writings engraved on the stone tablets in front of the graveyards. Due to the belief in *Fengshui*, people often simply let the coffin stay outside without burying. Sometimes they would take out the buried coffin to exam the body and put the bones in an urn. The urn would be left outside before a proper burial location was found. Sometimes brothers would fight with each other and the remains of the dead would be buried at different locations. Moreover, some treacherous people would put an empty urn, or hid stone tablets at others' burial spots in order to claim ownership of the land. Lawsuits caused by such behaviors were countless, often causing feud among villagers. The ultimate reason was that the governmental owned land and mountains did not owe tax, and anyone could occupy and sell it.<sup>419</sup>

To the missionaries who were not always familiar with such practices, this increased their chances of having land disputes with the local population. In 1905, Father Canac wanted to buy a mountain on the side of which he wanted to build a chapel and a house for the Christians. Non-Christians and Christians of the Ho family agreed to give him the mountain for a little amount of money. A few days later, he asked the sub-prefect

---

<sup>418</sup> “Huizhou Guangdong jibi zhe” (On the deeply rooted problems of Guangdong), Peng Yulin, *Peng Yulin ji* (A collection of Mr Peng Yulin), shang ce. Zou gao, dian gao (Changsha Shi: Yue lu shu she, 2003), 397.

<sup>419</sup> “Huizhou Guangdong jibi zhe” (On the deeply rooted problems of Guangdong), Peng Yulin, *Peng Yulin ji* (A collection of Mr Peng Yulin), shang ce. Zou gao, dian gao (Changsha Shi: Yue lu shu she, 2003), 397.

for an edict of protection. He obtained the edict immediately, but as soon as the decree was issued, the sub-prefect made it public that non-Christians and neighbors could oppose it by all means to the construction of the chapel. Three days after the beginning of the construction, a person named A Yong asked the Ho family to cease the work, fearing the demolition of a tomb belonging to the Huang family. The Ho family was also accused of violating the tomb of Huang Chaomeng, the 13<sup>th</sup> generation of the Huang lineage, and thrown away the ashes into a nearby stream. This matter was serious enough that the sub-prefect visited the scene immediately. The mandarin did not see the tomb, but he was bribed with \$200. The mandarin soon made verdict that was against the Ho family. He ordered them to bring back the ashes within ten days. The two notables of the Ho family came to Father Canac, promising to become Christians with all their families if the priest could save them.

Father Canac was encouraged by the promise of conversion and began to work on the case. He made a copy of all the tomb stones of the Huang lineage, from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> generation. He found out that the name Huang Chaomeng did not exist. He then transmitted the argument to the sub-prefect, who acknowledged that he had made a mistake. The sub-prefect immediately gave order to fix the affair amicably. After resolving the matter, the sub-prefect received wine from missionaries as a gift. The chapel was eventually completed by the two notables and Christians of the Ho family.<sup>420</sup>

*Fengshui* was not a regional phenomenon in China, but was valued everywhere of the empire. In August 1872, the Fantai 藩台 (official took charge of finance and tax) of

---

<sup>420</sup> Letter from Canac to superior, dated August 11, 1905. F10.51\_005. Ricci Archives.

Hangzhou city lost his son and wife within the same month. After consulting fortune tellers, he was told that the reason was because the *fengshui* of his *yamen* was damaged by foreigners' houses nearby. The official used this opportunity to arrest those who sold land or house to foreigners. These houses belonged to the American Baptist Church. The official knew that according to the treaties, they should not arrest Chinese Christians, so they arrested the original sellers and middlemen. These people were jailed and tortured. Only after the intervention of American and British consuls were those people released and the case resolved. The prisoners were released with heavy fine and the Protestant church was allowed to keep their properties.<sup>421</sup>

Even if there was no violation of *fengshui*, unfamiliarity with local customs could prevent the acquisition of property, even if the property was donated by a Christian. In 1910, Father Rossillon claimed that when Catholic Wang Wanxin 王万新 in Yangyue village 阳月村 of Hepu county 合浦县 died in 1907, Wang announced on his deathbed to other Catholics that he would like to leave all his properties to his wife and daughter, not to his brothers and uncles. Moreover, his daughter Wang Wangu 王晚姑 would like to become a Catholic virgin, and because of this Wang would like to donate part of their family land to the mission. However, this caused great anger among Wang's brothers and uncles, who were not Christians. When Wang Wangu was taken to the monastery by one of the catechists, villagers kidnapped the young woman back to the village and beat the catechist. The priest was almost killed if he was not quick enough to obtain help from

---

<sup>421</sup> “Zhejiang Hangzhou meiguo jiaohui zhichan jiufen an (1872), from *Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan*, Fujian shifan daxue lishi xi, eds., *Qingmo jiao'an* (Late Qing Religious Cases) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), vol. 5, pp. pp97-123.

Chinese soldiers.<sup>422</sup> Upon the request of Father Rossillon, the French consul at Beihai Mr. Saussine asked the prefect to punish the aggressors. However, this did not intimidate them and all the party went to court in Hepu County. Upon investigation by the sub-prefect, the ruling was against the priest, stating that Father Rossillon forced the girl to the convent, completely disregard the fact that she was already betrothed.

When the consul made further allegations, magistrate of Lianzhou Li replied that former governor-generals of Guangdong and Guangxi Cen 岑 and Zhang 张 had issued official edicts. It stated clearly that two months before the final transaction of a foreigner's purchase, announcement should be pasted in front of the property, clarifying the boundaries of the property. The announcement shall also state that the property was to be sold to certain foreign merchant or priest, and only after this period could a transaction be finalized. Local official should only issue new deed after the investigation and was convinced that proper procedure was taken for the transaction. Although such regulation was not written in the treaties, it was part of the Chinese law. All the people including priests in this province must obey it. Also, seller should state in the deeds that the property was sold to be the communal property of certain Catholic Church. Because Father Rossillon did not have a proper deed, his ownership to the land was not considered legitimated. Moreover, the original agreement was made in the 33<sup>rd</sup> year of Guangxu [1907], and it had been more than two years, long passing the date for its registration. Li

---

<sup>422</sup> Letter from Li to Su, dated 23<sup>rd</sup> day of the 1<sup>st</sup> month of 2<sup>nd</sup> year of Xuantong [1910]. C 1.10\_004.; Letter from French consul to magistrate of Lianzhou, C1.10\_006. Ricci Archives.

argued that if all he wanted was a sincere business, he should have obeyed Chinese rules and obtained property tax and deeds from local officials earlier.<sup>423</sup>

Father Rossillon refused to accept any of these rulings and asked the French consul to find justice for him, but the consul found it hard to gain triumph over the mandarins. The consul even “did not dare to insist anymore”. As it turned out, the girl later came to the French consul and told him the truth that her father did donate some land to the priest and she did want to join the convent. Whatever she stated at the court was under pressure from her lineage people. Unfortunately, both the priest and the French consul could not use her declaration to get what they wanted.<sup>424</sup> This case demonstrated that in the countryside, the influence of diplomatic powers was limited. Similar cases were numerous, and not every case was resolved to the satisfaction of the missionaries.

Besides those local practices that added difficulties to MEP missionaries’ property acquisitions, secret societies were another factor that created a lot of obstacles to them. South China had many secret societies in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and Guangdong province was particularly a hot bed for them. For the majority of the time, they imposed great threat to the local government. Peng Yulin’s experience working in the military in Guangdong made him familiar with them. He pointed out that, in this province where Chinese and foreigners lived together, some people created organizations such as the Taindi hui 天地会 (Heaven and Earth Society)

---

<sup>423</sup> Letter from Li to Su, dated 23<sup>rd</sup> day of the 1<sup>st</sup> month of 2<sup>nd</sup> year of Xuantong [1910]. C 1.10\_004. Ricci Archives.

<sup>424</sup> Letter addressed to Minister of France, dated May 20, 1911. F10.31\_005. Ricci Archives.

and the Sandian hui 三点会 (the Triad), “they fabricated ridiculous stories, got together often and said their prayers...All the troubles related to secret societies in China originated from secret society groups in Guangdong province.”<sup>425</sup> While they were usually troublemakers, sometimes they could be useful to the local government. After France occupied Vietnam and attacked some bordering areas in southwest China in 1883, the Guangdong government was ordered to organize local militias to help with the defense against French invasion. Members of the secret society groups, together with pirates and bandits joined the militia.<sup>426</sup>

The relationship between Catholic missionaries and secret societies varied at different circumstances. Although in most cases, secret societies posed a great threat to the safety of Chinese Catholics, sometimes they could become a good source for both economic and spiritual harvest for missionaries. In 1898, after the futile rebellion by the Triad, when mandarins were pursuing the rebels, a great number of Triad members asked Father Le Tallandier to baptize them. They were willing to give the Father many wine barrels and even checks, and sepaque (a cash formerly issued by France in Indochina), whatever he wanted. At Maoming, if Christians were accused and arrested as members of secret societies, the notables would inform the missionary first before submitting them to

---

<sup>425</sup> “Huizhou Guangdong jibi zhe” (On the deeply rooted problems of Guangdong), Peng Yulin, *Peng Yulin ji* (A collection of Mr Peng Yulin), shang ce. Zou gao, dian gao (Changsha Shi: Yue lu shu she, 2003), 396.

<sup>426</sup> “Chouban Guangdong yushou qingxing zhe” (On the defense of Guangdong), Peng Yulin, *Peng Yulin ji* (A collection of Mr Peng Yulin), shang ce. Zou gao, dian gao (Changsha Shi: Yue lu shu she, 2003), 388.



the mandarin. If the missionary gave testimony in favor of the condemned, they would be immediately set free.<sup>427</sup>

The transition from the late imperial regime to the Republican period also added instability to the mission. Revolutionaries, thieves, and secret societies became the major trouble faced by local society. In 1911, Father Merle Pierrs was working in Lashiyue 蜡石约 of Heyuan County. He described that the area was occupied by mountains between valleys. Since the revolution, the local administration had completely hindered. His residence was considered where all the evils were located. A dozen Christian families had already been punished. There were not enough missionaries to visit the Christians there. Secret societies were everywhere.<sup>428</sup> The situation only began to calm down in 1915. Such factors made it highly unstable and difficult to administer the district by only two missionaries who had poor health.<sup>429</sup> Father Pierre Merle, who was working in Youn On also reported that secret societies forced people to join them, otherwise the Christians would be looted and fined.<sup>430</sup>

Besides above major reasons, other factors also contributed to the general difficulty of MEP missionaries working in the countryside of Guangdong province. First, there was the *shenxianfen* 神仙粉 (miraculous powder) incident of 1871, during which missionaries were believed to use miraculous powder to poison the local population, and

---

<sup>427</sup> Letter from S. Le Tallandier to superior, dated August 16, 1899. F5.22\_006. Ricci Archives.

<sup>428</sup> Letter from Merle Pierre to superior, dated August 24, 1912. F2.5\_005. Ricci Archives.

<sup>429</sup> Letter from Merle Pierre to superior, dated August 18, 1915. F2.5\_007. Ricci Archives.

<sup>430</sup> Letter from Pierre Merle to his superior, dated August 24, 1909. F10.53\_001. Ricci Archives.

those poisoned could only be cured by conversion to Catholicism; second, there was the Sino-French war of 1883-1885. When France was known as the enemy of China, the French Catholic mission also became a target of hatred; last, it was the Boxer Uprising in Shandong from 1899 to 1901. The Boxer's movement spread quickly through the entire country, and Guangdong province was affected as well. During this time, many anti-Christian placards and rumors appeared in Guangdong province, although the real damage to the mission was limited compared with that of north China.

All these factors made the rural areas of Guangdong province a challenging place for MEP missionaries. In addition, in the countryside, missionaries were often isolated, and even in the same mission district, there were often not enough priests, so they often relied on their own completely. A priest described the helpless environment of working in rural Guangdong as *Jiao tian tian buying, jiao di di bushing* 叫天天不应, 叫地地不声 (when calling the sky, there is no answer, when calling the earth, there is so sound either).<sup>431</sup> Many French missionaries found it hard to adapt to the local climate and cuisine, and it was easy for them to get sick. When they were sick, they usually took sick leaves to Guangzhou or Hong Kong to recover. The worst had to go back to France. This reduced their capacity to spend time with the local population, making it difficult to build good relations with the local population. In a society where *renqing* 人情 (personal connection) has been highly valued, this was definitely not helpful for their mission districts.

---

<sup>431</sup> Letter from J. B. Lü to superior, dated February 3, 1908. F8.18\_014. Ricci Archives.

In the city of Guangdong, the mission experienced certain setbacks during the early Republican period, largely due to the requirement to register their property deeds, and the anti-imperialist campaign. Such movement did not have much impact on the rural mission districts. The government did not confiscate properties that were acquired by the mission during the imperial government. The only obvious new development during those years was that the government issued unique forms for the mission to fill out when they bought land and houses (see Figure 5-2). Under the imperial government, the mission used the same forms and format as Chinese commoners in registering properties. In the new form, it stated the old and new owners (the mission) of the property and the location and size of the property. The white deed was also pasted into the form. The form also clearly stated the official regulations and procedures of missionaries' purchases of land and houses. The regulation required prior approval of local Chinese officials and a two months long advertising period in the local newspaper. The contract could only be finalized when no objection was made during the two months advertising. Compared with the regulation by the imperial government, this was much stricter.



Figure 5-2. Sample property deed of Christian missions issued by the Republican government of China.<sup>432</sup>

<sup>432</sup> C12.17\_014. Ricci Archives.

In the countryside of Guangdong province, where the commoners were more hostile toward foreigners, the French Catholic missionaries faced threat from secret societies and the competition from Protestant missionaries. Those factors made it a challenging place for them to purchase land and houses. Yet the limited financial support from the MEP made it necessary for priests to find local economic resources to support and develop their mission districts. In their purchases of land and houses, it was easy to encounter obstacles from local officials for reasons such as violating the law or harmful to local *fengshui*. Different from the urban area, the influence of foreign powers was limited in the countryside, so it was time-consuming and difficult for the missionaries to resolve property disputes in the countryside. Thus, the MEP relied more on the local actors in order to acquire properties. They had to adapt more to the local practices. The way they acquired properties had similarities with how local society had traditionally patronized religious institutions such as Buddhism, Taoism and other local deities. The most successful districts were those gained support from local lineages and Chinese Catholics.

## Chapter 6

### A New Era under the Republican Government

In the late nineteenth century, the diplomatic representatives of France and missionaries used treaties to impose pressure to the Qing government. However, the Qing government resisted the execution of these treaty clauses with various excuses. The replacement of the Qing by the Republican government did not improve the Catholic mission's fate. The Republican government, although more open and Westernized in nature compared with the imperial government, succeeded the tenacity in resisting the importunities of a strong Western nation.<sup>433</sup> The MEP, as part of the foreign presence in China, particularly their association with Western imperialism, continued to become a target from both the official regulations and public attack.

In the short term, the revolution brought improvement to the MEP. Immediately after the revolution, missionaries and Christians enjoyed peace almost everywhere. The political changes in Guangzhou provided many converts to the missionaries. In the Manchu quarter of the city, MEP priest Father Chan, under the direction of Bishop Fourquet and the assistance of Canadian sisters, baptized 130 people. The political unrest provided more conversion in general.<sup>434</sup>

Diplomatically, the Republican government aimed at building equal relations with Western powers and removing all the humiliations the Qing had suffered. After the

---

<sup>433</sup> Albert Feuerwerker, "The Foreign Presence in China", in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 12, Republican China, 1912-1949, Part 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p.162.

<sup>434</sup> Rapport n ° 1695, AMEP, Accessed March 6. <http://archives.mepasie.org/rapports-des-eveques/rapport-n-adeq-1695>.

establishment of the Republican government in 1912, a military government was established in Guangdong province. Hu Hanmin 胡漢民 became the first governor. Hu declared that the new Guangdong government would protect the interests of all foreign residents in the province, and would treat them equally.<sup>435</sup> On August 20, 1926, Chiang Kai-shek issued a proclamation to the world that he would protect the life and property of all foreigners in China who did not obstruct the operation of the revolutionary forces and did not assist the warlords.<sup>436</sup> On November 19 of the same year, he replied to an American journalist that missionaries would always be welcomed, and the elimination of missions from China was not part of his program.<sup>437</sup>

Since the establishment of the military government, the political landscape of Guangdong experienced several changes in the next two decades due to competition within the nationalist party. Amid political rivalries, the municipal government of Guangzhou (shizheng gongsuo 市政公所) was formed on October 8, 1918, becoming the pioneer of modern urban construction of China. It was reformed into *shizhengting* 市政厅 on February 15, 1921. This bureau would make policies on properties that would affect the French Catholic mission.

---

<sup>435</sup> Nanjing linshi zhengfu gongbao (Communique of Nanjing Temporary Government), No. 1, cited in Zhongguo kexueyuan, Lishi yanjiusuo, di 3 suo; Zhongguo kexueyuan, Jindai shi ziliao bianjizu; Zhongguo kexueyuan, Jindai shi yanjiusuo, Shiliao bianjizu.; Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, Jindai shi yanjiusuo, Jindai shi ziliao bianjizu.; Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan. "Jindai shi ziliao" bianjibu eds., *Jindai shi ziliao* (Beijing: kexue chubanshe, 1961, vol. 1, p.4.

<sup>436</sup> C. Martin Wilbur, "The Nationalist Revolution: from Canton to Nanjing, 1923-28", in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 12, Republican China, 1912-1949, Part 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p.597.

<sup>437</sup> C. Martin Wilbur, "The Nationalist Revolution: from Canton to Nanjing, 1923-28", in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 12, Republican China, 1912-1949, Part 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p.598.

After the founding of the Nanjing government, the international relations policy became more mature and complete. In their declaration to the world on June 15, 1928, the Republican government announced that it would be a brand new era for China's international relations. It pointed out that "the unequal treaties that were signed before betrayed the fundamental principles of international relations, which required nation-states to respect each other's sovereignty, thus these treaties were unacceptable for any independent country in the world."<sup>438</sup> Beginning with the declaration, the Nanjing government formally requested the revision of unequal treaties that were signed during the Qing dynasty. This was the continuation of the treaty revision campaign that started by the *Beiyang* 北洋 government (1912-1928), the predecessor of the Nanjing government.<sup>439</sup>

After abolishing the old treaties, the Nanjing government created a set of provisional principals that were applied to all foreigners in China before the new ones were officially established. The provisional guidelines stated that all the foreigners should respect Chinese laws, and the Chinese government controlled the tariffs.<sup>440</sup> Thus the Nanjing government revoked the extraterritoriality that foreigners enjoyed before.

As part of the new Republican government's diplomatic agenda, the Nanjing government also began to create detailed regulations on foreign religious organizations

---

<sup>438</sup> "Zhonghua minguo guomin zhengfu duiwai xuanyan" (International declaration of the government of Republic of China), in *Waijiaobu gongbao*, vol. 1 no. 2 (June 1928), pp.131-132.

<sup>439</sup> The Beiyang government's efforts to revise treaties with Western countries can be found in *Zhongguo di 2 lishi dang'anguan*, ed., *Beiyang zhengfu dang'an* (Beijing: Zhongguo dang'an chubanshe, 2010), vol. 073.

<sup>440</sup> "Zhonghua minguo yu ge waiguo jiuyue yi fei xinyue wei ding qian shiyong zhi linshi banfa", in *Waijiaobu gongbao*, vol. 1 no. 3 (July 1928), p. 133.



and foreign missionaries' right to rent and purchase properties in China. The government's policies were heavily influenced by actual cases involving Christian missionaries and churches. In *Xinyang* 信阳 county of Henan province, a Catholic church decided to construct buildings at a busy transportation spot. Although the construction would create great inconveniences to the public transportation, the church refused to change their plan. The local officials reported this incident to the Nanjing government in 1928, and the Nanjing government decided immediately to work on a plan to eliminate the right of foreigners to rent and build houses in China.<sup>441</sup> The case on Guangji Hospital in Hangzhou made the Nanjing government determined to prevent foreigners to accumulate properties in the name of building hospitals as well.<sup>442</sup>

As a result, the Nanjing government created a provisional regulation (*zanxing zhangcheng cao'an* 暂行章程草案) on foreign missionaries' property acquisition in interior China on May 21, 1928. The regulation was sent to all the provinces in July of that same year. It stated that only those religious societies that were granted the right to establish hospitals and schools were allowed to do so. They should respect Chinese laws and fulfill tax requirements if they rent or purchase land and houses. Both the owner of the property and church should report the renting or purchase to local Chinese officials before the transaction could be approved and finalized. If the church's properties exceeded their allowed area, the construction would be rejected. If the church sought

---

<sup>441</sup> "Qudi chuanjiao wairen zudi zaowu an", in *Waijiaobu gongbao*, vol. 1 no. 2 (June 1928), pp.143-145.

<sup>442</sup> "Qudi wairen jie jiaohui yiyuan mingyi zai neidi gouzhi chanye an", in *Waijiaobu gongbao*, vol. 1, no. 3 ((July 1928), pp. 67-70.

profit from their rented or purchased properties, local government should revoke the church's right to rent and purchase property in China. The properties already occupied by churches before the application of this law should be registered through local government, and churches were allowed to continue to lease the property permanently if the registration was successful.<sup>443</sup> On May 14, 1930 the Nanjing government further regulated that while the format of property deeds involving mission societies did not change, it must state clearly the time period of renting, location and boundaries of the property, the purpose of the acquisition, and the nationality of the mission order.<sup>444</sup>

The Nanjing government's policies were largely the continuation of the policies adopted by the Beiyang government. The Beiyang government greatly limited foreigners' right to rent and buy properties in interior China. It regulated that foreigners should not rent and buy land outside of treaty ports at all.<sup>445</sup>

The problems related to Christianity in Republican China contributed to the government's general foreign relations policies. The Nanjing government created regulations on Christian societies' property acquisitions prior to regulations on international relations. Thus, similar with during the Qing dynasty, issues related to Christianity was not simply religious issues, but rather diplomatic ones. During the Qing dynasty, the French government actively repudiated the Qing government's tight control over missionaries' right to purchase and rent properties in China. However, during the

---

<sup>443</sup> "Neidi waiguo jiaohui zuyong tudi fangwu zanxing zhangcheng cao'an", in *Waijiaobu gongbao*, vol. 1, no. 3 (July 1928), pp. 72-73.

<sup>444</sup> *Waijiaobu gongbao*, vol. 3, no. 2 (June 1930). Pp. 70-72.

<sup>445</sup> Zhongguo di'er lishi dang'anguan ed., *Beiyang zhengfu dang'an*. *Waijiaobu*, vol. 073 (Beijing: Zhongguo dang'an chubanshe, 2010), pp. 195-197.

Republican period, there was not much opportunity that allowed the French authorities to negotiate. Both the French authorities in China and the Pope protested the Nanjing government's regulation on missionaries' right to rent and purchase properties in China, but the Nanjing government insisted that the regulation was rather an internal matter, and there was no need to discuss with any foreign country.<sup>446</sup> In fact, the French government was cooperative in revising the old treaties overall. Less than one month after the Nanjing government's international declaration, the French government sent request to the Nanjing government on July 13, 1928, proposing to revise all the unequal treaties that were signed between France and the Qing government.<sup>447</sup>

Locally, the MEP tried to have good relations with the Guangdong republican government. When Sun Yat-sen arrived at Guangzhou in 1912, the Sacred Heart Cathedral had a grand ceremony to welcome him as the president. On that day, the cathedral was decorated never so beautifully. The Republican flag was hanged at the top of the cathedral. Even the Sacred Heart College had three days' off so students could help at the ceremony. Guests included both Chinese and foreigners. Bishop Merél and Father Fourquet led the ceremony. In his speech, Sun praised foreign missionaries who worked in China. He claimed that the Republican government would guarantee freedom of

---

<sup>446</sup> *Waijiaobu gongbao*, vol. 1 no. 7 (November 1928), pp. 121-123.

<sup>447</sup> "Waijiaobu zhi falanxi guo zhuhua daiban zhaohui", in *Waijiaobu gongbao*, vol. 1 no. 4 (August 1928), pp.105-106.

religion, believing that this would eliminate conflicts between Christians and non-Christians that happened during the imperial period.<sup>448</sup>

### The Anti-Superstition Campaign

The government apparatus that in charge of civil affairs including religion was Bureau of Civil Affairs (*minzheng ting* 民政厅).<sup>449</sup> In the Nanjing decade, the Ministry of the Interior (*neizheng bu* 内政部), a branch of the Executive Yuan (*xingzheng yuan* 行政院) was the government department that in charge of affairs related to land, religious policies, social affairs and etc. On a provincial level, it was the Department of Civil Affairs to implement these regulations. On a municipal level, it was the Social Affairs Bureau (*shehui ju* 社会局) to execute the policies.

The Nanjing government begun to function in October 1928, and it continued the anti-superstition campaign that was initiated earlier on. It published the “Standards for Preserving and Abandoning Gods and Shrine (*shenci cunfei biao zhun* 神祠存废标准) and the “Procedure for the Abolition of the Occupations of Divination, Astrology, Physiognomy, Magic and Geomancy” (*feichu bushi xingxiang wuxi kanyu banfa* 废除卜筮星象巫覡堪与办法) in late 1928. According to these regulations, temples dedicated to sages (*xianzhe* 先哲) and those related to the religions of Buddhism, Daoism, Islam, and

---

<sup>448</sup> “Shishi jiaotang huanying Sun Zhongshan”, *Minsheng ribao*, May 11, 1912, p.3; “Shishi tianzhutang huanying Sun xiansheng jilue”, *Minsheng ribao*, May 13, 1912, p.5.

<sup>449</sup> Guangdongsheng difang shizhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Guangdong shengzhi · Zongjiao zhi* (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2002), p.440.

Christianity were to be preserved, but those dedicated to ancient gods (*gushen* 古神) or gods without historical basis were to be eliminated.<sup>450</sup>

The anti-superstition campaign during the early Republican era was similar to the reforms by late Qing intellectuals. Religion became one of the targets in the late Qing reformers' modernization agenda. During the late Qing reform from 1901 to 1905, reformers advocated the transformation of religious properties into schools. In Guangzhou, many popular religious temples and properties were destructed. This campaign continued until the early years of the Republican government.<sup>451</sup> The *haichuang si* 海幢寺 (Haichuang Buddhist Monastery) on Henan Island in the Pearl River south of Guangzhou was changed into *nanwu gongxue* 南武公学 (the Public School of Nanwu), and the *sanyuan gong* 三元宫 (Daoist Monastery of Three Primordial) for the *shimin xuetang* 时敏学堂 (School of *Shimin*).<sup>452</sup>

The movement of transforming religious properties into modern schools soon became not good enough to the modernization of China. Many leading intellectuals realized that popular religions belonged to superstitions that should be abolished. In Guangzhou, this movement began in 1905 with several articles published in *Shishi*

---

<sup>450</sup> Guangzhou minguo ribao, December 15, 1929; Zhongguo di'er lishi dang'an guan, *Zhonghua minguo*, pp. 495-506, from Shuk-wah Poon, *Negotiating Religion in Modern China: State and Common People in Guangzhou, 1900-1937* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2011), p.118.

<sup>451</sup> Guangdongsheng difang shizhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Guangdong shengzhi · Zongjiao zhi* (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2002), p.444.

<sup>452</sup> Huazi ribao, February 6, 1904; March 29, 1904; April 5, 1904; April 9, 1904. From Shuk-wah Poon, *Negotiating Religion in Modern China: State and Common People in Guangzhou, 1900-1937* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2011), pp. 25-26. Poon's book has one chapter that described the anti-superstitious campaign in Guangzhou.

*huabao* 时事画报 (Current events pictorial) that connected religious worship to China's backwardness.<sup>453</sup> In Guangzhou, the political assaults on temples and monasteries came to a brief stop after the revolutionaries fled the city in 1913.<sup>454</sup> However, between 1922 and 1928, in order to support the Northern Expedition and urban construction, all the temples were ordered to make an inventory of their properties and gave to the government to manage.<sup>455</sup> As a result, many temples were auctioned; some religious properties were occupied by the government as government offices. For example, the *guangxiao si* (Temple of Bright Filial Piety) was used as classroom of *Guangdong faguan xuexiao* 广东法官学校 (Guangdong School of Law) in 1913.<sup>456</sup>

In both the reforms undertaken in the late Qing dynasty and during the Republican era, Christianity escaped the damage. Similar with Islam and Buddhism, Christianity was considered not superstitious. However, it would soon be caught up in a much more serious social campaign: the anti-imperial movement.

---

<sup>453</sup> Shishi huabao, vol.1, no. 1 (August 1905), 12, 29. From Shuk-wah Poon, *Negotiating Religion in Modern China: State and Common People in Guangzhou, 1900-1937* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2011), p.30.

<sup>454</sup> Details on the anti-superstitions campaign in Guangzhou from about 1910 to 1930, please see Shuk-wah Poon, *Negotiating Religion in Modern China: State and Common People in Guangzhou, 1900-1937* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2011). For anti-superstitions campaign during the Republican era in other part of China, please see Rebecca Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009).

<sup>455</sup> Guangzhou minguo ribao, August 6, 1923.

<sup>456</sup> Guangdongsheng difang shizhi bianzuan weiyuanhui, ed., *Guangdong shengzhi · Zongjiao zhi* (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2002), p.444.

### The Urban Modernization and Church Properties

Although the Republican government's official attitude toward Christianity was friendly and supportive, the Guangdong government's financial needs and the general anti-imperial atmosphere caused greatly difficulty to the MEP in Guangdong. After Sun Ke 孙科 became the mayor, he initiated a series of reforms and public projects in order to make Guangzhou a modern city. Sun Ke was educated at the University of California and Columbia.<sup>457</sup> He returned to China in 1916 at the age of twenty-seven. His appointment of the mayor of Guangzhou in 1921 gave him the opportunity to apply what he had learned in America on urban development. Other top officials who worked with Sun in the municipal government were also mostly educated abroad.<sup>458</sup> For example, Cheng Tiangu 程天固 (1889-1974), head of the Bureau of Public Works, was educated at the University of California. In their modernization of Guangzhou, both Sun and Cheng dealt with the MEP frequently.

One of the first tasks the Guangzhou municipal government did was changing the urban planning drastically. Before he became the mayor of Guangzhou, Sun Ke published “Dushi guihua lun” 都市规划论 (On urban planning) in 1919, in which he pointed out that to modernize a city, it was crucial to construct a well-organized traffic and road network to avoid potential congestion, and to build water supply and sewage systems to maintain a good sanitary standard. It was also important to have public areas and leisure

---

<sup>457</sup> Sun Ke, *Sun Zhesheng xiansheng wenji*, vol. 1 (Taibei: Zhongguo guomindang zhongyang weiyuanhui dangshi weiyuanhui, 1990), pp.4-8.

<sup>458</sup> Cheng Tiangu, *Cheng Tiangu huiyilu* (shang) (Taibei: Longwen chubanshe, 1993), p.108.

facilities to enrich the cultural life of urban dwellers.<sup>459</sup> His theories of urban planning were soon put into practice after he became the mayor of Guangzhou. In his plan to reconstruct Guangdong province, the most important areas of construction were railways, roads, rivers and canals, and telegraph lines.<sup>460</sup> To him, more efficient ways of transportation and communication was the key to a modern city.

To achieve the grand goal of Sun Ke, the Guangzhou government had to solve two problems first. The first was to get access to the land of certain parts of the city in order to construct road networks. The second was to obtain financial resources in order to complete the projects. Both would affect the MEP in Guangzhou. To support constructions, the government auctioned or occupied any property that was considered public property. As a result, a lot of religious properties vanished from the landscape. On some occasions, individuals or families had to cede certain part of their private properties if their property was covered by the blueprint of urban planning.

The occupation or alteration of certain pieces of land and even landmarks aroused conflict between the public and the government. Nonetheless, protests were usually futile. For example, in 1921, the Bureau of Public Works decided to construct a new road over a moat in the western suburbs, to improve transportation. The Wenlan Academy strongly opposed the project. The opposition did not work at all. Upon completion, the road was

---

<sup>459</sup> Yeung Wing-yu, "Guangzhou, 1800-1925: The Urban Evolution of a Chinese Provincial Capital" (PhD diss., University of Hong Kong, 1999), p. 268.

<sup>460</sup> "Guangdongsheng zhengfu jiansheting chouyi jianshe jihuashu", in Sun Ke, *Sun Ke wenji* (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1970), pp. 563-569.



named Taiping lu 太平路 (Road of Peace).<sup>461</sup> When the government decided to demolish a city gate located at the hub of the city, the Nine Charitable Halls claimed that the demolition of the city gate and the removal of the six hundred-year-old copper clepsydra, or water clock (*tonghu dilou* 铜壶滴漏), located on the city gate in *Shuangmendi* 双门底 would greatly undermine the *feng shui* and thus would be disastrous for the city.

The urban modernization project initiated by Mayor Sun Ke, to a large degree, was to fulfill his father, Sun Yat-sen's new China vision. In spite of the new government's measures, the city in reality was quite far from his vision. The society was quite insecure in the 1920s, even Sun Yat-sen himself chose to stay with a former bandit leader, the de facto boss of Henan Island, Lei Fuk-lum, whose residence looked like a "feudal castle, with moat, drawbridge, loophole for the rifles of its many defenders, and all the rest."<sup>462</sup> To ordinary residents of the city, they were overtaxed; things were too expensive; merchants were pillaged. All forms of transportation were subject to at least a 20% increase in fares. Similar taxes were required on rickshaw riding and ferry-boats. There was a tax of 30% on money collected by priests, in addition to a \$30 license-tax on each of them per year. There were heavy charges on every stage of transferring real properties. It was taxed for registering, certifying, stamping, and filing the deeds; there

---

<sup>461</sup> Sun Ke, "Guangzhou shizheng yishu," in *Sun Zhesheng xiansheng wenji*, vol. 1 (Taipei: Zhongguo guomindang zhongyang weiyuanhui dangshi weiyuanhui, 1990), pp.56-57.

<sup>462</sup> Harry A. Franck, *Roving through Southern China* (New York, London: Century Co., 1925), p. 257.

was a tax for the building permit, for improvement of property, a police-tax of 7% on the rental, a sanitary tax, and a tax on investments, to name a few.<sup>463</sup>

Under the pretext of land-classification and the examination of deeds, thousands of private sites and buildings were confiscated. By subjecting everything to inspection and registration, and requiring heavy fees for every act, hundreds of millions were extorted from the Cantonese during the last two years of Sun. All old titles were declared void, and heavy payments and much trouble were necessary to get new ones. Owners were suddenly summoned to some municipal departments, and if their deeds were not verified within a few days they were dispossessed. Thousands of properties were sold, amid much abuse and corruption.<sup>464</sup> Bad as were the taxes, they were mild compared to the forced loans and confiscations that made life a constant terror to any one with anything in the region held by Sun Yat-sen. Sun Yat-sen could not find enough troops locally, so he called in troops from other provinces, many of them former bandits, some in whole companies. To satisfy these needs, the government had to take extraordinary measures for raise money.

Although the Guangzhou municipal government found it easy to confiscate the ordinary Chinese citizens' properties, it still stayed away from foreign properties in Guangzhou in general. To prevent properties from being confiscated, some people put foreign flags on paper goods to save the burnt property from government expropriation in

---

<sup>463</sup> Harry A. Franck, *Roving through Southern China* (New York, London: Century Co., 1925), pp. 266-267.

<sup>464</sup> Harry A. Franck, *Roving through Southern China* (New York, London: Century Co., 1925), pp. 270-271.

the underworld. A paper automobile would fly an Italian flag to make sure it would make its way safely to its owner in the other world.<sup>465</sup> On one occasion, beside a little lot and hut, a piece of board was nailed to a tree stating: “This land is belong of America. Anybody cant to be trouble.”<sup>466</sup>

Nonetheless, properties that belonged to foreigners were not totally invincible under the Republican rule. In 1922, when the Republican government was building roads in Guangzhou city, the blueprint required the demolition of some buildings located at *maima* street. At the time, those buildings were part of the properties that were leased to the MEP permanently by the imperial Chinese government. Vicar apostolic of the MEP in Guangzhou Father Fourquet wrote to the Chinese government, stating that those buildings were church property based on treaties signed between the French Legation in China and former governor of Guangzhou, thus it was illegal to demolish these buildings. After discussion with Father Fourquet, the French consul in Guangzhou demanded to the Guangzhou municipal government that several conditions had to be met for the demolition of these MEP’s property: (1) while the MEP was willing to cooperate and support the government’s urban constructions without requesting monetary compensation from the municipal government, the government should allow the church to build new houses in other places to resettle the residents of those demolished ones. They were mainly Christians and catechists who were invited to live on church properties for

---

<sup>465</sup> Harry A. Franck, *Roving through Southern China* (New York, London: Century Co., 1925), pp. 235-236.

<sup>466</sup> Harry A. Franck, *Roving through Southern China* (New York, London: Century Co., 1925), p. 272.

conveniences. As the municipal government said that there was no empty land available for the church's new constructions, the church should be allowed to build new houses on the French concession. (2) The MEP should be allowed to build new houses within the French concession, or to elevate the current houses without any restriction from the municipal government, as long as such projects do not violate the city's construction regulations. (3) All the construction materials from the demolished houses should belong to the MEP.<sup>467</sup> In replying to this request, Mayor Sun Ke ordered the bureau to investigate the treaties and property deeds to solve the problem properly. The final agreement was that the MEP could build freely within its permanent concession, but properties located on the roadsides should obey the civil regulations.<sup>468</sup>

Besides confiscating and selling religious properties and other public properties, another measure taken by the municipal government was inspecting land deeds. The government would take possession of those properties that did not pass the deeds inspection. The government required the owner of each property to provide red deeds (*hong qi* 红契), which meant the transaction was registered in local government. Usually, the owner of the property was also required to submit the older deeds showing the previous ownership of the property, so to prevent people from buying properties illegally.

The municipal government divided the entire city into different administrative blocks, and worked to register the properties block by block. Once it was the turn of certain block to register their properties, all the residents living in this quarter of the city

---

<sup>467</sup> Li Taichu, *Guangzhou shishi shimo ji* (Guangzhou: Dongsheng zhongxi yinwu, 1930), pp. 48-51.

<sup>468</sup> C1.3\_008. Ricci Archives.

were required to register their properties within thirty days of the announcement, and it did not matter whether the property belonged to individuals, companies, government agencies or foreigners.<sup>469</sup>

In reality, many people found difficult to maintain ownership of their properties because they seldom had the red deeds. Registering property deeds cost money. Once the property was registered in the government, the owner needed to pay property taxes and related fees as well. Thus, in practice, many people only had the white deeds (*bai qi* 白契), the unofficial deeds.<sup>470</sup> Related to this new policy, the government also encouraged people to report any property that involved illegal transactions.<sup>471</sup>

To prevent properties from being confiscated by the government, Guangzhou citizens turned to newspapers as tools to protect their properties. After their transaction, the buyers would put announcements in the local newspapers, requesting anyone who had disputes with the sellers about the property should come forward, if no one came forward within certain length of time, any pre-existing dispute over the property would be considered invalid. Some buyers even made such announcements several times. For example, *Sifa rikan* 司法日刊 (Judicial Daily), published by Guangdong Supreme Court, used large space to devote to the property registration movement in the 1920s and the 1930s. The content included government announcements of properties submitted for registration, buyers' declarations of purchases, and even individuals' property disputes.

---

<sup>469</sup> Guangzhou shizheng ribao, June 6, 1928. P.11; *Guangzhou minguo ribao*, August 13, 1923, p.6.

<sup>470</sup> Guangzhoushi shizheng gongbao, vol. 9 (10 September 1923), pp.22-23.

<sup>471</sup> Guangzhoushi shizheng gongbao, vol. 85 (July 16, 1923), pp.38-39; *Guangzhou minguo ribao*, 6 August 1923.

In the issue of January 22, 1931, both the accuser and the defender of the same dispute published their version of stories on the same page. Wu Zishen 伍资深 stated that Wu Xixun 伍锡勋 escaped with the property registration documents that belonged to Wu Zishen, and Zhang Rongyuan 张荣远 collaborated with Wu Xixun couple by blackmailing Wu Zishen. Wu Zishen demanded them to return the documents within ten days, otherwise they would be sued. Zhang Rongyuan's declaration stated that he had rented the shop and paid rent periodically, how could he be called a "collaborator".<sup>472</sup>

In 1931, when Father Fourquet again requested permission of construction from the Public Works Bureau, he was declined by the head of the bureau Cheng Tiangu due to lack of property deeds by the mission.<sup>473</sup> Registration of all the properties turned out to be a difficult task for the MEP in Guangzhou due to the large quantity of properties they possessed. In 1948, the Sacred Heart Cathedral was ordered by the Bureau of Land Administration to make a list of all their properties and to submit all their property deeds in order to get them registered.<sup>474</sup>

### **The Anti-Imperialism Campaign and Church Properties**

Since the founding of the Republican government in Guangdong province, the Republican government had been working on establishing equal relations with all the

---

<sup>472</sup> Sifa rikan, January 22, 1931, p. 6. Besides Sifa rikan, other newspapers such as *Guangzhou riri xinwen* and *Guangzhou minguo ribao* also published content related to the property registration movement.

<sup>473</sup> C1.3\_023. Ricci Archives.

<sup>474</sup> C1.3\_025. Ricci Archives.

countries, and this meant the elimination of most former treaties that were signed during the Qing dynasty. On August 13, 1927, Wu Chaoshu, minister of foreign affairs of the Nanjing Republican government announced that all the unequal treaties signed by the previous imperial government had no reason to continue to exist and should be abolished in order to establish new ones. From then on, the government initiated the treaties revision movement with all the powers. Once receiving the request from the new Chinese government, all the Western powers agreed to this request except Japan.<sup>475</sup> Following this request, new and equal treaties with France was signed on January 8, 1929. New treaty with Britain was signed on February 1, 1929. New treaty with America was signed on June 20, 1929. Equal treaties with many other Western countries were also signed around the same time. Accompanying this process, the extraterritorial right enjoyed by eighteen countries in China was also abolished.<sup>476</sup> This diplomatic progress made by the Republican government meant that all the rules that were applied to Western powers in China had to be changed. To the missionaries, it meant that those treaties that had protected them for over fifty years were suddenly ineffective. From the perspective of the Chinese Republican government, it meant the ending of the French protectorate over Catholicism in China.

In the early Republican era, missionaries composed the largest group of foreigners in China. Mostly because treaties signed in the late Qing greatly improved their situation

---

<sup>475</sup> Shenbao nianjian she ed., *Shenbao nianjian quanbian* (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2010), p.272-273.

<sup>476</sup> Shenbao nianjian she ed., *Shenbao nianjian quanbian* (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2010), pp.275-276.

in China, resulting a flourishing period in the first quarter of the twentieth century for missionaries. However, this interlude after the Boxer uprising soon ended due to national hostility toward Christianity as an emanation of foreign imperialism.<sup>477</sup> As part of the foreign presence in China, missionaries became another target of the anti-imperialism campaign. The Second National Congress of the Nationalist party held in Guangzhou in January 1926 endorsed the support to the anti-Christian movement, accusing mission schools, journals and churches as agents of imperialism.<sup>478</sup> Before the beginning of the Northern Expedition, there were strikes in Hong Kong and boycotts against trade with Great Britain in Guangzhou.<sup>479</sup>

The Chinese government found it easier to regain control of mission properties through anti-imperial campaigns than other ways. As one of the largest land owners in Guangzhou, the MEP became the target in 1925. On May 24, 1925, an article appeared in *Kwok Wa Po* [Guo hua bao], a popular local newspaper in Guangzhou, and it stated that:

During the last years of the Qing, a weak China was humiliated by foreign powers. Many important and expensive places were occupied by foreigners. This situation was understandable because people in the Qing were ignorant and unable to defend their territory. However, after the founding the Republican China, we should not be humiliated anymore because the population is more educated, and we are more skillful in international relations. Yet there is the Shishi Catholic Church [Sacred Heart Cathedral] who has violated the treaties and still occupies our land to make profit illegally...Based on the treaties signed in the 10<sup>th</sup> year of the Xianfeng reign (1860) and the 1<sup>st</sup> year of the Tongzhi reign

---

<sup>477</sup> Albert Feuerwerker, "The Foreign Presence in China", in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 12, Republican China, 1912-1949, Part 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p.166.

<sup>478</sup> C. Martin Wilbur, "The Nationalist Revolution: from Canton to Nanjing, 1923-28", in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 12, Republican China, 1912-1949, Part 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p.596.

<sup>479</sup> C. Martin Wilbur, "The Nationalist Revolution: from Canton to Nanjing, 1923-28", in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 12, Republican China, 1912-1949, Part 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p.595.



(1862), they could only use the land for religious purposes. If they used the land for other purpose, the treaties would be invalidated automatically. In the 8<sup>th</sup> year of the Republic of China, new agreement between the mission and the government also stated that constructions are only allowed for priests' residencies, or elevation of existing buildings. Other purposes are not allowed... Nonetheless, the mission first built shops in Daxin jie, and then built on the streets of Yuzixiang and Baimijie. Recently they even built more than one hundred Western style houses to rent. Since these behaviors already invalidated the treaties, we should take possession of the land occupied by the Shishi Catholic Church.<sup>480</sup>

This article was written by a commoner named Su Mingyi 苏鸣一<sup>481</sup>, his main argument was that the Sacred Heart Cathedral violated the treaties signed between the MEP and the Chinese governments, and was actively seeking profits on the properties that were supposed to be used for religious purposes only. Before publishing the article in the newspaper, Su already submitted the request to the director of Ministry of Foreign Affairs Wu Chaoshu, and the director of Ministry of Finance of Guangdong province the previous year, requesting them to repossess the properties occupied by the MEP.<sup>482</sup> Su's argument was widely supported by commoners and officials, and the government was urged to make a decision on this matter.

Soon after receiving the report from Su, on 23 July 1924, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs ordered commissioner in Guangdong, Fu Bingchang 傅秉常 to investigate the case. The Bureau of Finance of the Guangzhou municipal government also submitted

---

<sup>480</sup> “Wei shishi tianzhu jiaotang zudi miao yue yingsi qing tongbao lizheng shouhui zhuquan”, *Guohua bao*, 24 May 1925.

<sup>481</sup> Su was a lower-level staff in the Bureau of Finance of Guangzhou municipal government. Li Taichu, *Guangzhou shishi shimo ji* (Guangzhou: Dongsheng zhongxi yinwu, 1930), p. 60.

<sup>482</sup> *Guangzhou shizhengfu shizheng gongbao* (Guangzhou: Guangzhoushi shizhengfu, 1924), vol. 142, pp. 30-32.

request through the provincial government to Fu, asking him to investigate. On 14 August 1924, governor of Guangdong province Liao Zhongkai 廖仲恺 and the mayor of Guangzhou Sun Ke both made the same request to Fu.<sup>483</sup> After the initial investigation, Fu Bingchang's report confirmed Su's accusations and agreed that the government should repossess those properties. Fu was given further directions from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to negotiate with the French consul in Guangzhou. Apostolic Prefect Father Fourquet argued that Dr. Wu Tingfang 伍廷芳, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Guangdong government had given the mission full control over their properties. He further claimed that an agreement was signed between the MEP and the Guangzhou government, which was considered the first official treaty signed between France and the Chinese Republican government as a way for France to acknowledge the legitimacy of the Republican government.<sup>484</sup>

As Chinese officials insisted that the MEP violated the treaties and should return part of their properties back to the Chinese government, the French consul became furious. He replied to Fu Bingchang that if Fu insisted that the MEP violated the signed treaties, it should be the successor of the former imperial government to deal with the French Legation in China.<sup>485</sup> By saying so, the French consul rejected the authority and

---

<sup>483</sup> Li Taichu, *Guangzhou shishi shimo ji* (Guangzhou: Dongsheng zhongxi yinwu, 1930), pp. 57-58.

<sup>484</sup> Li Taichu, *Guangzhou shishi shimo ji* (Guangzhou: Dongsheng zhongxi yinwu, 1930), p. 65.

<sup>485</sup> “Il convient que le Gouvernement Central qui a succédé au gouvernement Impérial demande au ministre de France de faire restituer les terrains”. F6.8\_013. Ricci Archives.

legitimacy of the Guangdong government in resolving this case. The French consul also published a public reply in the same newspaper where Su had published his:

The treaties allowed mission societies to lease shops and houses permanently in interior China, and use the capital gains on charity activities. In treaty ports, mission societies have even more freedom to do so. Moreover, further treaties were signed between the mission and the Republican government concerning our shops and houses located on these particular streets, and we are allowed to build or elevate the existing buildings as our wish in permanent concessions. We have been obeying regulations on civil planning and constructions from the government. Due to above reasons, we have the right to construct houses and rent them out. We have discussed with the former governor Zhang on November 15, 1919 about demolishing the old houses and building cleaner and stronger ones. Even before the signing of the new agreement, we have shown clearly the deeds in our letters. Whether according to the treaties or contracts, the Sacred Heart Cathedral did not violate any agreement. We are still doing the same thing, which is using the rent to do charity activities.<sup>486</sup>

After that, the French consul refused to discuss about this case with the Republican government. The Republican government, busy with military campaigns and other anti-imperialism activities, also paused on this case.

The public interest at the MEP's properties was colored by the general sentiment toward foreigners in China around that time. Since the establishment of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1921, its party members gradually spread the Marxist-Leninist ideas across the country. Students and workers were mobilized by the CCP in the struggle against imperialism and militarism. After the creation of the alliance of the Nationalist and Communist parties in late 1923, both parties deliberately built up the anti-

---

<sup>486</sup> “Shishi zudi weiyue yingli an jiaoshe ji”, *Guohua bao*, June 10, 1925.

imperialist sentiment among the population.<sup>487</sup> In May 1925, the massacre of Chinese workers in the Shanghai international settlement by Japanese foreman caused nationwide anti-imperial campaign. Hong Kong and Guangzhou joined this campaign quickly from 1925 to 1926.<sup>488</sup> A few days after the attack on Shamian, the Sacred Heart Cathedral was occupied by groups of workers from Hong Kong and the occupation ended only after about seventy days. The students of the Sacred Heart School also joined the movement. They refused to go to classes, and invited soldiers and police to stop any student who dared to enter the school. On the morning of August 31, they surrounded not only the school, but also the whole mission. They brutalized women who wanted to enter the cathedral and summoned the employees of the mission to leave the service within twenty-four hours. The situation was only in control after the leaders of the central committee of the strikes came.<sup>489</sup>

The period between 1922 and 1927 was also filled with the anti-Christian movement, which the students were actively involved. According to Ka-che Yip, the movement was the result of “the escalation of internal conflict among the warlords, the intransigence of foreign powers toward China’s external aspirations, the emergence of the CCP and the revitalization of the KMT, the growth of labor and peasant movements, and

---

<sup>487</sup> Ka-che Yip, *Religion, Nationalism and Chinese Students: The Anti-Christian Movement of 1922-1927* (Bellingham, Washington: Center for East Asian Studies, Western Washington University, 1980), p.32.

<sup>488</sup> For the anti-imperial campaign in Hong Kong and Guangzhou, please see Robert James Horrocks, *The Guangzhou-HongKong Strike, 1925-1926: Hongkong Workers in an Anti-Imperialist Movement* (PhD Diss., The University of Leeds, 1994).

<sup>489</sup> La grève révolutionnaire à Canton, AMEP, <http://archives.mepasie.org/annales-des-missions-etrangeres/la-grave-ra-c-volutionnaire-a-canton>.

the rising interest in Marxist-Leninism.”<sup>490</sup> Beginning in 1924, students demanded to abolish unequal treaties and extraterritoriality in China. They relied on mass media to mobilize the mass.<sup>491</sup> In Guangzhou, most local newspapers reported the progress of this movement; some even established new columns on religions and published anti-Christian articles. The most active among them was *Guangdong qunbao* 广东群报. Founded in October 1920, it became the official propaganda tool of the Guangzhou branch of the CCP since spring 1921. It was the most active anti-Christian newspaper mainly due to the identity of its chief editor Chen Qiulin 陈秋霖. Chen was a Christian before, but later quitted and criticized Christianity.<sup>492</sup> Under such influences, students, workers and ordinary people in Guangzhou actively criticized Christianity. This movement only began to decline in 1927 when the tension between foreign powers and the Nationalist government reached a high point after the death of several foreigners during the capturing of Nanjing in March 1927 by the Nationalist Party.<sup>493</sup>

The harsh life of the local population in the 1920s might have contributed to their demand that the government repossess the MEP's properties. As mentioned earlier, in the 1920s, residents of Guangzhou suffered extortions inflicted by the local government in

---

<sup>490</sup> Ka-che Yip, *Religion, Nationalism and Chinese Students: The Anti-Christian Movement of 1922-1927* (Bellingham, Washington: Center for East Asian Studies, Western Washington University, 1980), p.5.

<sup>491</sup> Ka-che Yip, *Religion, Nationalism and Chinese Students: The Anti-Christian Movement of 1922-1927* (Bellingham, Washington: Center for East Asian Studies, Western Washington University, 1980), p.27.

<sup>492</sup> Chen Qiulin, “Wo zhi fei jidu jiaohui yanlun yu duiyu fei zongjiao yundong de taidu,” *Guangdong qunbao*, April 21, 1922.

<sup>493</sup> Ka-che Yip, *Religion, Nationalism and Chinese Students: The Anti-Christian Movement of 1922-1927* (Bellingham, Washington: Center for East Asian Studies, Western Washington University, 1980), pp. 71-74.

order to support their military and governmental expenses. Besides taxes forced upon by the government, the hired soldiers from other provinces, mainly Yunnan and Hunan, also found their way to get payment directly from the local population-by vice means. To combat troubles brought by soldiers, local population organized merchants' militia. Around 1925, all the merchants in Guangdong province were untied into a single organization with 100, 000 armed men. Even in villages armed leagues were formed.<sup>494</sup>

Largely inspired by the MEP case in Guangzhou and similar cases happened in other provinces, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs worked on making official regulations on Christian mission's right to rent and purchase properties in China soon after the founding of the Nanjing government. The provisional regulation (*zanxing zhangcheng cao'an* 暂行章程草案) was created in 1928, clearly stating that it was forbidden for foreign religious organizations to make profits from rented or purchased properties in China.

In 1930, the Guangzhou municipal government again was determined to regain control of part of MEP's properties. Partially because the mission violated the treaties, but more practically, if the government regained control of more than three hundred houses that belonged to the MEP, the government could collect more than 100,000 yuan in revenue to support its urban reconstructions.<sup>495</sup> The government did a thorough investigation on the MEP's properties in Guangzhou. The total value of the mission's land and shops was about 539,616 yuan. On Dexingli 德星里 street, the even numbered

---

<sup>494</sup> Harry A. Franck, *Roving through Southern China* (New York, London: Century Co., 1925), pp.274-276.

<sup>495</sup> Li Taichu, *Guangzhou shishi shimo ji* (Guangzhou: Dongsheng zhongxi yinwu, 1930), p. 80.

shops from 2 to 18, the odd numbered shops from 1 to 13; as well as the No. 6-14 shops on the street of Jiubu houjie 旧部后街, all belonged to the MEP.<sup>496</sup>

| Street             | Number of houses | Size (unit: jing 井) | Price per jing in yuan | Total value in yuan |
|--------------------|------------------|---------------------|------------------------|---------------------|
| Yuzi xiang 玉子巷     | 15               | 64.9750             | 350                    | 22741.25            |
| Daxin jie 大新街      | 44               | 143. 3766           | 500                    | 71688.30            |
| Yuren fang 育仁坊     | 54               | 149. 7787           | 300                    | 44923.61            |
| Longren fang 隆仁坊   | 33               | 312. 2336           | 300                    | 93670.08            |
| Anren li 安仁里       | 27               | 51. 9930            | 300                    | 15597.90            |
| Dongshan jie 东善街   | 9                | 30. 1975            | 400                    | 12079.00            |
| Yide lu 一德路        | 22               | 121. 1184           | 800                    | 96894.72            |
| Shengxin lu 圣心路    | 17               | 75. 5998            | 700                    | 52919.86            |
| Xishan jie 西善街     | 18               | 66. 054             | 400                    | 26421.60            |
| Jiubu qian 旧部前     | 29               | 117. 2522           | 650                    | 76213.93            |
| Tangyuan xiang 汤元巷 | 1                | 3. 7771             | 400                    | 2510.84             |
| Baimi xiang 白米巷    | 33               | 83. 1518            | 300                    | 24945.54            |
| TOTAL              | 302              | 1219.5077           |                        | 539616.63           |

Figure 6-1. Properties belonged to the French Catholic Mission in Guangzhou.<sup>497</sup>

<sup>496</sup> “Caizheng ju tiyi toubian benshi xincheng faguo tianzhu jiaotang zudi an” (Proposal to sell the rental property of French Catholic Church at the new town by Bureau of Finance), *Guangzhou shizhengfu shizheng gongbao*, June 10, 1930, vol. 355, p .82. Guangzhou Municipal Archives.

<sup>497</sup> All the figures in the table are from *Guangzhou shizhengfu shizheng gongbao* (Guangzhou: Guangzhoushi shizhengfu, 1930), vol. 355, pp.82-85.

By then it was clear about the quantity and value of the MEP's properties in Guangzhou, but the Guangzhou municipal government and the mission disagreed on how many of them should be returned to the Chinese government and the practical procedure of returning. The MEP insisted that the Guangzhou government should pay 1,000,000 yuan to the mission if they wanted to repossess these properties, but the government wanted to sell these properties and return part of or all the income as compensation to the mission. The MEP declined these proposals. The Guangzhou municipal government established a small committee that were constituted by Li Taichu 李泰初, Wang Duosheng 王铎声, Cheng Tiangu 程天固, and Zhang Xiaohui 张晓辉, and began to sell these houses and shops anyway.<sup>498</sup> Eighty-two shops were eventually returned to the Chinese government.<sup>499</sup>

Although it took some efforts and time, the Republican government eventually succeeded. Nonetheless, this was not the first time when Chinese government wanted to investigate the MEP's properties in Guangzhou. In April 1881, Zhang Zhidong, governor-general of Guangdong and Guangxi provinces had initiated such investigations. He was already aware that the MEP had purchased houses and shops near the cathedral and rented them out for profit, and this violated the original agreement between the French and the Chinese governments. Zhang saw that the mingling of Christians with non-Christians at this area had potential to cause problems between them, thus was

---

<sup>498</sup> *Guangzhou shizhengfu shizheng gongbao* (Guangzhou: Guangzhoushi shizhengfu, 1930), vol. 365, p 63.

<sup>499</sup> *Guangzhou shizhengfu shizheng gongbao* (Guangzhou: Guangzhoushi shizhengfu, 1931), vol. 379, p 61.



harmful to Sino-Western relations. He ordered the county magistrate of Nanhai to resolve this issue.<sup>500</sup> Unfortunately, the county magistrate did not follow up with this matter, largely due to the difficulties faced in dealing with the French authorities.

The Republican government adopted the religion versus super-superstition dichotomy in order to modernize the nation not only technologically, but also ideologically and philosophically. Properties belonged to Christianity, Buddhism and Islam were spared from the confiscation and nationalization movement earlier on. Christianity, however, later became a target during the anti-imperial campaign due to its association with Western governments. In Guangzhou, the suffering of the MEP started right after the municipal government was founded in 1921. The financial needs of the Guangzhou government in order to support the continuing military campaigns and its urban constructions brought a lot of troubles to the MEP in Guangzhou. They lost part of their properties, either through direct occupation by the government, or due to failure of property registrations. Overall, the MEP did not have a comfortable life under the Guangzhou provisional government. The difficulties to obtain construction permit from the government, and the campaign to nationalize church properties, made them feel that these years was full of “agony.”<sup>501</sup>

From the late Qing dynasty to the early decades of the Republican era, the life of the MEP missionaries in Guangzhou did not change much. They struggled to keep their

---

<sup>500</sup> Zhong Guiyong and Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, ed., *Jiaowu jiaonan dang* (Archives of religious affairs and cases) (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 1974), vol. 5, pp.2173-2174.

<sup>501</sup> F10.25\_030. Ricci Archives.

properties. Both the imperial and the Republican governments tried very hard to restrict Christian missions' right to rent and purchase properties in China. Thus from the late imperial to the Republican government, there were continuities in these governmental regulations on missionaries' right to rent and purchase properties in China. In the late imperial time, many problems had the origin in the local government, despite general cooperation from the central one. In the Republican era, the Guangzhou government, although a local authority, also served as the headquarter for the nationalist revolution and later the provisional Republican government. Although the Republican government tolerated Christianity, the idea that Christian missions became property magnates in China was a daunting one.

The major difference is that while during the imperial time, the French government played an immense role in negotiating with the Qing government in order to protect missionaries, the influence of the French government during the Republican era was very limited. This diminishing of diplomatic influences was both a result and a cause of China's increasing national strength and international status. This difference shows that the Republican government continued the anti-imperial campaign that began right after the Opium War. While the late imperial government could only try to defend its sovereignty cautiously and passively, the Republican government was more confident and determined.

The multiple layers of the bureaucratic system in the Qing period often gave local officials more autonomy in resolving local matters. Thus the tones and subject of concern varied greatly between the high level and local level officials. While discussions between

the French Legation in Beijing and the Zongli yamen often surrounded treaties and law, the concerns of local officials often puzzled missionaries and French consuls. However, the Republican government adopted different vocabularies and reasonings in their dealings with missionaries and the French diplomatic representatives.

## Conclusion

To both Catholic and Protestant missionaries in China, land and houses were vital to the development of their missions. There were a total of five ways to obtain properties in China: through purchases, via donations, by renting, by compensations, and through restitutions. This study has examined the ways the *Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris* (MEP) in Guangdong province acquired and used their properties. It shows that in the city of Guangzhou, the properties were mainly acquired through purchases and restitutions. The land for the construction of the Sacred Heart Cathedral was restituted by the local government in exchange for previously confiscated properties by the Qing government. The land outside of the north gate that became the cemetery of Christians was also returned by the local government. In the process of obtaining these properties, the mission was greatly assisted by the allied occupation forces of Britain and France and later the French consuls in Guangzhou. This demonstrates the close ties between the Catholic mission and Western colonial powers in China after the Opium War.

The construction of the Sacred Heart Cathedral further demonstrates the symbolic importance of the cathedral to both the mission and the French influences in China. Bishop Guillemin was the major impetus behind the selection of the land and the architectural design of the cathedral. It was also under his leadership that the mission purchased a great number of houses, shops and land slots in the nearby quarters of the city. The majority of those properties were purchased easily, just like any such

transaction done by the local Chinese population. The high level of commercialization of Guangzhou city made such purchases easy compared with those made in the countryside. Often paid by foreign currencies, a preferred method of payment due to the irregularity of local Chinese currency, the MEP acted just like any commercial enterprise in the city. The use of middlemen and the way they phrased their purchasing contracts showed that they localized their economic strategies in purchasing land and houses. By following the local practice of not registering white deeds,<sup>502</sup> the mission avoided potential problems of being checked and declined by local Chinese officials. Purchasing those shops and houses in the city made the MEP the richest, most powerful and most visible mission in the city of Guangzhou in nineteenth century.

The real estate empire of the MEP in the city of Guangzhou might look uncommon in any other city of China at the time, but in Guangdong province, it was not that unique. The process of the construction of the French Catholic community was very similar to the establishment of clan halls by the local population. During the entire Qing dynasty and the early Republican era, lineages across Guangdong province continued to work together to build *hezuci* 合族祠 (clan halls) in the city of Guangzhou. On such occasions, people who shared the same surname across the entire province would donate money and purchase a piece of land, often quite large, to build ancestral halls and

---

<sup>502</sup> Cantonese people usually did not register their white deeds when purchasing land and houses. For one thing, the seller hoped to continue to benefit from the property; for another, the buyer could avoid taxes and fees that would occur during and after the registration. As a consequence, this practice caused many disputes among people. Nevertheless, most people continued not to register their property purchases. Zhang Qu (Qing), *Yue dong wenjian lu* (A Record of Things Heard and Seen in Eastern Guangdong [preface, 1739] (Guangzhou: Guangdong gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 1990), juan 1, p. 37.

academies. For example, the most famous clan hall in Guangzhou, the Chen Clan Ancestral Hall or the Chan Clan Academy (*Chenjia ci* 陈家祠)'s construction began in 1888 and was completed in 1893. It covers an area of 15, 000 square meters and was built with money donated by people who shared the Chen surname across the entire province of Guangdong.<sup>503</sup> In fact, since the late Ming dynasty, it was so popular for lineages to build such clan halls in Guangzhou that local officials saw it as a potential social threat, and tried to stop such practices. During the Xianfeng (r. 1851-1861) and Guangxu (r.1875-1908) regins, local officials continued to suppress them.<sup>504</sup> The process of clan halls' construction was very similar to how the MEP gradually built the cathedral and bought off nearby properties to establish a Catholic community. While clan halls were Chinese, and the buildings were used to lay ancestral tablets and for clan members to lodge and study,<sup>505</sup> the cathedral was for Catholic rituals and Catholics and was tied to foreign powers. The similarities between the two phenomena might have contributed to the local population's general acceptance of the MEP's purchases of properties in Guangzhou.

Due to French protectorate of Catholicism in China, the French authorities in China had been active in protecting the interests of the Catholic mission, particularly the

---

<sup>503</sup> Guangdong minjian gongyi bowuguan, Huanan ligong daxue, eds., *Guangzhou Chenshi shuyuan shilu* (Veritable Records of the Chen Clan Academy) (Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2011), p.10.

<sup>504</sup> Guangdong minjian gongyi bowuguan, Huanan ligong daxue, eds., *Guangzhou Chenshi shuyuan shilu* (Veritable Records of the Chen Clan Academy) (Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2011), pp.8-9.

<sup>505</sup> Huang Haiyan, *Zai chengshi yu xiangcun zhijian: Qingdai yilai Guangzhou hezu ci yanjiu* (Between the City and the Countryside: The clan halls in Guangzhou from the Qing dynasty) (Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 2008).

MEP. In Guangdong province, the foreign powers were more visible than anywhere else. In 1902, there were still five gunboats at Guangzhou: two British, two German, and one French.<sup>506</sup> On the issue of the missionaries' right to buy land and houses in China, the French Legation in China wanted a simple and clear procedure, while the Chinese imperial government wanted prior approval by local Chinese authorities. From the Berthemy Convention of 1865 to the Gérard Convention of 1895, the French authorities in China had three decades' negotiations over this issue. Yet the matter was never resolved to both parties' satisfaction.

Once the Republic of China was founded, the newly founded Republican government roughly followed the policies of the imperial government. However, the new government's regulations on missionaries' right to purchase properties in China were stricter and clearer. By then, with the increased power and influences of China on the international stage, missionaries and their diplomatic representatives found it hard to contest such regulations. Although the majority of those unequal treaties between imperial China and Western powers were only eventually abolished between the 1930s and 1940s, the negotiations already started around the 1920s. The strong stance of the Republican government made it difficult for France to maintain the privileges it enjoyed during the imperial time.

The nationalism in early twentieth century also called attention to the MEP's real estate empire in Guangzhou. The treaties signed between the mission and governor Lao

---

<sup>506</sup> Letter from Consulate of the United States to Assistant Secretary of State David J. Hill, March 20, 1902. From Cheng Huanwen, ed., *Meiguo zhu Zhongguo Guangzhou lingshiguan lingshi baogao, 1790-1906* (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2007), vol. 19, p.264.

Chongguang, in which the land was given to the mission to build the Sacred Heart Cathedral, was exposed. The treaty content was analyzed sentence by sentence in local newspapers so to make the public understand which treaty clause the mission had violated. The public anger over the mission's profits from their shops and houses in the city eventually motivated and also assisted the local Republican government in reclaiming the ownership of the majority of the mission's properties in the city of Guangzhou.

In the rural areas of Guangdong province, the story was quite different from that of the city of Guangzhou. While in the city, the mission was greatly helped by the French diplomatic representatives, in the countryside, their influence was very limited. The mission completely relied on local society to survive. The missionaries working in the rural mission districts were under the mercy of local Chinese officials. Most of the time, local officials did not care about treaty articles. Purchasing contracts from missionaries were often turned down for registration. In the city, the MEP chose not to register their property deeds through the Chinese government in order to protect their ownership. However, in the rural areas, registration of mission's properties was necessary in order to prevent disputes and any trouble from villagers. The local lineages, the basic unit of Guangdong society was another key factor for the mission's economic success. In the regions where local lineages did not support the Catholic mission, it was extremely difficult for them to buy land and houses. In contrast, in places where Catholicism was patronized by local lineages, the mission would prosper easily.



Although the Sacred Heart Cathedral gave people the impression that the Catholic mission was in great prosperity in the nineteenth century, in reality compared with Protestantism, Catholicism was not that strong. It was in the rural areas, not in the city, that the competition between Protestantism and Catholicism was more visible. Often, the Catholic missionaries felt that it was difficult to compete against the Protestant missionaries, mainly due to the lack of financial resources to build chapels and residences.

The MEP's economic life in the rural areas of Guangdong province demonstrates that even at a location where colonial powers had strong influences, Catholicism still had to rely on local society in order to survive. The economic benefits brought by the Opium War to the Catholic mission were not enough to support it. At the aftermath of the Boxer Uprising, the indemnity from the Chinese government has brought huge wealth to the Franciscan missions in Shanxi province, as well as several other mission districts in north China, but the Guangdong mission had no share of it. This reflected the fact that the Boxer Uprising did not have much practical impact on the southern provinces.

As a production of Western colonialism in China, the MEP gained a lot of privileges in the late nineteenth century; however, even with the protection of colonial powers, in their daily dealings with the Chinese society, there was more accommodation than coercion. Such accommodation was a necessity due to the resistance from both the central and the local governments of China. At the same time, the economic activities of the mission also showed that colonialism did not always affect every Chinese person negatively. Certain groups of the population actually benefited from it. Many merchants

of Guangzhou welcomed foreigners, be they foreign merchants or missionaries. William Hunter had described the busy scene when foreign sailors visited Guangzhou city during their “liberty day” when they were allowed, local shop owners actively marketed their products to those sailors, some even treated the sailors as their “old friend.”<sup>507</sup> From this perspective, it can be said that the impact of colonialism on Chinese society varied greatly at different parts of the country. As to the MEP, they found it necessary to adjust to different situations in different locations of the same province.

In the early twentieth century, when the Republican government of China gradually reclaimed their right over the shops and houses that belonged to the MEP, the Sacred Heart Cathedral and the mission’s properties in the rural areas were mostly intact. However, in the rural areas, new official forms were issued by the government for missionaries to fill out when they purchased properties. The Sacred Heart Cathedral was renovated in 1928 and 1938. In 1938, the cathedral was partially damaged under Japanese airstrikes. In October 1949, the cathedral was further damaged when the Nationalist army bombed the Haizhu Bridge 海珠桥 while retreating. During the Cultural Revolution, the cathedral went through another round of damages and occupations. The historical value of the cathedral was only recognized by the Chinese government in 1962. From then on, it has been labelled as a major historical and cultural site protected at the provincial and national levels. The cathedral has been renovated several times in order to recover its

---

<sup>507</sup> William C. Hunter, *Bits of Old China* (Shanghai, Hong Kong, Singapore & Yokohama: Kelly and Walsh, Limited, 1911), pp. 4-5.

original looks.<sup>508</sup> Most land and houses in the rural areas of Guangdong province also do not exist anymore due to political campaigns in the early twentieth century.

Today, the Sacred Heart Cathedral is still in use. To the local people, it is called *Shishi* 石室 (Stone Chamber), just like how it was called by the local population in the nineteenth century. Many houses and shops that once belonged to the mission still exist, but have no relation to the mission anymore. Few people know of the richness of the Stone Chamber in the nineteenth century. One priest of the MEP who works in Hong Kong diocese once pointed at those properties near the Sacred Heart Cathedral and told his companion: “All of these used to belong to us!” A priest the author encountered in China during a research trip also once lamented that: “my major task right now is to get my properties back from the government.” Their words show that from the imperial government to the Republican one, and until today’s government, the issue of church property is far from being settled. This issue is not just a religious one, but one that has profound impact on Sino-Western relations.

---

<sup>508</sup> Guangdongsheng difang shizhi bianzuan weiyuanhui (Guangdong provincial historical gazetteer compilation committee) ed. *Guangdong shengzhi · Zongjiao zhi* (Guangdong provincial gazetteer; Religions) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2002), p.300.

## Bibliography

### Archives and Libraries

Archives des Missions étrangères de Paris (Archives of the Foreign Mission Society)  
[AMEP], Paris [on-line].

Biographies of missionnaires (Novice) about Philippe François Zéphirin  
Guillemin (No. 566); Toussaint Hervel (No. 1310).

Bulletin of MEP: on procure of Hong Kong (code 1923/205-211 and 1923/269-  
275).

Letters from missionaries (Lettre) for the years of 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1907.

Annual report from bishops (Rapport): Nos. 137, 245, 595, 1153, 1695, 1231.

Archives of Belgium Franciscans, Sint-Truiden [ABF], Belgium.  
Convention Berthemey

Archives of the Archdiocese of Canton (Guangzhou), Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western  
Cultural History at the University of San Francisco [Ricci Archives], San  
Francisco.

| French language folders |        |        | Chinese language folders |        |        |
|-------------------------|--------|--------|--------------------------|--------|--------|
| F2.1                    | F6.5   | F10.31 | C1.2                     | C11.3  | C12.18 |
| F2.5                    | F6.6   | F10.32 | C1.3                     | C11.6  | C12.19 |
| F2.8                    | F6.8   | F10.36 | C1.4                     | C11.7  | C12.23 |
| F4.2                    | F7.2   | F10.37 | C1.5                     | C11.8  | C12.24 |
| F4.7                    | F8.15  | F10.39 | C1.8                     | C11.9  | C12.25 |
| F5.3                    | F8.18  | F10.40 | C1.9                     | C11.10 | C12.28 |
| F5.22                   | F10.1  | F10.51 | C1.10                    | C11.11 | C12.30 |
| F5.25                   | F10.13 | F10.53 | C1.11                    | C11.14 | C12.31 |
| F5.43                   | F10.15 |        | C1.12                    | C11.15 |        |
| F6.2                    | F10.25 |        | C11.1                    | C12.17 |        |

Guangdong sheng dang'an guan 广东省档案馆 (Guangdong Provincial Archives),  
Guangzhou.

Zheng 政: 264, 351, 482

Civil Affairs Bureau of Guangdong 广东省民政厅: folder No. 3

Finance Bureau of Guangdong 广东省财政厅: 004-001-0196-074-084

French consuls at Guangzhou: 020-007-13-008

Investigations on foreign churches in Guangdong: 006-002-0588-217-218

Guangdongsheng zhengfu shehuichu 广东省政府社会处 (Social Affairs Department of Guangdong Province); Folder No.9, Vol.1; No. 10: "Zongjiao lue (Tianzhujiao, jidujiao jiaotang)" 宗教略 (天主教, 基督教教堂) (Brief history of religions (churches of Catholicism and Protestantism)).

*Guangzhou shizhengfu shizheng gongbao* 广州市市政府公报 (The *Guangzhou* municipal government gazette)

Guangdong shengli zhongshan tushuguan 广东省立中山图书馆 (Sun Yat-sen Library of Guangdong Province), Guangzhou.

Qu, Zuolin (Qing) 区作霖 compiler. *Qu Shi Lin Shi Gong Zuci Pu* 区氏林石公祖祠谱 (Genealogy of the Linshi branch of the Qu family), 1891.

Li, Taichu 李泰初. *Guangzhou shishi shimo ji* 广州石室始末记 (An account of the Sacred Heart Cathedral). Guangzhou: Dongsheng zhongxi yinwu 东升中西印务, 1930.

Guangzhou shi guojia dang'an guan 广州市国家档案馆 (Guangzhou Municipal Archives), Guangzhou.

33-5-845; 4-01-7-188; 8-2-393

Nanjing tushuguan 南京图书馆 (Nanjing Library), Nanjing.

*Waijiaobu gongbao* 外交部公报 (Journal of Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Nanjing: Waijiaobu zongwuchu, 1928.

### Periodicals

(All from Sun Yat-sen Library of Guangdong Province)

*Guangdong quanye bao* 广东劝业报, Guangzhou, 1909.

*Guangdong qunbao* 广东群报, 1922.

*Guangzhou minguo ribao* 广州民国日报, Guangzhou, 1923-1929.

*Guangzhou riri xinwen* 广州日日新闻

*Guangzhou shizheng ribao* 广州市政日报 (Guangzhou Municipal Daily), Guangzhou, 1928.

*Guohua bao* 国华报, Guangzhou, 1925.

*Huazi ribao* 华字日报, Hong Kong, 1895-1937.

*Minsheng ribao* 民生日报, Guangzhou, 1912.

*Qishi'er shanghang bao* 七十二商行报, Guangzhou, 1924.  
*Shishi huabao* 实事画报 (Current Events Pictorial), Guangzhou, 1905-1911.  
*Sifa rikan* 司法日刊 (Judicial Daily Journal), Guangzhou, 1931.  
*South China Morning Post*, 1904.  
*Yubao* 渝报, Chongqing, 1898.

### Published Primary Sources

*Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, volumes 11-12. 1850-1851.

*Guangzhou shizhengfu shizheng gongbao* 广州市市政府公报 (The *Guangzhou* Municipal government gazette). Guangzhou: Guangzhoushi shizhengfu, 1924-1931.

*Guangzhoushi shizheng gongbao* 广州市市政公报 (The *Guangzhou* municipal government gazette), 1920-1936.

*Waijiaobu gongbao* 外交部公报 (Journal of Ministry of Foreign Affairs). Nanjing: Waijiaobu zongwuchu, 1928.

Zhang, Guiyong 张贵永 and Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, eds. *Jiaowu jiaolan dang* 教务教案档 (Archives of religious affairs and cases), 21 vols. Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 1974-1981.

Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan, Fujian shifan daxue lishi xi, eds., *Qingmo jiao'an* 清末教案 (Late Qing religious cases). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000.

### Books and Articles

“Caizheng ju tiyi toubian benshi xincheng faguo tianzhu jiaotang zudi an” 财政局提议投变本市新城法国天主教堂租地案” (Proposal to sell the rental property of French Catholic Church at the new town by Bureau of Finance) , *Guangzhou shizhengfu shizheng gongbao* 广州市市政府公报 (The *Guangzhou* municipal government gazette), June 10, 1930, vol. 355, p.82. Guangzhou Municipal Archives.

“Extract from a Letter of Mgr. Guillemin, Vicar-Apostolic of Canton, to Messrs. The Directors of the Association of the Propagation of the Faith, at Lyone and Paris”, Dated Canton, November 25, 1860, *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, Volumes 21-22: 136-140.

“Guangdong junfa shi dashiji” 广东军阀史大事记 (Major events on the history of

Guangdong warlords). In *Guangdong wenshi ziliao* 广东文史资料 (Materials on the culture and history of Guangdong), ed. Guangdongsheng zhengxie; Wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui. Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1900-.

“Letter of the Rev. Dr. Guillemin, Apostolic-Missioner of the Society of Foreign Missions, to his Mother”, dated February 12, 1850, feast of St. Eulalie, and first day of the Chinese year, *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, Volumes 11-12: 332-345.

“Lettre de M. Verchère, de la Congrégation des Missions-Etrangères, à Mgr Guillemin, Préfet apostolique du Kouang-Tong et du Kouang-si”, dated Tai-yong (Haiyang), October 26, 1867. *Annales de la propagation de la foi*, vol. 40, 1868: 424-438.

“Lettre de M. Guillemin, préfet apostolique des missions du Quang-tong et du Quang-si, à MM. Les Directeurs de l'Œuvr de la Propagation de la Foi”, dated Canton, July 8, 1856. *Annales de la propagation de la foi*, vol. 28, 1856 : 461-481.

“Lun Zhongguo yinyuan ju” 论中国银元局 (A discussion on Chinese silver currency), *Yubao* 渝报, 14 (1898): 9-10.

“Neidi waiguo jiaohui zuyong tudi fangwu zanxing zhangcheng cao'an” 内地外国教会租用土地房屋暂行章程草案 (Provisional regulation on foreign churches' renting and purchasing properties in interior China). In *Waijiaobu gongbao* 外交部公报 (Journal of Ministry of Foreign Affairs), vol. 1, no. 3 (July 1928). Nanjing: Waijiaobu zongwuchu, 1928.

“Qudi chuanjiao wairen zudi zaowu an” 取缔传教外人租地造屋案 (Note on abolishing foreigners' right to rent land and build houses). In *Waijiaobu gongbao* 外交部公报 (Journal of Ministry of Foreign Affairs), published by Nanjing guomin zhengfu 南京国民政府 (the Nanjing Republican government), vol. 1 no. 2 (June 1928). Nanjing: Waijiaobu zongwuchu, 1928.

“Qudi wairen jie jiaohui yiyuan mingyi zai neidi gouzhi chanye an” 取缔外人借教会医院名义在内地购置产业案 (Preventing foreigners from acquiring properties in interior of China with pretext of building hospitals and chapels). In *Waijiaobu gongbao* 外交部公报 (Journal of Ministry of Foreign Affairs), vol. 1, no. 3 (July 1928). Nanjing: Waijiaobu zongwuchu, 1928.

“Shenghui tiyi huanqi an” 省会提议换契案 (Proposal to exchange deeds in provincial meeting), *Minsheng ribao* 民生日报, June 14, 1912.

- “Shenzong shilu” 神宗实录 (Veritable records of emperor Shenzong), vol. 552, cited in *ming shilu lei zuan: Guangdong Hainan juan* 明实录类纂. 广东海南卷 (Veritable records of the Ming. Guangdong and Hainan), eds. Li Guoxiang; Yang Chang; Yu Xu, Wuhan: Wuhan chubanshe: Xinhua shudian jingxiao, 1993.
- “Shishi jiaotang huanying Sun Zhongshan” 石室教堂欢迎孙中山 (The Sacred Heart Cathedral welcomed Sun Yat-sen), *Minsheng ribao* 民生日报, May 11, 1912.
- “Shishi tianzhutang huanying Sun xiansheng jilue” 石室天主堂欢迎孙先生纪略 (An account on the Sacred Heart Cathedral’s welcome of Sun Yat-sen), *Minsheng ribao* 民生日报, May 13, 1912.
- “Shishi zudi weiyue yingli an jiaoshe ji” 石室租地违约盈利案交涉纪 (An account of dealing with the Shishi for violating treaties and making profits), *Guohua bao* 国华报, June 10, 1925.
- “Some Recent Books on China”, *The Church Missionary Review*, 53 (April 1902): 254-260.
- “The Evacuation of Canton”, *The London and China Telegraph*, December 14, 1861, vol. IV-No. 74.
- “Tenure of Property”, letter from W. K. Mackibbin to the Editor of the Chinese Recorder, dated Swatow, April 1880, from *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, volume 19, 224-228. Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press; January-February, 1880.
- “Tianzhu jiaotang” 天主教堂 (Catholic churches). In Guangdong Provincial Archives 广东省档案馆, folder title: Guangdongsheng zhengfu shehuichu 广东省政府社会处 (Social Affairs Department of Guangdong Province); Folder No.9, Vol.1; No. 10: “Zongjiao lue (Tianzhujiao, jidujiao jiaotang)” 宗教略 (天主教, 基督教教堂) (Brief history of religions (churches of Catholicism and Protestantism)).
- “Waijiaobu zhi falanxi guo zhuhua daiban zhaohui” 外交部致法兰西驻华代办照会 (Official letter from Ministry of Foreign Affairs to French Legation in China). In *Waijiaobu gongbao* 外交部公报 (Journal of Ministry of Foreign Affairs), vol. 1, no. 4 (July 1928). Nanjing: Waijiaobu zongwuchu, 1928.
- “Wei shishi tianzhu jiaotang zudi miao yue yingsi qing tongbao lizheng shouhui



zhuquan”为石室天主教堂租地藐约营私请同胞力争收回主权 (Rise up, compatriot! Reclaim territories from Shishi Catholic Church who ignoring the treaties and making profits), *Guohua bao* 国华报, May 24, 1925.

“Xinwen” 新闻 (News), March 22, year unknown. C1.6-II.I\_012. Ricci Archives.

“Zhonghua minguo guomin zhengfu duiwai xuanyan” 中华民国国民政府对外宣言 (International declaration of the government of Republic of China), in *Waijiaobu gongbao* 外交部公报 (Journal of Ministry of Foreign Affairs), vol. 1, no. 3 (July 1928). Nanjing: Waijiaobu zongwuchu, 1928.

“Zhonghua minguo yu ge waiguo jiuyue yi fei xinyue wei ding qian shiyong zhi linshi banfa” 中华民国与各外国旧约已废新约未定前使用之临时办法 (Temporary rulations between the abolition of old treaties and the creation of new ones). In *Waijiaobu gongbao* 外交部公报 (Journal of Ministry of Foreign Affairs), vol. 1, no. 3 (July 1928). Nanjing: Waijiaobu zongwuchu, 1928.

Beurdeley, Cécile; Beurdeley, Michel. *Giuseppe Castiglione, a Jesuit Painter at the Court of the Chinese Emperors*. Rutland, Vt.: C.E. Tuttle Co., 1971.

Biggerstaff, Knight. *The Earliest Modern Government Schools in China*. Ithaca, 1961.

Billot, Albert. *L'affaire du Tonkin: Histoire Diplomatique de l'Etablissement de Notre Protectorat Sur l'Annam et de Notre Conflit Avec la China 1882-1885; par un Diplomate*. Paris: Hetzel, 1888.

Chan, F. Gilbert 陈福霖. *Nan yue geju: cong Long Jiguang dao Chen Jitang* 南粤割据-从龙济光到陈济棠 (Warlordism in Guangdong: From Long Jiguang to Chen Jitang). Canton: Guangdong renin chubanshe: Guangdong sheng Xinhua shudian jingxiao, 1989.

Chen, Changqi 陈昌齐. *Guangdong tongzhi* 广东通志 (Gazetteer of Guangdong). Taipei: Huawen shuju, 1968.

Chen, Da 陈达. *Nanyang huaqiao yu min yue shehui* 南洋华侨与闽粤社会 (Overseas Chinese from Southeast Asia and society in Fujian and Guangdong). 1939. Reprint, Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2011.

Chen, Qiulin 陈秋霖. “Wo zhi fei jidu jiaohui yanlun yu duiyu fei zongjiao yundong de

taidu 我之非基督教会言论与对于非宗教运动的态度 (My views on the anti-Christian movement and my attitude toward it)." *Guangdong qunbao* 广东群报, April 21, 1922.

Chen, Youqin 陈友琴. "Tongyuan jiejia de yuanyin jiqi jiuji de fangfa" 铜元跌价的原因及其救济的方法 (Reasons of copper cash's devaluation and ways to recover), *Qishi'er shanghang bao* 七十二商行报, May 12, 1924.

Cheng, Huanwen 程焕文, ed. *Meiguo zhu Zhongguo Guangzhou lingshiguan lingshi baogao* 美国驻中国广州领事馆领事报告 (Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Canton, China, 1790-1906), Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2007), vol. 19.

Cheng, Tiangu 程天固. *Cheng Tiangu huiyilu* 程天固回忆录 (Memoir of Cheng Tiangu). Taipei: Longwen chubanshe, 1993.

Chere, Lewis M. *The Diplomacy of the Sino-French War (1883-1885): Global Complications of an Undeclared War*. Notre Dame, Ind.: Cross Cultural Publications, 1988.

Cohen, Paul A. "Christian Missions and Their Impact to 1900", in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10, *Late Ch'ing 1800-1911*, Part 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.

-----, *China and Christianity: the Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860-1870* (Harvard East Asian Series, 11). Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963.

-----, *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent Chinese Past*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1984.

-----, *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

Cole, H. M. "Origins of the French Protectorate Over Catholic Missions in China", *The American Journal of International Law*, 34 (Jul., 1940): 473-491.

Cunningham, Alfred. *The French in Tonkin and South China*. Hong Kong: Printed at the office of the Hong Kong Daily Press; London, S. Low, Marston & Co, 1902.

Dunch, Ryan. *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of a Modern China, 1857-1927*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.

- Entenmann, Robert E. "Catholics and Society in Eighteenth-Century Sichuan". In *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, pp. 8-23. Edited by Daniel H. Bays. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.
- Esherick, Joseph W. *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998.
- Fairbank, John K. "The Creation of the Treaty System", in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10, *Late Ch'ing 1800-1911*, Part 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.
- Faure, David. *Emperor and Ancestor: State and Lineage in South China*. Stanford University Press, 2007.
- Feng, Zicai 冯子材, "Jun du jiyao" 军牍集要 (A Collection of Military Communications), edited by Zhang Qingyun 张卿云 and Zhuang Bingheng 庄稟衡. In *Zhong fa zhanzheng* 中法战争 (Sino-French War), vol. 3, 87-100, eds. Zhongguo shixuehui 中国史学会, Shao Xunzheng 邵循正 et al. Shanghai: Shiji chuban jituan, Shanghai renmin chubanshe, Shanghai shudian chubanshe chuban faxing, 2000.
- Feuerwerker, Albert. "The Foreign Presence in China." In *The Cambridge History of China*. Vol. 12, Republican China, 1912-1949, Part 1, 128-207. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Franck, Harry A. *Roving Through Southern China*. New York, London: The Century Co., 1925.
- Gérard, Auguste, *Ma Mission En Chine (1893-1897)*. Paris, Plon-Nourrit et cie, 1918.
- Gernet, Jacques. *China and the Christian Impact: A Conflict of Cultures*. Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Giquel, Prosper. *La politique Française en Chine: Depuis les Traités de 1858 et de 1860*. Paris: Librairie de Guillaumin, 1872.
- Golvers, Noël. *François de Rougemont, S.J., Missionary in Ch'ang-shu (Chiang-nan): a Study of the Account Book (1674-1676) and the Elogium*. Leuven University Press/ Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, 1999.
- Gray, John Henry. *Walks in the City of Canton: with an Itinerary*. 1875. Reprint, San

Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1974.

Gross-Aschhoff, Angelus Francis J. *The Negotiations Between Ch'i-ying and Lagrené, 1844-1846*. St. Bonaventure, N.Y.: Franciscan Institute, 1950.

Guan, Xiaolian 关孝廉 et al., eds. *Yongzhen chao Manwen zhupi zouzhe quan yi* 雍正朝满文朱批奏折全译 (A complete translation of the Manchu-language vermilion-rescripted memorials from the Yongzhen era). Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1998.

Guangdong minjian gongyi bowuguan, Huanan ligong daxue, eds. *Guangzhou Chenshi shuyuan shilu* 广州陈氏书院实录 (Veritable Records of the Chen Clan Academy). Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2011.

Guangdong tongzhi wei cheng gao 广东通志未成稿 ([Minguo] Gazetteer of Guangdong), vol.6. In *Xijian fangzhi congkan* 稀见方志丛刊 (Series of rare local gazetteers), ed. Ni Junming 倪俊明. Beijing: Guojia tushuguan, 2011.

Guangdongsheng difang shizhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 广东省地方史志编纂委员会 (Guangdong provincial historical gazetteer compilation committee) ed. *Guangdong shengzhi · Zongjiao zhi* 广东省志·宗教志 (Guangdong provincial gazetteer; Religions). Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2002.

Guangdong sheng difang shizhi bianweihui bangongshi, Guangzhou shi difangzhi bianweihui bangongshi, eds. *Qing shilu Guangdong shiliao* 清实录广东史料 (Source Materials on Guangdong from "The Veritable Records of the Qing"). Guangzhou: Guangdong sheng ditu chubanshe, 1995. vol. 6.

Guangdong shengli Zhongshan tushuguan ed. *Lao Guangzhou* 老广州 (In Search of Guangzhou Lost in Time). Guangzhou: Lingnan meishu chubanshe, 2009.

Guangzhou bowuguan ed., *Guangzhou lishi chenlie tuce* 广州历史陈列图册 (A Pictorial history of Guangzhou). Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2009.

*Guangzhou fu zhi* 广州府志 ([Guangxu] Gazetteer of Guangzhou Prefecture), vol.11. In *Guangdong lidai fangzhi jicheng* 广东历代方志集成 (A collection of Guangdong gazetteers), Guangzhou fu bu 广州府部 (Volume on Guangzhou Prefecture), vol. 6, ed. Guangdong sheng difang shizhi bangongshi. Guangzhou: Linnan meishu chubanshe, 2009.

*Guangzhou minguo ribao* 广州民国日报, December 15, 1929; August 6, 1923.

Guangzhou shi fangcun qu difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed. *Guangzhou shi fangcun qu zhi* 广州市芳村区志 (Fangcun district Gazetteer). Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1997.

*Guangzhou shizheng ribao* 广州市政日报 (Guangzhou Municipal Daily), June 6, 1928.

*Guangzhou shizhengfu shizheng gongbao* 广州市市政府公报 (The *Guangzhou* municipal government gazette). vol. 355 (1930), Vol. 142 (1924), vol. 379 (1931). Guangzhou: Guangzhoushi shizhengfu.

*Guangzhoushi shizheng gongbao* 广州市市政公报 (The *Guangzhou* municipal government gazette), vol. 9 (10 September 1923), 1920-1936.

Guo, Lina. Qingdai zhongye Bali waifang chuanjiaohui zai Chuan huodong yanjiu 清代中叶巴黎外方传教会在川活动研究 (Study on Paris Foreign Missions Society in Sichuan in the mid-Qing Dynasty). Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2012.

Gubbels, Noël. Trois siècles d'apostolat: histoire du Catholicisme au Hu-kwang depuis les origines, 1587, jusqu'à 1870. Paris, 1934.

Harrison, Henrietta. "British Imperialism, French Charity and the Changing Behaviour of Italian Franciscan Missionaries in Shanxi Province, 1800-1850." *Journal of modern Italian studies* (1354-571X), 15 (4): 519-535.

----- The Missionary's Curse and Other Tales from a Chinese Catholic Village. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013.

He, Wentian 何文填. "Jiaotang chuli yangcheng" 教堂初立羊城 (The Early Chapels in Guangzhou). In *Yangcheng houshi jing* 羊城后视镜 (Looking at the old Guangzhou), vol. 3, 26-31, ed. Yang Liu 杨柳. Guangzhou: Huacheng chubanshe, 2008.

Henry, Rev. B. C. "Facilities For Itineration in Canton." *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, volume 12, 438-454. Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1881.

Henry. B. C. *Ling-Nam; or, Interior Views of Southern China, Including Explorations in the Hitherto Untraversed Island of Hainan*. London: S.W. Partridge, 1886.

Hertslet, Edward. *Hertslet's China treaties. Treaties, & amp; c. between Great Britain and China; and between China and Foreign Powers; and Orders in Council, Rules, Regulations, Acts of Parliament, Decrees, & amp; c. Affecting British*

*Interests in China. In force on the 1<sup>st</sup> January 1908.* London: Printed for H. M. Stationary off., by Harrison and sons, 1908.

Horrocks, Robert James. "The Guangzhou-Hongkong Strike, 1925-1926: Hongkong Workers in an Anti-Imperialist Movement." PhD Diss., The University of Leeds, 1994.

Hsia, R. Po-chia. *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552-1610.* Oxford University Press, 2010.

-----, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Huang, Foyi 黄佛颐, ed. *Guangzhou chengfang zhi 广州城防志* (Gazetteer of Guangzhou). Guangzhou: Jinan daxue chubanshe, 1994.

Huang, Guangyu 黄光域. "Jindai laihua xinjiao chahui zonglu (shang)" 近代来华新教差会综录 (上) (Complete Records of Protestant Institutions in Modern China). In *Jindaishi ziliao* 近代史资料 (Materials on modern history), vol. 82.

Huang, Haiyan 黄海妍. *Zai chengshi yu xiangcun zhijian: Qingdai yilai Guangzhou hezu ci yanjiu* 在城市与乡村之间: 清代以来广州合族祠研究 (Between the City and the Countryside: The clan halls in Guangzhou from the Qing dynasty) (Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 2008).

Huang, Yinong 黄一农. *Liangtoushe: mingmo qingchu de diyidai tianzhu jiaotu* 两头蛇: 明末清初的第一代天主教徒 (Two-headed Snakes: The First Generation of Catholic Converts in Late Ming and Early Qing China). Xinzhu: Guoli qinghua daxue chubanshe, 2005.

Huangchao jingshi wen tongbian 皇朝经世文统编 (Complete collection of essays of the Qing period on practical political and economic issues), vol. 180, Shanghai shenji shiyinben 上海慎记石印本, 1901. In *Qingdai jingshiwen quanbian* 清代经世文全编 (Complete collection of essays of the Qing period on practical political and economic issues), vol.123. Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2010.

*Huazi ribao* 华字日报, Hong Kong, 1895-1937.

Hunter, William C. *Bits of Old China.* Shanghai, Hong Kong, Singapore & Yokohama: Kelly and Walsh, Limited, 1911.

- Kang, Zhijie 康志杰. *Shang Zhu de putao yuan: E xibei Mopan Shan Tianzhujiao shequ yanjiu, 1634-2005* 上主的葡萄园: 鄂西北磨盘山天主教社区研究 (In the Lord's vineyard: a study of northwest Hubei's Popan shan Catholic community). Taipei: Furen daxue chubanshe, 2006.
- Koo, Vi Kyuin Wellington. *The Status of Aliens in China*, (Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, 50, 2=126). New York: Columbia University, 1912.
- Krahl, Joseph, S.J. *China Missions in Crisis: Bishop Laimbeckhoven and his Times 1738-1787*. Roma: Gregorian University Press, 1964.
- Kulp, Daniel Harrison II. *Country Life in South China: The Sociology of Familism*, vol. I, Phenix Village, Kwantung, China. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1925.
- Launay, Adrien. *Histoire des Missions de Chine: Mission du Kouang-tong*. Paris: Douniol et Retaux, 1917.
- *Histoire générale de la Société des missions-étrangères*. Paris: Téqui, 1894, vol. 3.
- *Histoire de la mission du Thibet*. Paris : Missions étrangères de Paris : Indes savants, 2001.
- *Histoire des missions de Chine*. Paris?: s.n., 1907-1908.
- *Histoire des missions de Chine: Mission du Se-tchoan*. Paris, 1920.
- *Histoire des missions de Chine: mission du Kouy-Tcheou*. Vannes: Lafolye frères, 1907-1908.
- Lazich, Michael C. *E.C. Bridgman (1801-1861), America's First Missionary to China*. Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 2000.
- Lee, Joseph Tse-Hei. *The Bible and the Gun: Christianity in South China, 1860-1900*. New York and London: Routledge, 2003.
- Li, Ji. "Becoming Faithful: Christianity, Literacy, and Female Consciousness in Northeast China, 1830-1930". PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2009.
- Li, Taichu 李泰初. *Guangzhou shishi shimo ji* 广州石室始末记 (An account of the

- Sacred Heart Cathedral). Guangzhou: Dongsheng zhongxi yinwu 东升中西印务, 1930.
- Li, Xiong 熊理. *Ce Guangdong* 策广东 (Guangdong politics). Unknown place: Si bin ribao guan 泗滨日报馆, 1916.
- Li, Zhitian 黎志添 ed. *Xianggang ji huanan daojiao yanjiu* 香港及华南道教研究 (Research on Daoism in Hong Kong and South China). Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 2005.
- Martin, Louis-Aimé, ed. *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses concernant l'Asie, l'Afrique et l'Amérique: avec quelques relations nouvelles des missions, et des notes géographiques et historiques*. 1875-77. 4 vol. Paris: Paul Daffis Libraire-Éditeur.
- Menegon, Eugenio. *Ancestors, Virgins, and Friars: Christianity as Local Religion in Late Imperial China*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Mesny, William. *Mesny's Chinese Miscellany: A Text Book of notes on China and the Chinese*. Shanghai: China Gazette Office, 1896.
- Nanjing linshi zhengfu gongbao (Communique of Nanjing Temporary Government), No. 1, cited in Zhongguo kexueyuan, Lishi yanjiusuo, di 3 suo; Zhongguo kexueyuan, Jindai shi ziliao bianjizu; Zhongguo kexueyuan, Jindai shi yanjiusuo, Shiliao bianjizu.; Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, Jindai shi yanjiusuo, Jindai shi ziliao bianjizu.; Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan. "Jindai shi ziliao" bianjibu eds. *Jindai shi ziliao* 近代史资料 (Sources on modern history). Beijing: kexue chubanshe, 1961.
- Nedostup, Rebecca. *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009.
- Noyes, Harriet Newell. *History of the South China Mission of the American Presbyterian Church, 1845-1920*. Shanghai, Printed at the Presbyterian mission Press, 1927.
- Noyes. Rev. H. V. "The Missions of Canton City and of the Central Parts of the Canton Province", from *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, volume 11, 197-303. Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press; 1880.
- Pan, Ganger 潘刚儿; Huang, Qichen 黄启臣; Chen, Guodong 陈国栋. *Guangzhou shisanhang zhiyi: Pan Tongwe (fu) hang* 广州十三行之一: 潘同文 (孚) 行 (One of the Thirteen-Hongs in Canton: Tung-Wan/Tung-Fu HongPuankhequa). Guangzhou: Huanan ligong daxue chubanshe, 2006.



- Panyu shi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui ed., *Panyu Xian zhi* 番禺县志 (Gazetteer of Panyu county). Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1995.
- Peng, Yulin 彭玉麟. "Huizhou Guangdong jibi zhe" 会奏广东积弊折 (On the deeply rooted problems of Guangdong). In *Peng Yulin ji* 彭玉麟集 (A collection of Peng Yulin), shang ce. Zou gao, dian gao. Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2003.
- , "Huizhou Guangdong tuanlian juanshu shiyi zhe" 会奏广东团练捐输事宜折 (On militia of Guangdong). In *Peng Yulin ji* 彭玉麟集 (A collection of Peng Yulin), shang ce. Zou gao, dian gao. Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2003.
- , "Chouban Guangdong yushou qingxing zhe" 筹办广东守御情形折 (On the defense of Guangdong). In *Peng Yulin ji* 彭玉麟集 (A collection of Peng Yulin), shang ce. Zou gao, dian gao. Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2003.
- Poon, Shuk-wah. *Negotiating Religion in Modern China: State and Common People in Guangzhou, 1900-1937*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2011.
- Qin, Zhaowen 覃召文. *Lingnan chan wenhua* 岭南禅文化 (The culture of Chan Buddhism in south China). Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1996.
- Qing Guangxu chao zhongfa jiaoshe shiliao* 清光绪朝中法交涉史料 (A complete account of China-French relations during the Guangxu reign) (22 juan) vol. 16. Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1967.
- Qingshilu* 清实录 (Veritable History of the Qing), vol. 53. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985-1987.
- Qu, Zuolin (Qing) 区作霖 compiler. *Qu Shi Lin Shi Gong Zuci Pu* 区氏林石公祖祠谱 (Genealogy of the Linshi branch of the Qu family), from Sun Yat-sen Library of Guangdong Province, 1891.
- Shenbao nianjian she ed. *Shenbao nianjian quanbian* 申报年鉴全编 (A complete collection of yearbooks of Shenbao). Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2010.
- Shishi huabao* 时事画报 (Current Events Pictorial), Guangzhou, 1905-1911.
- Sifa rikan* 司法日刊 (Judicial Daily Journal), January 22, 1931.
- Skinner, G. William. *The City in late imperial China*. Stanford University Press, 1977.

*South China Morning Post*, January 9, 1904.

Standaert, Nicolas 钟鸣旦. *Yang Tingyun: Ming mo Tian zhu jiao ru zhe* 杨廷筠: 明末天主教儒者 (Yang Tingyun, Confucian and Christian in late Ming China: his life and thought). Leiden: Brill, 1988.

Sun, Ke 孙科. "Guangdongsheng zhengfu jiansheting chouyi jianshe jihuashu" 广东省政府建设厅筹议建设计划书 (Construction proposal to Ministry of Construction of Guangdong provincial government). In *Sun Ke wenji* 孙科文集 (Collection of writings by Sun Ke), 563-569. Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1970.

Sun, Ke 孙科. "Guangzhou shizheng yishu" 广州市政议述 (Reminiscences of Guangzhou municipal governance). In *Sun Zhesheng xiansheng wenji* 孙哲生先生文集 (Collected essays of Mr. Sun Zhesheng), vol. 1, 47-65. Taipei: Zhongguo guomindang zhongyang weiyuanhui dangshi weiyuanhui, 1990.

Sweeten, Alan Richard. *Christianity in Rural China: Conflict and Accommodation in Jiangxi Province, 1860-1900*. Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 2001.

Taylor, K. W. *A History of the Vietnamese*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

*The China Mission Hand-book*. Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1896.

Tiedemann, Gary, ed. *Handbook of Christianity in China, Vol. 2: 1800 to the Present*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010.

Van Dyke, Paul A. *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700-1845*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005.

Vermote, Frederik. "The Role of Urban Real Estate in Jesuit Finances and Networks between Europe and China, 1612-1778." PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 2013.

Wakeman, Frederic Jr. "The Canton Trade and the Opium War," in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10, *Late Ch'ing 1800-1911*, Part 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.

Wang, Tieya 王铁崖, ed. *Zhongwai jiu yue zhang huibian* 中外旧约章汇编 (Compilation

- of former treaties and conventions between China and foreign countries). Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 1957.
- Wei, Louis Tsing-sing. *La politique missionnaire de la France en Chine 1842-1856. L'ouverture des cinq ports chinois au commerce étranger et la liberté religieuse*. Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1960.
- Wei, Yu 韦羽. "Qing Zhong qianqi Bali waifang chuanjiaohui zai Sichuan chuanjiao huodong yanjiu (1696-1815)" 清中前期巴黎外方传教会在四川传教活动研究 (Study on Paris Foreign Missions Society in Sichuan in mid-Qing Dynasty). PhD diss., Jiran daxue, 2009.
- Wenqing 文庆, Jia Zheng 贾桢, and Baoyun 宝鋈 eds. *Chouban yiwu shimo* 筹办夷务始末 (Complete record of the *management of barbarian affairs*). Taipei: Guofeng chubanshe, 1963.
- Wiest, Jean-Paul. "Understanding Mission and the Jesuits' Shifting Approaches toward China." In Gu Weiyong ed., *Missionary Approaches and Linguistics in Mainland China and Taiwan*, 33-58. Leuven: Leuven University Press: Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, 2001.
- , "Catholic Activities in Kwangtung Province and Chinese Responses 1846-1885." PhD diss., University of Washington, 1977.
- Wilbur, C. Martin. "The Nationalist Revolution: from Canton to Nanjing, 1923-28". In *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 12, Republican China, 1912-1949, Part 1, 527-720. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Wu, Min 吴旻 and Han, Qi 韩琦 eds. *Ouzhou suocang Yongzhen Qianlong chao Tianzhujiao wenxian huibian* 欧洲所藏雍正乾隆朝天主教文献汇编 (A Collection of Yongzheng and Qianlong Era [Chinese Language] Documents on Catholicism Preserved in Europe). Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2008.
- Wyman, Judith. "The Ambiguities of Chinese Antiforeignism: Chongqing, 1870-1900". *Late Imperial China* 18, 2 (December 1997): 88-90.
- Xia yan 侠庵. "Gailiang Guangzhou jieshi zhengce" 改良广州街市政策 (Policies on reforming streets of Guangzhou), *Guangdong quanye bao* 广东劝业报, 67 (1909): 1-4.
- Yeung, Wing-yu. "Guangzhou, 1800-1925: The Urban Evolution of a Chinese Provincial Capital." PhD diss., University of Hong Kong, 1999.

- Yip, Ka-che. *Religion, Nationalism and Chinese Students: The Anti-Christian Movement of 1922-1927*. Bellingham, Washington: Center for East Asian Studies, Western Washington University, 1980.
- Young, Ernest P. *Ecclesiastical Colony: China's Catholic Church and the French Religious Protectorate*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Zeng, Zhihui 曾志辉. "Tianzhu jiaohui yu qian gui dian bian buyi zu shehui-yi jindai bali waifang chuanjiaohui zai anlong jiaoqu de huodong wei zhongxin" 天主教会与黔桂滇边布依族社会-以近代巴黎外方传教会在安隆教区的活动为中心 (Catholic Church and Bouye Society in Border District of Guizhou, Guangxi and Yunnan-Center on the Activities of Paris Foreign Missions in Diocese of Nanlong in Modern Times). PhD diss., Sun Yat-sen University, 2012.
- Zhang, Guiyong 张贵永 and Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, eds. *Jiaowu jiaoran dang* 教务教案档 (Archives of religious affairs and cases), 21 vols. Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 1974-1981.
- Zhang, Qu (Qing) 张渠. *Yue dong wenjian lu* 粤东闻见录 (A Record of Things Heard and Seen in Eastern Guangdong. Guangzhou: Guangdong gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 1990.
- Zhang Xianqing. *Guanfu, zongjiao yu tianzhujiao: 17-19 shiji Fu'an xiangcun jiaohui de lishi xushu* 官府，宗族与天主教：17-19 世纪福安乡村教会的历史叙事 (The official, religion and Catholicism: The historical narrative of the village church in Fu'an county during 17-19 century). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2009.
- Zhao, Chunchen 赵春晨 et al. *Zongjiao yu jindai Guangdong shehui* 宗教与近代广东社会 (Religions and Modern Cantonese society). Beijing: Zhongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2008.
- Zhongguo di 2 lishi dang'anguan 中国第二历史档案馆 (*The no. 2 historical archives of China*), ed. *Beiyang zhengfu dang'an* 北洋政府档案 (Archive of Beiyang Government). vol. 073. Beijing: Zhongguo dang'an chubanshe, 2010.
- Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan, Fujian shifan daxue lishi xi, eds. *Qingmo jiao'an* 清末教案 (Late Qing Religious Cases) . Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000.
- Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan 中国第一历史档案馆, Guangzhou shi dang'an guan 广

州市档案馆,Guangzhou shi yuexiu qu renmin zhengfu 广州市越秀区人民政府, eds. *Guangzhou lishi ditu jingcui* 广州历史地图精粹 (Selected historical maps of Guangzhou). Beijing: Zhongguo dabaiké quanshu chubanshe, 2003.

Zhongguo jindaishi congshu bianxiezu 中国近代史丛书编写组, *Zhongfa zhanzheng* 中法战争 (Sino-French War). Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1972.

Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan. “Jindai shi ziliao” bianjibu eds. *Jindai shi ziliao* 近代史资料 (Collection of Materials on Modern Chinese History). Vol. 1. Beijing: kexue chubanshe, 1961.

Zhongshan shi dang'an ju 中山市档案局 (馆), Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan 中国第一历史档案馆 eds. *Xiangshan Mingqing Dang'an jilu* 香山明清档案辑录 (Collection of Xiangshan [County] Ming-Qing Documents). Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006.

Zhu, Qinglan 朱庆澜, Liang Dingfen 梁鼎芬. *Xu Guangdong tongzhi weicheng gao bu fen juan* 续广东通志未成稿不分卷 (Incomplete Gazetteer of Guangdong). Guangdong tongzhi ju gaoben, 1916.

## Appendix A

### Properties purchased by the MEP in Guangdong province by 1733

From Wu Min and Han Qi, eds., *Ouzhou suocang Yongzheng Qianlong chao Tianzhujiao wenxian huibian* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2008), p. 46.

| Location   | Seller  | price   | Description of Property   | Deeds location |
|--|---------|---------|---|----------------|
| Youzhi alley outside of Taiping gate, Nanhai county 省城南海县太平门外油纸巷                           | unclear | unclear | Also called Yangrennan Catholic church 杨仁南天主堂                     | Not in Siam    |
| Xincunbao of Jiaotang si, Panyu County, Guangzhou 广州府番禺县交塘司新村堡                             | unclear | unclear | Also called Qixinggang 七星冈. A piece of mountainous land.          | unclear        |
| Catholic church located at Guifeng street inside of Baimen, Zengcheng 增城县白门内龟峰街坐北朝南天主堂     | unclear | unclear | First bought in 1695 by bishop Lu 陆主教, 1696 bought by Mr. Bai 白老爷 | unclear        |
| Catholic church of Shangliao village of Duningsi, Shunde county, Guangzhou 广州府顺德县都宁司上僚村天主堂 | unclear | unclear | Bought in 1699 by Mr. Bai 白老爷                                     | Siam           |
| Catholic church of Shixing county, Nanxiong 南雄府始兴县天主堂                                      | unclear | unclear | unclear   | Not in Siam    |
| Catholic church inside the south gate of Longzhou fu 龙州府南门内天主堂                             | unclear | unclear | Built by Mr. Bai 白老爷  |                |
| A small chapel at the bottom of Maozi mountain of Longzhou fu 龙州府帽子峰山下小天主堂                 | unclear | unclear | Built with money donated by Chinese Christians                    | unclear        |
| A small chapel called Lianchangdong, Qujiang county of Shaozhou fu 韶州府曲江县连长洞小天主堂           | unclear | unclear | unclear   | unclear        |

## Appendix B

### Property deeds surrounding the cathedral

The data is from C12.28; C12.19\_001-002 zzzx; C11.15 II.I; C11.15 II.II; C1.12; C1.11-II.I; C1.9; C1.5; C1.4; Ricci Archives.

| Year              | Property type         | Location  | Seller             | Buyer     | Middlemen                              | Price    | Reason to sell                                      |
|-------------------|-----------------------|-----------|--------------------|-----------|--|----------|---|
| September 3, 1861 | land                  | Daxin jie | Huang yuqin 黄余庆    | Guillemin | Bai Jinghou 白敬侯;<br>Jian Jue'an 简觉庵    | 400 yuan | Persuaded to sell for the construction of cathedral |
| September 3, 1861 | land                  | Daxin jie | Cai zhujing 蔡注经    | Guillemin | N/A                                    | 400 yuan | Same as above                                       |
| 1861              | house                 | Daxin jie | Deng family 邓宅     | Guillemin | Liao Najue 廖纳爵; Xie Baoshu 谢宝树         | 150 yuan | N/A   |
| August 11, 1861   | shop                  | Daxin jie | Zhang Chengshi 张诚实 | Guillemin | Zhang Lin 张林                           | 240 yuan | NA  |
| June 1861         | Shop                  |           | Kong Yongqing 孔永清  | Guillemin |  | 40 yuan  |   |
| August 14, 1861   | house                 | Daxin jie | He Yunguang 何云光    | Guillemin | Bai Jingyan 白敬严                        | 50 yuan  | Moving away due to military unrest                  |
| August 14, 1861   | Heji money shop 和记钱铺) | Daxin jie | He Ruguang 何如光     | Guillemin | Bai Andang 白安当<br>(neighbor of seller) | 75 yuan  | N/A   |

|                   |  |             |                            |           |                               |          |                                     |
|-------------------|--|-------------|----------------------------|-----------|-------------------------------|----------|-------------------------------------|
| August 14, 1861   | Chan hou bian<br>Maosheng<br>watch shop 禅<br>后便茂盛钟<br>表铺 | Daxin jie   | Yang tianxiang 杨添祥         | Guillemin | Gong Er 龚二; Liao<br>Najue 廖纳爵 | 70 yuan  | N/A                                 |
| August 13, 1861   | house  | Daxin jie   | Zhao shi 赵氏                | Guillemin | N/A                           | 60 yuan  | Needed money to pay<br>Liang shi 梁氏 |
| August 11, 1861   | house  | Daxin jie   | He Yinglian 何英联            | Guillemin | N/A                           | 160 yuan | N/A                                 |
| August 11, 1861   | house  | Daxin jie   | Jian of Wang family<br>王简氏 | Guillemin | Bai Jinghou 白敬侯               | 90 yuan  | Needed money urgently               |
| August 11, 1861   | house  | Daxin jie   | Feng Furun 冯富润             | Guillemin | N/A                           | 100 yuan | N/A                                 |
| August 10, 1861   | house  | Daxin jie   | Huang Liben 黄立本            | Guillemin | Huang Hongfei 黄鸿飞             | 50 yuan  | N/A                                 |
| November 10, 1861 | house  | Daxin jie   | Xie family 谢宅              | Guillemin | N/A                           | 250 yuan | N/A                                 |
| November 9, 1861  | houses   | Daxin jie   | Mai Shixing 麦始兴            | Guillemin | Bai Ruose 白若瑟                 | 500 yuan | N/A                                 |
| November 10, 1861 | house  | Daxin jie   | Xie Baoshu 谢宝树             | Guillemin | N/A                           | 250 yuan | N/A                                 |
| November 10, 1861 | houses   | Daxin jie   | Huang Yi'an 黄怡安            | Guillemin | N/A                           | 500 yuan | N/A                                 |
| November 10, 1861 | houses   | Daxin jie   | Feng Dezhi 冯得知             | Guillemin | N/A                           | 900 yuan | N/A                                 |
| September 7, 1862 | house  | Daxin jie   | Li Dechang 李德昌             | Guillemin | N/A                           | 140 yuan | N/A                                 |
| September 5, 1862 | House/ shop  | Baimi xiang | Gao Funing 高富宁             | Guillemin | N/A                           | 250 yuan | N/A                                 |
| September 7, 1861 | Land for house   | Daxin jie   | He Yinglian 何英联            | Guillemin | Bai Ruose 白若瑟                 | 300 yuan | N/A                                 |



|                    |                           |             |                         |           |                   |           |                       |
|--------------------|---------------------------|-------------|-------------------------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| August 28, 1861    | Land for house            | Baimi xiang | Feng Yuqing 冯余庆         | Guillemin | Bai Jinghou 白敬侯   | 100 taels | Needed money urgently |
| December 11, 1861  | shop                      | Baimi xiang | He Ruixi 何瑞溪            | Guillemin | Wu Huanzhi 吴焕之    | 70 yuan   | NA                    |
| November 21, 1862  | house                     | Baimi xiang | Gao family 高宅           | Guillemin | N/A               | NA        | NA                    |
| October 19, 1862   | shop                      | Baimi xiang | Liang Han shi 梁韩氏       | Guillemin | NA                | NA        | NA                    |
| October 19, 1862   | Jinhua temple<br>金花庙      | Daxin jie   | The community residents | Guillemin | NA                | 20 yuan   | NA                    |
| October 19, 1862   | shop                      | Daxin jie   | He Chengde 何成德          | Guillemin | NA                |           |                       |
| September 13, 1862 | Wanxin Jade shop<br>万新玉器店 | Daxin jie   | Pan Di 潘地               | Guillemin | Cheng Chang 成昌    | 70 yuan   | NA                    |
| October 25, 1862   | shop                      | Baimi xiang | Li Dunhe 李敦和            | Guillemin | Suichang shop 遂昌店 | 60 yuan   | NA                    |
| October 18, 1862   | shops                     | Baimi xiang | Liang Jian 梁俭           | Guillemin | NA                | 60 yuan   | NA                    |
| September 12, 1862 | shop                      | Baimi xiang | He Kunfu 何昆甫            | Guillemin | NA                | 80 yuan   | NA                    |
| October 7, 1862    | shop                      | Baimi xiang | Gan Mianxu 甘棉绪          | Guillemin | NA                | 40 yuan   | NA                    |
| October 17, 1862   | shops                     | Baimi xiang | Lai Mingcheng 赖名成       | Guillemin | NA                | 60 yuan   | NA                    |
| October 5, 1862    | land                      | Baimi xiang | Guo Zhang shi 郭张氏       | Guillemin | NA                | 38 yuan   | NA                    |
| October 24, 1862   | shop                      | Baimi xiang | Gong he tang 公和堂        | Guillemin | NA                | 120 yuan  | NA                    |
| October 17, 1862   | shop                      | Baimi xiang | Zhang Henian 张鹤年        | Guillemin | Xingyuan 兴源       | 50 yuan   | NA                    |

|                    |        |             |   |           |                 |          |   |
|--------------------|--------|-------------|---|-----------|-----------------|----------|---|
| September 12, 1862 | shop   | Baimi xiang | Liang Yichang 梁怡昌, Liang Rui 梁瑞                                 | Guillemin | NA              | 70 yuan  | NA  |
| October 9, 1862    | shop   | Baimi xiang | Huang Chunqi 黄春畦  | Guillemin | NA              | 100 yuan | NA  |
| September 11, 1862 | shop   | Baimi xiang | Liang Yuzhen 梁玉珍  | Guillemin | NA              | 70 yuan  | NA  |
| September 8, 1862  | shop   | Baimi xiang | Zhang Xueting 张学亭   | Guillemin | NA              | 80 yuan  | NA  |
| June 17, 1862      | house  | Baimi xiang | Xu Xicheng 许希程  | Guillemin | NA              | 100 yuan | NA  |
| August 28, 1862    | land   | Baimi xiang | Liang Zeng shi 梁曾氏  | Guillemin | NA              | 70 yuan  | Needed money due to poverty   |
| October 5, 1862    | shop   | Baimi xiang | Du Mingxun 杜铭勋  | Guillemin | NA              | 140 yuan | NA  |
| October 9, 1862    | shop   | Baimi xiang | Xie Baoshu 谢宝树  | Guillemin | NA              | 100 yuan | NA  |
| October 9, 1862    | house  | Baimi xiang | He Zixiang 何子乡  | Guillemin | NA              | 50 yuan  | NA  |
| September 11, 1862 | shop   | Baimi xiang | Chengchang shop 成昌店   | Guillemin | NA              | 100 yuan | NA  |
| June 22, 1862      | shop   | Baimi xiang | Gao Funing 高福宁  | Guillemin | NA              | 250 yuan | NA  |
| September 7, 1861  | houses | Baimi xiang | Zeng Yongchun 曾永春   | Guillemin | Liang Hai 梁海    | 135 yuan | NA  |
| September 5, 1861  | house  | Baimi xiang | Tailong shop 泰隆, Yichang 怡昌 shop, Juhe 巨和 shop, Taixing 泰兴 shop | Guillemin | NA              | 55 yuan  | This house belonged to the community, so it was sold by the community |
| September 7, 1861  | house  | Baimi xiang | Huang Wenda 黄文大   | Guillemin | Bai Jinghou 白敬侯 | 40 yuan  | Needed money urgently   |

|                    |        |             |                                 |           |                                 |          |                       |
|--------------------|--------|-------------|---------------------------------|-----------|---------------------------------|----------|-----------------------|
| September 6, 1861  | house  | Baimi xiang | Yan Taiji 严泰记                   | Guillemin | Jian Jue'an 简觉庵                 | 50 yuan  | Needed money urgently |
| September 5, 1861  | houses | Baimi xiang | Feng Dashu 冯大树                  | Guillemin | NA                              | 60 yuan  | Needed money urgently |
| October 5, 1861    | house  | Baimi xiang | Wu Hanting 吴翰庭                  | Guillemin | NA                              | 35 yuan  | NA                    |
| September 12, 1861 | shop   | Baimi xiang | Wu Minshen 吴敏慎                  | Guillemin | NA                              | 600 yuan | NA                    |
| October 20, 1861   | shop   | Baimi xiang | Pan Xiequan 潘协全                 | Guillemin | Zhang Jianming 张健明              | 150 yuan | NA                    |
| October 11, 1861   | house  | Baimi xiang | Liang Zhong shi 梁钟氏             | Guillemin | Bai Jinghou 白敬侯                 | 9 yuan   | NA                    |
| September 13, 1862 | houses | Baimi xiang | Bao Zhen 宝珍                     | Guillemin | NA                              | 100 yuan | NA                    |
| October 4, 1861    | house  | Baimi xiang | Shen Chunxi 沈纯熙                 | Guillemin | Bai Jinghou 白敬侯                 | 450 yuan | NA                    |
| November 4, 1861   | house  | Baimi xiang | Shen Juesheng 沈爵升               | Guillemin | NA                              | 600 yuan | NA                    |
| November 14, 1862  | houses | Baimi xiang | Qiu Tan 秋潭 (abbot)              | Guillemin | NA                              | 160 yuan | NA                    |
| October 6, 1862    | shop   | Baimi xiang | Pan Xintang 潘信堂                 | Guillemin | NA                              | 70 yuan  | NA                    |
| February 14, 1864  | house  | Baimi xiang | Shenghe tang 胜和堂                | Guillemin | NA                              | 60 yuan  | NA                    |
| September 15, 1861 | houses | Baimi xiang | Shen Yuchi 沈玉池                  | Guillemin | NA                              | 600 yuan | Needed money urgently |
| July 14, 1861      | shop   | Baimi xiang | Zeng Zhongliang 曾忠良             | Guillemin | Liang Hai 梁海<br>Liao Leshan 廖乐山 | 500 yuan | Needed money urgently |
| August 23, 1861    | houses | Baimi xiang | Qin Yaguang 覃亚广<br>Qin Yada 覃亚大 | Guillemin | NA                              | 20 yuan  | NA                    |

|                    |                |                                   |   |           |  |          |   |
|--------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|---|-----------|--|----------|---|
| September 10, 1861 | Land of a shop | Baimi xiang                       | Li San 李三   | Guillemin | NA   | 20 yuan  | NA  |
| December 4, 1861   | house          | Baimi xiang                       | Huang Zhehua 黄者华                                    | Guillemin | NA   | 650 yuan | NA  |
| September 9, 1861  | shop           | Baimi xiang                       | Pan Hecheng 潘合成                                     | Guillemin | Liang Hai 梁海   | 200 yuan | Needed money urgently                                   |
| July 24, 1861      | Shop           | Baimi xiang                       | Chen Derun 陈德润                                      | Guillemin | NA   | 600 yuan | NA  |
| July 19, 1861      | shop           | Baimi xiang                       | Lǚ Anning 吕安宁                                       | Guillemin | Liang Hai 梁海   | 100 yuan | NA  |
| October 6, 1862    | shop           | Baimi xiang                       | Pan Jingyang 潘景阳                                    | Guillemin | NA   | 70 yuan  | NA  |
| September 3, 1861  | houses         | Tangyuan xiang 汤元巷 of Baimi xiang | Chen He shi 陈何氏                                     | Guillemin | Jian Jue'an 简觉庵<br>Chen Mao 陈茂   | 200 yuan | NA  |
| June 3, 1879       | shop           | Tangyuan xiang 汤元巷 of Baimi xiang | Lin shi 林氏  | Guillemin | Lai Yao 赖耀   | 25 yuan  | NA  |
| September 8, 1861  | houses         | Maima jie, near Xingtai 行台 yamen  | Yunqiwei 云骑尉<br>(Commander of Cavalry of the Cloud) | Guillemin | Xiong Bin 雄斌; Pan Youjun 潘有筠; Wang Mingyuan 王鸣远; Yang Fuxian 杨辅贤; Wu Rongliang 伍荣亮; Du Yifang 杜宜芳; Chen Boyi 陈伯裔 | 300 yuan | Sold to the mission so they can construct the cathedral |
| September 12, 1861 | land           | Maima jie near Xiangtai yamen     | Chen Chengzhang 陈成章                                 | Guillemin | NA   | 40 yuan  | NA  |
| NA                 | shop           | Yuzi xiang                        | Ling Li shi 凌黎氏                                     | Guillemin | NA   | 15 yuan  | NA  |

|                   |                   |            |  |           |                    |          |  |
|-------------------|-------------------|------------|--|-----------|--------------------|----------|--|
| August 17, 1861   | shop              | Yuzi xiang | Hengyi 恒益 ;<br>Wanchang 万昌             | Guillemin | NA                 | 15 yuan  | NA   |
| September 2, 1861 | land              | Maima jie  | Chen Daguang 陈达光<br>;Xie Huanzhang 谢焕章 | Guillemin | Tong Shunxiang 同舜乡 | 300 yuan | For the construction of cathedral                                    |
| September 1, 1861 | shop              | Maima jie  | Li Yichang 李义昌                         | Guillemin | Jian Jue'an 简觉庵    | 160 yuan | Needed money urgently  |
| August 12, 1861   | Dongju shop 东聚店   | Maima jie  | Liang Fuyin 梁福荫                        | Guillemin | Liang He 梁和        | 70 yuan  | Needed money urgently  |
| August 21, 1861   | shop              | Maima jie  | Cao Yaren 曹亚仁                          | Guillemin | NA                 | 75 yuan  | NA   |
| August 11, 1861   | house             | Maima jie  | Zhang Chengbao 张诚宝                     | Guillemin | NA                 | 240 yuan | Needed money urgently  |
| August 12, 1861   | NA                | Maima jie  | Anhe tang 安和堂                          | Guillemin | NA                 | 60 yuan  | NA   |
| August 12, 1861   | Yuanxing shop 源兴店 | Maima jie  | Yuanxing shop 源兴店                      | Guillemin | NA                 | 20 yuan  | NA   |
| August 12, 1861   | houses            | Maima jie  | Chen Peichen 陈培琛                       | Guillemin | NA                 | 80 yuan  | NA   |
| August 1861       | shop              | Maima jie  | Chen Peichen 陈培琛                       | Guillemin | Liang Guang 梁广     | 65 yuan  | Division of household with brother, different from the above selling |
| September 1, 1861 | Shop              | Maima jie  | Li Qichang 李气昌                         | Guillemin | Jian Jue'an 简觉庵    | 160 yuan | Needed money urgently  |
| August 18, 1861   | shop              | Maima jie  | Dong Tongqing 董同清                      | Guillemin | NA                 | 60 yuan  | NA   |
| October 14, 1861  | shop              | Maima jie  | Yang Jiyu 杨绩余                          | Guillemin | NA                 | 140 yuan | NA   |
| August 18, 1861   | land              | Maima jie  | Hu Guotai 胡国泰                          | Guillemin | NA                 | 50 yuan  | Needed money urgently  |
| August 15, 1861   | house             | Maima jie  | Hu Yongtai 胡永泰                         | Guillemin | Liao Leshan 廖乐山    | 130 yuan | Needed money urgently  |

|                    |                 |           |   |           |                                   |           |                       |
|--------------------|-----------------|-----------|---|-----------|-----------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| August 27, 1861    | house           | Maima jie | Zhang Guo'an 张国安                              | Guillemin | Hu Yourong 胡有容                    | 280 taels | NA                    |
| August 26, 1861    | house           | Maima jie | Yang Yaqi 杨亚奇                                 | Guillemin | Jian Yilin 简以临                    | 750 yuan  | Needed money urgently |
| September 8, 1861  | Xinmao shop 新茂店 | Maima jie | Xinmao shop 新茂店                               | Guillemin | Li Yagui 李亚贵                      | 60 yuan   | NA                    |
| July 23, 1861      | House           | Maima jie | Liang Heyu 梁和玉                                | Guillemin | Liao Leshan 廖乐山                   | 150 yuan  | NA                    |
| August 11, 1861    | house           | Maima jie | Rao Xipan 饶锡潘                                 | Guillemin | Jian Jue'an 简觉庵<br>Liao Najue 廖纳爵 | 420 yuan  | NA                    |
| August 2, 1861     | house           | Maima jie | Ling Li shi 凌黎氏's<br>daughter-in-law Liang 梁氏 | Guillemin | NA                                | 100 yuan  | NA                    |
| July 5, 1861       | house           | Maima jie | Lun Biaoda 伦彪达                                | Guillemin | An Defu 安德福                       | 30 yuan   | NA                    |
| August 10, 1861    | houses          | Maima jie | Xie Baoshu 谢宝树                                | Guillemin | Liao Najue 廖纳爵                    | 180 yuan  | NA                    |
| July 3, 1861       | house           | Maima jie | Feng Yan shi 冯严氏                              | Guillemin | Liao Leshan 廖乐山                   | 70 yuan   | NA                    |
| July 8, 1861       | house           | Maima jie | Xie Baoshu 谢宝树                                | Guillemin | Liao Leshan 廖乐山                   | 250 yuan  | NA                    |
| December 1861      | shop            | Maima jie | Li Zhuowen 李卓文                                | Guillemin | NA                                | 90 yuan   | Needed money urgently |
| September 24, 1861 | shop            | Maima jie | Feng Keji 冯客记                                 | Guillemin | Wang Zhongjun 王钟俊                 | 70 yuan   | Needed money          |
| September 24, 1861 | shop            | Maima jie | Li Ming 李明                                    | Guillemin | Wang Zhongjun 王钟俊                 | 60 yuan   | Needed money          |
| September 24, 1861 | house           | Maima jie | Xie Ya'an 谢亚安                                 | Guillemin | Wang Zhongjun 王钟俊                 | 13 yuan   | Needed money          |
| September 24, 1861 | house           | Maima jie | Li Yazhai 李亚宅                                 | Guillemin | Wang Zhongjun 王钟俊                 | 50 yuan   | Needed money          |

|                    |                  |           |                   |           |                   |          |   |
|--------------------|------------------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|-------------------|----------|---|
| September 24, 1861 | house            | Maima jie | Huang Binghua 黄炳华 | Guillemin | Wang Zhongjun 王钟俊 | 30 yuan  | Needed money  |
| September 24, 1861 | houses           | Maima jie | Wu Di 吴弟          | Guillemin | Wang Zhongjun 王钟俊 | 60 yuan  | Needed money  |
| September 24, 1861 | house            | Maima jie | Chen Wenyao 陈文耀   | Guillemin | Wang Zhongjun 王钟俊 | 40 yuan  | Needed money  |
| September 24, 1861 | house            | Maima jie | Chen shi 陈氏       | Guillemin | Wang Zhongjun 王钟俊 | 40 yuan  | Needed money  |
| September 24, 1861 | shop             | Maima jie | Run tiao 润条       | Guillemin | Wang Zhongjun 王钟俊 | 80 yuan  | Needed money  |
| September 24, 1861 | house            | Maima jie | Ren Yin 任因        | Guillemin | Wang Zhongjun 王钟俊 | 40 yuan  | Needed money  |
| August 12, 1861    | house            | Maima jie | Chen Keyi 陈克仪     | Guillemin | Liao Leshan 廖乐山   | 100 yuan | Needed money urgently   |
| September 5, 1861  | houses           | Maima jie | Liu Cunshan 刘存善   | Guillemin | Liu Jixing 刘继行    | 320 yuan | NA  |
| September 5, 1861  | house            | Maima jie | Ma Zhuchen 马柱臣    | Guillemin | Liu Jixing 刘继行    | 320 yuan | NA  |
| September 15, 1861 | house            | Maima jie | Lin Cheng 林成      | Guillemin | Liang Yafu 梁亚福    | 60 yuan  | Needed money urgently   |
| August 25, 1862    | houses           | Maima jie | Liu Junfeng 刘峻峰   | Guillemin | Liu Jixing 刘继行    | 400 yuan | NA  |
| December 11, 1861  | house            | Maima jie | Chen family 陈     | Guillemin | Guan Chang 关昌     | 160 yuan | NA  |
| December 1861      | Jinyuan shop 金源店 | Maima jie | Wu Kaili 吴开利      | Guillemin |                   | 20 yuan  |   |
| October 26, 1861   | house            | Maima jie | Huang Yaozong 黄耀宗 | Guillemin | Liang Yachang 梁亚昌 | 55 yuan  | Needed money urgently   |
| August 25, 1862    | house            | Maima jie | Liu Huanting 刘焕庭  | Guillemin | NA                | 70 yuan  | The house belonged to Liu's aunt, Liu sold it for her as she needed |

|                  |                                   |  |                          |           |  |            |                                       |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|--|--------------------------|-----------|--|------------|---------------------------------------|
|                  |                                   |  |                          |           |  |            | money urgently                        |
| February 6, 1875 | house                             | Maima jie                                | Zeng Xiu 曾秀              | Guillemin | NA                                     | 14 tael    | Needed money urgently                 |
| July 27, 1887    | house                             | Maima jie                                | Yan Li shi 严李氏           | Chausse   | Delu 德禄                                | 8 4 tael   | NA                                    |
| October 6, 1892  | shop                              | Maima jie                                | Gao Tianyou 高天佑          | Chausse   | Huang Fuliang 黄福良<br>; LiangLangxi 梁朗溪 | 100 yuan   | NA                                    |
| June 16, 1866    | Qiaoyuan Bow and Arrow shop 巧元弓箭店 | Shiting xiang 石亭巷 of Xiaoshi jie 小市街     | Cai Lu shi 蔡陆氏           | Guillemin | NA                                     | 125 yuan   | Needed money urgently                 |
|                  | shop                              | Baimi xiang                              | He Ruixi 何瑞溪             |           |  |            |                                       |
| August 17, 1861  | shop                              | Yuzi xiang                               | Hengyi 恒益<br>Wanchang 万昌 | Guillemin |  | 15 yuan    |                                       |
| July 26, 1862    | house                             | Yingzhenfang 迎镇坊, near Tir               | Zeng Chang 曾昌            | Guillemin | NA                                     | 40 yuan    | NA                                    |
| July 25, 1862    | house                             | Yingzhenfang 迎镇坊, near Tir               | Jian Senmao 简森茂          | Guillemin |  | 40 piaster |                                       |
| June 21, 1866    | house                             | Shiting xiang 石亭巷 outside Guide gate 归德门 | Fu Yang 傅杨               | Chausse   | Qu Jinrong 区金容                         | 125 yuan   | For the construction of the cathedral |



### Appendix C

#### Property deeds of Taojinkeng

The data is from C12.24. Ricci Archives.

| Year             | Property type     | Location   | Seller  | Buyer     | middlemen   | price    | Reason to sell / Notes  |
|------------------|-------------------|------------|---|-----------|---|----------|---|
| November 7, 1860 | 24 houses         | Taojinkeng | Liu Hongtai 刘宏泰, Liu Hongfu 刘宏福, Liu Hongyi 刘宏义 | Guillemin | Liu Chang 刘昌, Liu Mu 刘木, Liu Gui 刘贵, Wu Xiong 吴雄, Wu Bao 吴保 | 213 yuan | Would move to elsewhere to build houses, so church could retain this place    |
| October 12, 1860 | Farm land         | Taojinkeng | Mai Liang shi 麦梁氏                               | Guillemin | Yan Ximei 颜细妹   | 90 yuan  | Give the place back to the mission because it belonged to them                |
| October 22, 1860 | Farm land         | Taojinkeng | Hu Shaohong 胡绍宏                                 | Guillemin | Yan Ximei 颜细妹   | 30 yuan  | Hu rented this farm land from [the government?], now returning to the mission |
| October 19, 1860 | houses            | Taojinkeng | Liu Hongfu 刘宏福, Wu Bao 吴保, Liu Tai 刘泰, Liu [?]  | Guillemin |   | 25 yuan  |   |
| January 20, 1861 | House and bamboos | Taojinkeng | Liu Hongren 刘宏仁                                 | Guillemin | Yagui 亚贵  | 5 yuan   | Give the place to the mission to create a hill                                |

|                    |  |            |   |                  |   |           |  |
|--------------------|--|------------|---|------------------|---|-----------|--|
| January 18, 1861   | House and bamboos                      | Taojinkeng | Liu Hongfu 刘宏福  | Guillemin        | Liu Deqing 刘德清  | 5 yuan    | Give the place to the mission to create a hill                 |
| January 20, 1861   | Planted bomboo and the land below them | Taojinkeng | Liu Yamu 刘亚木<br>Wu Ya'er 吴亚二  | Guillemin        | Liu Deqing 刘德清<br>Wu Yaxiong 吴亚雄                                | 3 yuan    |  |
| May 1861           | Land occupied by Hubei Guild           | Taojinkeng | Jiang Buyang 蒋布瀛<br>,Shen Mingqi 沈鸣岐<br>,Wang Chunhe 王春和<br>of Hubei huiguan 湖北会馆 | Guillemin        |   | 0         | Give the place back to the mission because it belonged to them |
| May 19, 1864       | Farm land and fish pond                | Taojinkeng | Yao Shichang 姚世昌<br>Yao Huajin 姚华进  | Guillemin        | Jiang Shunlin 江顺林   | 600 yuan  | Need money   |
| March 5, 1873      | farmland                               | Taojinkeng | Yang Xisheng 杨喜升  | The mission      | Huang Mao 黄茂<br>Huang Ying 黄应<br>Liu Guang 刘广<br>Lin Yixian 林意贤 | 175 taels |  |
| September 16, 1902 | Hilly land                             | Taojinkeng | Tu Yunxian 涂云贤, Tu Yunxiang 涂云祥, Tu Yunlin 涂云林                                    | Merél            | Tu Dingbang 涂定邦   | 100 yuan  |  |
| September 21, 1902 | house                                  | Taojinkeng | Huang Xu shi 黄徐氏  | Merél            | Yan Hui 颜辉  | 30 yuan   | Need money to go to Singapore                                  |
| April 30, 1904     | house                                  | Taojinkeng | Li Huang Shi 李黄氏  | Father Ba of MEP | Huang Mao 黄茂  | 30 yuan   |  |

## Appendix D

### Property deeds of Jiucang xiang

All the data is from C1.12\_031-051, C1.06-II.II\_030. Ricci Archives.

| Year               | Location                          | Seller   | Buyer                            | middlemen  | price      | Reason to sell / notes |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|--|------------|------------------------|
| October 16, 1873   | Penglaili 蓬莱里                     | Liang Guanxian 梁官显   | Li he tang 礼和堂 (Catholic church) | He Anbu 何安布  | 550 taels  |                        |
| June 29, 1903      | Juxingli 聚星里 of Jiucang xiang 旧仓巷 | The Chen lineage: Chen Futai 陈福泰, Chen Fuchang 陈福长, Chen Fuquan 陈福全, Chen Fuqing 陈福庆, ChenFuxing 陈福兴, etc. | Li he tang 礼和堂 (Catholic church) | Wang Di 王地, Zhou Ming 周明, Pan Dewen 潘得文, Xu Dan shi 徐单氏, Huang Zhoushi 黄周氏 | 1850 taels | Lineage's property     |
| August 18, 1903    | Juxingli 聚星里 of Jiucang xiang 旧仓巷 | Zhu Guangfeng 朱广丰  | Li he tang 礼和堂 (Catholic church) | Lin Naibiao 林奶表  | 220 taels  |                        |
| July 1903          | Juxingli 聚星里 of Jiucang xiang 旧仓巷 | Chen Yanzhuang 陈厌壮   | Li he tang 礼和堂 (Catholic church) | Li He 李和<br>A Jing 阿敬  | 60 taels   | 1                      |
| September 29, 1903 | Juxingli 聚星里 of Jiucang xiang 旧仓巷 | Tan Zhognchang 谭仲常   | Li he tang 礼和堂 (Catholic church) | Zhang shi 张氏   | 170 taels  |                        |

|                   |                                   |                    |                                  |                           |           |  |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------|--|
| January 1904      | Juxingli 聚星里 of Jiucang xiang 旧仓巷 | Liu Shi 刘氏         | Li he tang 礼和堂 (Catholic church) | Zhang shi 张氏<br>Zou Su 邹苏 | 153 taels |  |
| October 4, 1905   | Tiyunli 梯云里 of Jiucang xiang 旧仓巷  | Zhou Xing 周兴       | Li he tang 礼和堂 (Catholic church) | Ye Yaguang 业亚光            | 170 taels |  |
| May 18, 1905      | Tiyunli 梯云里 of Jiucang xiang 旧仓巷  | Liang Deng shi 梁邓氏 | Li he tang 礼和堂 (Catholic church) | Zou Su 邹苏                 | 305 taels |  |
| December 23, 1905 | Ronganli 容安里 of Jiucang xiang 旧仓巷 | Ye Yongan 业永安      | Father Su 苏神父                    | Chen Yiyun 陈奕运            | 300 taels |  |
| February 10, 1905 | Juxingli 聚星里 of Jiucang xiang 旧仓巷 | Hu Zhuang shi 胡庄氏  | Li he tang 礼和堂 (Catholic church) | Huang Li shi 黄李氏          | 190 taels |  |
| May 3, 1905       | Jiucang xiang 旧仓巷                 | Liu Shihong 刘世洪    | Li he tang 礼和堂 (Catholic church) | Li shi 李氏                 | 190 taels |  |
| February 1905     | Juxingli 聚星里 of Jiucang xiang 旧仓巷 | Liang Baode 梁保德    | Li he tang 礼和堂 (Catholic church) | Xiong Gan shi 熊甘氏         | 280 taels |  |
| February 23, 1905 | Juxingli 聚星里 of Jiucang xiang 旧仓巷 | Huang He shi 黄何氏   | Li he tang 礼和堂 (Catholic church) | Huang Li shi 黄李氏          | 70 taels  |  |

|                   |                                   |                                   |                                  |                               |          |  |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------|--|
| December 2, 1906  | Juxingli 聚星里 of Jiucang xiang 旧仓巷 | Wang Qingquan 王清泉                 | Li he tang 礼和堂 (Catholic church) | NA                            | 235 tael |  |
| February 22, 1906 | Tiyunli 梯云里 of Jiucang xiang 旧仓巷  | Zhuang shi 庄氏                     | Merél                            | He Yasheng 何亚胜                | 260 tael |  |
| April 6, 1906     | Tiyunli 梯云里 of Jiucang xiang 旧仓巷  | Lin Xing 林星                       | Li he tang 礼和堂 (Catholic church) | Deng shi 邓氏                   | 72 tael  |  |
| March 12, 1907    | Tiyunli 梯云里 of Jiucang xiang 旧仓巷  | Liu Qingtang 刘庆堂                  | Li he tang 礼和堂 (Catholic church) | Huang Qiu 黄秋                  | 100 tael |  |
| October 1907      | Tiyunli 梯云里 of Jiucang xiang 旧仓巷  | Huang Wu'ai 黄五爱                   | Li he tang 礼和堂 (Catholic church) | Ye shi 业氏                     | 140 tael |  |
| November 4, 1907  | Juxingli 聚星里 of Jiucang xiang 旧仓巷 | Tongfu tang printing house 同福堂刷印行 | Li he tang 礼和堂 (Catholic church) | NA                            | 110 tael |  |
| December 20, 1907 | Tiyunli 梯云里 of Jiucang xiang 旧仓巷  | Hu Chengyuan 胡澄远                  | Li he tang 礼和堂 (Catholic church) | Liu Lu shi 刘卢氏<br>Chen shi 陈氏 | 185 tael |  |
| April 25, 1909    | Juxingli 聚星里 of Jiucang xiang 旧仓巷 | Houfu tang 厚福堂                    | Li he tang 礼和堂 (Catholic church) | Huang Qiu 黄秋                  | 95 tael  |  |

|                     |  |                                     |   |  |              |  |
|---------------------|--|-------------------------------------|---|--|--------------|--|
| March 29,<br>1911   | Tiyunli 梯云里<br>of Jiucang<br>xiang 旧仓巷   | Li Mingdao 李明道                      | Li he tang<br>礼和堂<br>(Catholic<br>church) | Li Yu 李钰, Li Zuoyuan<br>李作源, Chen Yan 陈<br>焱 | 1000<br>yuan |  |
| October<br>16, 1913 | Tiyunli 梯云里<br>of Jiucang<br>xiang 旧仓巷   | Su Li 苏礼                            | Li he tang<br>礼和堂<br>(Catholic<br>church) | Chen Yiyun 陈奕运                               | 100<br>yuan  |  |
| October<br>16, 1913 | Tiyunli 梯云里<br>of Jiucang<br>xiang 旧仓巷   | Su Li 苏礼                            | Li he tang<br>礼和堂<br>(Catholic<br>church) | Ye De 业德                                     | 260<br>yuan  |  |
| October<br>16, 1913 | Tiyunli 梯云里<br>of Jiucang<br>xiang 旧仓巷   | Su Li 苏礼                            | Li he tang<br>礼和堂<br>(Catholic<br>church) | Ye De 业德                                     | 200<br>yuan  |  |
| January<br>19, 1914 | Juxingli 聚星<br>里 of Jiucang<br>xiang 旧仓巷 | Su Li 苏礼                            | Li he tang<br>礼和堂<br>(Catholic<br>church) | Chen Yiyun 陈奕运                               | 160<br>yuan  |  |
| December<br>6, 1917 | Tiyunli 梯云里<br>of Jiucang<br>xiang 旧仓巷   | Huang shi 黄氏 of Li Shide 李世德 family | Li he tang<br>礼和堂<br>(Catholic<br>church) | Wu Sigu 吴四姑<br>Luo shi 罗氏                    | 660<br>yuan  |  |

### Appendix E

#### Property deeds of Fangdong village of Shixing County

The data is from C1.12\_062-066, 065, 078; C11.1\_006-012; C12.30\_021, 024, 042, 046, 048, 052, 054.

| Year              | Property type          | Location                 | Seller         | Buyer         | middlemen                                   | Witnesses                       | price    | Reason to sell / Note         |
|-------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|---------------|---|---------------------------------|----------|-------------------------------|
| December 19, 1893 | Vegetable garden       | Fangdong Beihutang 方洞背户塘 | He Wanbang 何万邦 | Father Collas | He Zhenbu 何贞步<br>(Wrote on seller's behalf) | He Zhenqing 何贞庆, He Deguang 何德光 | 1 taels  | Needed money; No.306 in file. |
| May 24, 1895      | Fish pond              | Fangdong Beihutang 方洞背户塘 | He Yuanlu 何元禄  | Father Collas |   |                                 | 52 taels | No.294 in file.               |
| July 2, 1895      | Farmland and fish pond | Fangdong Beihutang 方洞背户塘 | He Yuanlu 何元禄  | Father Collas |   |                                 | 30 yuan  | No.295 in file                |
| May 20, 1895      | Vegetable garden       | Fangdong Beihutang 方洞背户塘 | He Lihua 何利华   | Father Collas |   |                                 | 9 taels  | No.296 in file.               |
| June 7, 1895      | A house                | Fangdong Beihutang 方洞背户塘 | He Jinhui 何金槐  | Father Collas |   |                                 | 50 yuan  | No.297 in file.               |
| May 20, 1895      | Vegetable garden       | Fangdong Beihutang 方洞背户塘 | He Lishan 何利山  | Father Collas |   |                                 | 2 taels  | No.298 in file.               |

|               |                  |                          |                  |               |  |  |           |   |
|---------------|------------------|--------------------------|------------------|---------------|--|--|-----------|---|
|               |                  | 洞背户塘                     |                  |               |  |  |           |   |
| June 21, 1895 | A house          | Fangdong Beihutang 方洞背户塘 | He Liren 何利仁     | Father Collas |  |  | 75 yuan   | No.292 in file.                                   |
| May 21, 1895  | Vegetable garden | Fangdong Beihutang 方洞背户塘 | He Haoren 何好仁    | Father Collas |  |  | 5 taels   | No.293 in file.                                   |
| June 7, 1895  | A house          | Fangdong Beihutang 方洞背户塘 | He Liguang 何利光   | Father Collas |  | Liang Lujia 梁路加 (seller's relative), He Jialu 何加禄(lineage predecessor) | 110 yuan  | To provide land for the mission; No.304 in file.  |
| May 20, 1895  | Vegetable garden | Fangdong Beihutang 方洞背户塘 | He Litian 何利田    | Father Collas | He Zhenbu 何贞步 (Wrote on seller's behalf) | He Lide 何利德, He Liguang 何利光  | 2 taels   | No.305 in file.                                   |
| June 7, 1895  | A house          | Fangdong Beihutang 方洞背户塘 | He Jialu 何加禄     | Father Collas |  | Liang Lujia 梁路加 (Sellers clansman)                                     | 50 yuan   | To provide land for the mission; ;No.307 in file. |
| May 20, 1895  | Vegetable garden | Fangdong Beihutang 方洞背户塘 | He Zhenzhang 何贞章 | Father Collas | He Zhenbu 何贞步 (Wrote on seller's behalf) | He Zhenliang 何贞亮, He Haoren 何好仁, He Ximan 何西满                          | 3 taels   | No.308in file.                                    |
| May 21, 1895  | Vegetable garden | Fangdong Beihutang 方洞背户塘 | He Jungui 何俊佳    | Father Collas |  |  | 5 taels   | No.299 in file.                                   |
| June 7, 1895  | A house          | Fangdong Beihutang 方洞背户塘 | He Yuanlu 何元禄    | Father Collas |  |  | 110 yuan  | No.300in file.                                    |
| May 20, 1895  | Two Vegetable    | Fangdong Beihutang 方     | He Wanle 何万乐     | Father Collas |  | He Lihong 何利洪, He Lide 何利  | 2 l taels | To provide land for the mission;;                 |



|               |                  |                          |  |               |   |   |           |  |
|---------------|------------------|--------------------------|--|---------------|---|---|-----------|--|
|               | gardens          | 洞背户塘塘                    |  |               |   | 德, He Hualun 何化伦 ( Sellers clansman )                                       |           | No. 389 in file.                                 |
| May 20, 1895  | A fish pond      | Fangdong Beihutang 方洞背户塘 | He Yuanlu 何元禄 and brother He Jialu 何加禄, He Lihan 何利汉, He Zhenbu 何贞步等 | Father Collas |   | He Lide 何利德, He Wanle 何万乐, He Lihong 何利洪( Sellers clansman )                | 10 taels  | To provide land for the mission;No. 389 in file. |
| June 21, 1895 | A house          | Fangdong Beihutang 方洞背户塘 | He Zhongshi 何钟氏  | Father Collas | He Jialu 何加禄 (Wrote on seller's behalf)(seller's uncle) | He Lishan 何利善, He Hengyun 何亨云, He Lishou 何利售 ( Sellers clansman )           | 80 yuan   | To provide land for the mission; No.302 in file. |
| May 20, 1895  | Vegetable garden | Fangdong Beihutang 方洞背户塘 | He Yanggou 何洋苟   | Father Collas |   | He Hengjin 何亨金, He Jialu 何加禄  | 2 taels   | To provide land for the mission; No.303 in file. |
| June 1, 1895  | A house          | Fangdong Beihutang 方洞背户塘 | He Zhenbu 何贞步  | Father Collas | He Lichao 何利超 (Wrote on seller's behalf)                | He Yuanzhong 何员仲, He Yuanbiao 何员标   | 20 yuan   | No. 401 in file.                                 |
| June 7, 1895  | A house          | Fangdong Beihutang 方洞背户塘 | He Zhenbu 何贞步  | Father Collas |   | He Jialu 何加禄 (seller's predecessor), He Hengyun 何亨云 (seller's predecessor), | 45yuan    | To provide land for the mission; No.309 in file. |
| May 21, 1895  | Vegetable garden | Fangdong Beihutang 方洞背户塘 | He Benli 何本立   | Father Collas | He Zhenbu 何贞步 (Wrote on seller's behalf)                | He Zhenmei 何贞梅  | 2 l taels | To provide land for the mission; No.310 in file. |

|                   |                        |                                 |   |                   |   |  |          |                 |
|-------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|---|-------------------|---|--|----------|-----------------|
| June 8,<br>1896   | A fish pond            | Fangdong<br>Beihutang 方<br>洞背户塘 | He Daoshan 何<br>道善  | Father Collas     |   |  | 38 taels | No.301in file.  |
| July 28,<br>1897  | A house                | Fangdong<br>Beihutang 方<br>洞背户塘 | He Zhenliang<br>何贞亮   | Father Bo 伯<br>神父 | He Zhenbu 何贞步,<br>He Zhenfu 何贞富,<br>He Zhenfu 何贞福 | He Lihong 何利<br>洪                        | 60 yuan  | No.390 in file. |
| April 23,<br>1899 |                        | Fangdong<br>Beihutang 方<br>洞背户塘 | He Zhenxi 何<br>贞息   |                   |   |  |          | No.390 in file. |
| May 13,<br>1907   | Farm land<br>12 pieces | Fangdong<br>Beihutang 方<br>洞背户塘 | Liu Shuming 刘<br>树明   | Father Lu 陆<br>神父 | Pan Ming 泮 明                                      | Pan Rong 泮荣,<br>Pan Ping 泮平              | 400 hao  |                 |
| May 15,<br>1908   | Farm land              | Fangdong<br>Beihutang 方<br>洞背户塘 | He Liguang 何<br>利光, He<br>Lirong 何利荣,<br>He Limei 何利<br>美, He Ligong<br>何利功 | Father Lu 陆<br>神父 |   | He Yuanzhong 何<br>员仲, He<br>Yuanbiao 何员标 | 1034 hao |                 |

## Appendix F

### Property deeds of Fuhou village of Jieyang

The data is from C12.25-II.I\_031, 037, 040, 043, 044, 045, 049, 050, 051, 054; C12.30\_012, 015, 017.

| Year              | Property type | Location                       | Seller  | Buyer       | middlemen                          | price      | Reason to sell / Note |
|-------------------|---------------|--------------------------------|---|-------------|------------------------------------|------------|-----------------------|
| October 16, 1855  | farmland      | Fuhou village of Jieyang 揭阳富厚村 | Zhong Wenxiang 钟文乡  | The mission | Fu Kaiwan 符开万, Zhong Wenying 钟文英   | 10 Qianwen |                       |
| November 26, 1868 | farmland      | Fuhou village of Jieyang 揭阳富厚村 | Zhong Wenyu 钟文裕 and his sons Zhong Guangwang 钟光王, Zhong Guangdian 钟光殿, Zhong Guangfu 钟光辅, Zhong Guanglu 钟光禄 | Wu Mige 吴弥格 | Zhong Wentang 钟文堂                  | 31 Qianwen |                       |
| December 7, 1868  | land          | Fuhou village of Jieyang 揭阳富厚村 | Ruan Jiamei 阮加美   | Wu Mige 吴弥格 |                                    | 6400 wen   |                       |
| December 23, 1870 | farmland      | Fuhou village of Jieyang 揭阳富厚村 | Zhong Wenyu 钟文裕   | Wu Mige 吴弥格 | Zhong Wentang 钟文堂, Zhong Wenlu 钟文禄 | 26 Qianwen |                       |
| October 7, 1870   | farmland      | Fuhou village of Jieyang 揭阳富厚村 | Zhong Wenyu 钟文裕   | Wu Mige 吴弥格 | Zhong Wentang 钟文堂                  | 40Qianwen  |                       |

|                   |          |                                |                    |             |  |                   |          |
|-------------------|----------|--------------------------------|--------------------|-------------|--|-------------------|----------|
| March 18, 1870    | farmland | Fuhou village of Jieyang 揭阳富厚村 | Zheng Chenshi 郑陈氏  | Wu Mige 吴弥格 | Zheng Naiwen 郑乃文, Zheng Naizhen 郑乃珍 (Wrote on seller's behalf)   |                   | Donation |
| November 10, 1871 | farmland | Fuhou village of Jieyang 揭阳富厚村 | Zhong Wendou 钟文斗   | Wu Mige 吴弥格 | Zhong Wentang 钟文堂  | 53 Qianwen        |          |
| November 9, 1871  | farmland | Fuhou village of Jieyang 揭阳富厚村 | Zhong Guanghui 钟光辉 | Wu Mige 吴弥格 |  | 92 Qianwne 700wen |          |
| December 18, 1872 | farmland | Fuhou village of Jieyang 揭阳富厚村 | Zhong Zhaoyou 钟肇猷  | Wu Mige 吴弥格 | Zhong Zhaohao 钟肇豪, Zhong Zhaoming 钟肇明, Zhong Wenzhuo 钟文卓, Zhong Jikong 钟基孔   | 24qianwen 500wen  |          |
| December 4, 1872  | farmland | Fuhou village of Jieyang 揭阳富厚村 | Zhong Wendi 钟文第    | Wu Mige 吴弥格 | Zhong Wenchang 钟文昌(seller's brother), Zhong Yayan 钟亚燕, Zhong Wentang 钟文堂, Zhong Wenyu 钟文裕 (Wrote on seller's behalf) | 25Qianwen         |          |
| December 18, 1872 | farmland | Fuhou village of Jieyang 揭阳富厚村 | Zhong Biyou 钟笔猷    | Wu Mige 吴弥格 | Zhong Zhaohao 钟肇豪, Zhong Zhaoming 钟肇明, Zhong Jikong  | 24Qianwen 500wen  |          |

|                     |          |   |   |                        |                       |                     |                           |
|---------------------|----------|---|---|------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|
|                     |          |   |   |                        | 钟基孔                   |                     |                           |
| June 19,<br>1873    | hill     | Fuhou village of<br>Jieyang 揭阳富厚<br>村   | Zhong Wenyu 钟文裕, Zhong<br>Guangyu 钟光玉, Zhong<br>Guangdian 钟光殿                   | Wu Mige<br>吴弥格         |                       | 14Qianwen<br>500wen |                           |
| February 7,<br>1873 | farmland | Fuhou village of<br>Jieyang 揭阳富厚<br>村   | Zhong Wentang 钟文堂   | The<br>mission         | Zhong Guangcai<br>钟光才 | 30Qianwen           |                           |
| March 30,<br>1901   | land     | Yaoshan village of<br>Jieyang 揭阳姚山<br>乡 | Xie Lishi 谢利柿, Xie Guangji 谢<br>光及, Xie Xile 谢喜乐, Xie<br>Guangqi 谢光启 and others | Father<br>Dang 当神<br>父 |                       |                     | Donation after<br>baptise |

## Appendix G

### Property deeds of Heyuan

The data is from C1.12\_054, 056; C11.9\_001, 003-005, 007-008, 011, 017, 019-020; C12.23\_010, 012-013, 015-018, 021, 023, 027-028, 030-035, 037, 039, 042-045, 047, 050, 057, 067, 072-073.

| Year               | Property type              | Location                          | Seller                                      | Buyer                                    | middlemen                    | Witnesses  | price      | Reason to sell / Note   |
|--------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|--|------------------------------|--|------------|---|
| September 23, 1870 | two pieces of land         | Huangtian yue of Heyuan<br>河源县黄田约 | Liang Liushi 梁刘氏                            | Liang Yangkang 梁杨康 of Holy Church<br>圣教会 | Chen Hai 陈海(seller's nephew) | Liang Yachang 梁亚长 (seller's son), Liang Fengqing 梁凤清(seller's uncle), Liang Fengwu 梁凤梧(seller's uncle) | 17 Qianwen | Lineage property of the Liang family; rental transfer; No. 226 in file. |
| September 23, 1880 | Above property             | Huangtian yue of Heyuan<br>河源县黄田约 | Liang Yayue 梁亚悦                             | Holy Church<br>圣教会                       |                              |  | 8850 wen   | Added payment on top of previous price                                  |
| March 6, 1886      | One piece of land, a house | Huangtian yue of Heyuan<br>河源县黄田约 | Zeng Lingyu 曾凌玉 and his son Zeng Kezong 曾可宗 | Holy Church<br>圣教会                       | Song Xixian 宋熹贤              |  | 25 Qianwen | For the construction of a chapel; No. 230 in file.                      |

|                   |                    |                                       |   |                                      |                                   |                                     |            |  |
|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------|--|
| April 5, 1886     | One piece of land  | Huangtian yue of Heyuan<br>河源县<br>黄田约 | Liang Shouxiang 梁寿祥                       | Father Fan 范神父 of Holy Church<br>圣教会 | Liang Rulin 梁儒林(seller's brother) | Liang Yayong 梁亚永(seller's son)      | 20 Qianwen | Needed money; No. 231 in file.                                       |
| April 6, 1886     | Two pieces of land | Huangtian yue of Heyuan<br>河源县<br>黄田约 | Liang Qinxian 梁钦贤 and his brother         | Father Fan 范神父 of Holy Church<br>圣教会 | Liang Rulin 梁儒林(seller's nephew)  | Liang Qinxin 梁钦喜(seller's brother)  | 17 Qianwen | Needed money; No. 231 in file.                                       |
| April 5, 1886     | Six pieces of land | Huangtian yue of Heyuan<br>河源县<br>黄田约 | Liang Shengkun 梁胜坤                        | Holy Church<br>圣教会                   | Liang Rulin 梁儒林(seller's nephew)  | Liang Yaming 梁亚明(seller's grandson) | 16 Qianwen | Needed money; No. 227 in file.                                       |
| April 7, 1886     | One piece of land  | Huangtian yue of Heyuan<br>河源县<br>黄田约 | Liang Huolong 梁火隆, Liang Huolin 梁火麟       | Father Fan 范神父 of Holy Church<br>圣教会 | Liang Rulin 梁儒林(seller's nephew)  |                                     | 8 Qianwen  | Lineage property of the Liang family; needed money; No. 227 in file. |
| December 6, 1884  | Tea hill           | Huangtian yue of Heyuan<br>河源县<br>黄田约 | Li Huogu 李火姑, Li Yarong 李亚荣, Li Yacha 李亚察 | Holy Church<br>圣教会                   | Liang Yageng 梁亚耕                  |                                     | 7 yuan     | Needed money; No. 229 in file.                                       |
| December 7, 1884  | One piece of land  | Huangtian yue of Heyuan<br>河源县<br>黄田约 | Li Yacha 李亚察 and his brother              | Holy Church<br>圣教会                   | Li Yahuo 李亚火(seller's nephew)     | Liang Nangu 梁南姑                     | 1800 wen   | No. 229 in file.   |
| December 29, 1889 | land               | Huangtian yue of                      | Huang Yamao 黄亚茂                           | Father Lü 吕神父                        | Huang Yinglu 黄英禄                  | Chen Lin 陈麟                         | 10 taels   |  |

|                      |                      |                                    |   |                                       |   |  |          |          |
|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|---|--|----------|----------|
|                      |                      | Heyuan<br>河源县<br>黄田约               |   |                                       | (seller's uncle)                              |  |          |          |
| December<br>27, 1917 | One piece<br>of land | Lashiyue<br>of Zijin 紫<br>金蜡石<br>约 | Ye Yagui 叶亚<br>贵                            | Father Lǚ<br>吕神父                      | Huang Yarong<br>黄亚荣, Ye<br>Jingbo 叶静<br>波     | Ye Yali 叶亚李, Ye Yiqin 叶<br>亦勤, Ye Gengjiao 叶庚娇<br>(seller's uncle), Ye Yilong 叶<br>奕隆(seller's nephew) | 30 yuan  |          |
| November<br>10, 1876 | hill                 | Lashiyue<br>of Zijin 紫<br>金蜡石<br>约 | Luo Yuanfu 罗<br>元福, Luo<br>Yuanshou 罗<br>元寿 | Father Lǚ<br>吕神父                      | Zhong<br>Rongyuan 钟<br>荣元                     | Li Guanlu 李观禄, Zhong<br>Yiyuan 钟奕元, Chen<br>Dongxiu 陈东秀  |          | donation |
| December<br>27, 1893 | farmland             | Lashiyue<br>of Zijin 紫<br>金蜡石<br>约 | Huang Yaliang<br>黄亚良                        | Father Lǚ<br>吕神父                      | Huang Chenlin<br>黄陈林<br>(seller's uncle)      | Huang Liuyang 黄流养<br>(seller's brother)  | 2600 wen |          |
| June 11,<br>1919     | farmland             | Lashiyue<br>of Zijin 紫<br>金蜡石<br>约 | Ye Guohua 叶<br>国华                           | Lashi<br>Catholic<br>church 蜡石<br>天主堂 |   |  |          |          |
| June 11,<br>1919     | farmland             | Lashiyue<br>of Zijin 紫<br>金蜡石<br>约 | Chen Dongxiu<br>陈东秀                         | Lashi<br>Catholic<br>church 蜡石<br>天主堂 |   |  |          |          |
| January 12,<br>1916  | farmland             | Lashiyue<br>of Zijin 紫<br>金蜡石<br>约 | Huang<br>Nanchun 黄南<br>春                    | Lashi<br>Catholic<br>church 蜡石<br>天主堂 | Huang<br>Yachang 黄亚<br>常(seller's<br>brother) | Ye Jingbo 叶静波, Ye Yali<br>叶亚李  | 14 tael  |          |
| June, 1919           | farmland             | Lashiyue<br>of Zijin 紫<br>金蜡石      | Huang Depeng<br>黄德鹏                         | Gongshen<br>Catholic<br>Church 公      |   |  |          |          |



|                   |          |                         |                                       |                                |                                       |  |            |          |
|-------------------|----------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|------------|----------|
|                   |          | 约                       |                                       | 神天主堂                           |                                       |  |            |          |
| June 11, 1919     | farmland | Lashiyue of Zijin 紫金蜡石约 | Huang Yongyou 黄庸佑                     | Gongshen Catholic Church 公神天主堂 |                                       |  |            |          |
| February 9, 1916  | farmland | Lashiyue of Zijin 紫金蜡石约 | Huang Gengjiao 黄庚娇 and brother        | Father Lǚ 吕神父                  | Huang Guanda 黄观达                      | Huang Yagui 黄亚贵, Huang Jinxi 黄金喜               | 27 yuan    |          |
| August 11, 1918   | farmland | Lashiyue of Zijin 紫金蜡石约 | Ye Gengjiao 叶庚娇                       | Catholic Church                | Ye Jingbo 叶静波, Ye Yaliang 叶亚良         |  | 50 yuan    |          |
| November 21, 1919 | farmland | Lashiyue of Zijin 紫金蜡石约 | Ye Yilong 叶奕隆(Ye Gengjiao's grandson) | Father Lǚ 吕神父                  | Ye Yali 叶亚李                           | Ye Shixing 叶石兴                                 | 4500 wen   |          |
| December 15, 1909 | land     | Lashiyue of Zijin 紫金蜡石约 | Xu Chengyuan 徐成元                      | Catholic Church                | Ye Songhui 叶松辉                        | Zeng Liu'an 曾刘安                                | 14 taels   |          |
| August 28, 1910   | land     | Lashiyue of Zijin 紫金蜡石约 | Xu Chengyuan 徐成元                      | Catholic Church                |                                       | Xu Maoyuan 徐茂元, Ye Songhui 叶松辉, Xie Tuxian 谢土先 | 0          | Donation |
| November 3, 1892  | farmland | Lashiyue of Zijin 紫金蜡石约 | Huang Bingrui 黄秉瑞                     | Father Lǚ 吕神父                  | Huang Tingzhong 黄挺忠(seller's brother) | Ye Jingbo 叶静波                                  | 18 Qianwen |          |

|                   |          |                         |                                   |   |                                      |   |          |          |
|-------------------|----------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|---|----------|----------|
| February 15, 1913 | farmland | Lashiyue of Zijin 紫金蜡石约 | Huang Haiqing 黄海清                 | Father Lǚ 吕神父                             | Huang Weixiang 黄伟乡                   | Ye Yali 叶亚李   | 18 yuan  |          |
| December 25, 1877 | farmland | Lashiyue of Zijin 紫金蜡石约 | Huang Qinghou 黄庆厚                 | Father Lǚ 吕神父                             | Yang Bao 杨保(seller's nephew)         | Daheng 大亨   | 11 yuan  |          |
| December 29, 1890 | farmland | Lashiyue of Zijin 紫金蜡石约 | Huang Qizhen 黄其祯                  | Father Lǚ Qiren 吕启仁教士                     | Huang Qiguang 黄其光(seller's brother)  | Zhongshi 钟氏(seller's mother), Huang Tingzhong 黄挺钟(seller's brother) | 3200 wen |          |
| March 4, 1891     | cesspool | Lashiyue of Zijin 紫金蜡石约 | Wu Lianzhang 吴连章                  | Father Lǚ Qiren 吕启仁教士                     | Zhong Xuebin 钟学斌, Zhong Rongyuan 钟榕元 |   |          | Donation |
| December 4, 1890  | house    | Lashiyue of Zijin 紫金蜡石约 | Wu Yageng 吴亚庚                     | Catholic Church                           |                                      | Ye Haicheng 叶海澄, Zhang Bingcheng 张秉成                                |          | Donation |
| November 18, 1888 | land     | Lashiyue of Zijin 紫金蜡石约 | Huang Yawang 黄亚王                  | Yang Chekeng 杨车坑天主堂 Father Lǚ Qiren 吕启仁教士 | Huang Tingzhong 黄挺忠(seller's uncle)  | Ye Haicheng 叶海澄, Zhushi 诸氏(seller's mother)                         | 7 taels  |          |
| December 7, 1890  | hill     | Lashiyue of Zijin 紫金蜡石  | Huang Xinwu 黄新伍, Huang Lǚbao 黄吕保, | Father Lǚ Qiren 吕启仁教士                     | Ye Juehua 叶爵华                        | Huang Tingzhong 黄挺忠, Liushi 刘氏                                      | 2 yuan   |          |

|                   |                            |                           |   |   |  |   |          |  |
|-------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|---|---|--|---|----------|--|
|                   |                            | 约                         | Huang Yasong<br>黄亚松   |   |  |   |          |  |
| December 19, 1892 | hill                       | Lashiyue of Zijin 紫金蜡石约   | Huang Xinwu 黄新伍   | Father Lǚ Qiren 吕启仁教士                   | Huang Chongxiang 黄崇香 (seller's nephew)               | Ye Haicheng 叶海澄, Ye Yachun 叶亚春, Ye Gengjiao 叶庚娇, Ye Yong'an 叶永安, Ye Chenjiao 叶陈娇, Xian Yahui 洗亚辉            | 800 wen  |  |
| September 3, 1902 | Land for building 7 houses | Shangyiyue of Zijin 紫金上义约 | Qiu Kuisheng 邱魁胜 with brothers and uncles                             | Catholic Church                         | Zhong Shuqi 钟树琪, Huang Kaiyuan 黄恺元                   | Qiu Kuiying 邱魁英(seller's brother), Qiu Chunsong 邱春松(seller's nephew)  |          | Donation upon conversion                           |
| December 21, 1904 | farmland                   | Lashiyue of Zijin 紫金蜡石约   | Huang Yulong 黄裕隆  | Father Lǚ Qiren 吕教士                     | Ye Jingbo 叶静波  |   | 1 taels  |  |
| December 20, 1891 | farmland                   | Lashiyue of Zijin 紫金蜡石约   | Huang Yulong 黄裕隆  | Father Lǚ Qiren 吕教士, Huang Haicheng 黄海澄 | Huang Shibao 黄石保 (seller's brother)                  | Huang Yachang 黄亚常   | 3 taels  | The farmland was rented to the mission for 6 years |
| June 23, 1901     | house                      | Lashiyue of Zijin 紫金蜡石约   | Deng Dongyu 邓东玉, Deng Dongmei 邓东梅, Deng Dongliang 邓东亮, Deng Jiguan 邓吉 | Father Lǚ Qiren 吕启仁教士                   | Deng Peisheng 邓佩生, Deng Zixiang 邓子祥, Deng Naiqiu 邓乃邱 | Deng Jiguan 邓吉观 (seller's nephew), Deng Dongmei 邓东梅(seller's brother), Deng Dongliang 邓东亮(seller's brother) | 240 yuan |  |

|                   |          |                         |                 |                       |  |   |         |  |
|-------------------|----------|-------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|--|---|---------|--|
|                   |          |                         | 观               |                       |  |   |         |  |
| December 4, 1890  | land     | Lashiyue of Zijin 紫金蜡石约 | Wu Yageng 吴亚庚   | Father Lǔ Qiren 吕启仁教士 | Zhang Bingcheng 张秉成                      | Liushi 刘氏(seller's mother), Wu Yalian 吴亚连(seller's uncle), Ye Hailong 叶海隆, Zhong Rongyuan 钟榕元           | 45 yuan |  |
|                   | farmland | Lashiyue of Zijin 紫金蜡石约 | Xian Ruitao 洗瑞涛 | Father Lǔ Qiren 吕启仁教士 | Ye Haicheng 叶海澄, Zhong Yahua 钟亚化         | Ye Yali 叶亚李   | 60 yuan |  |
| December 7, 1875  | farmland | Lashiyue of Zijin 紫金蜡石约 | Xian Ruitao 洗瑞涛 | Dengzuhui 灯祖会         | Xian Yuanzhang 洗元章(seller's predecessor) | Xian Antao 洗安涛(seller's brother), Xian Jinglan 洗净澜(seller's brother), Xian Lianyun 洗连云(seller's uncle)  | 11 yuan |  |
| December 9, 1875  | farmland | Lashiyue of Zijin 紫金蜡石约 | Xian Ruitao 洗瑞涛 | Dengzuhui 灯祖会         | Xian Qiyun 洗启云(seller's uncle)           |   | 4 yuan  |  |
| February 19, 1863 | farmland | Lashiyue of Zijin 紫金蜡石约 | Xian Kaiyun 洗开云 | Dengzuhui 灯祖会         | Xian Yuanzhang 洗元章(seller's uncle)       | Xian Jinglan 洗景澜(seller's nephew), Xian Lianyun 洗连云(seller's brother), Xian Ruyun 洗如云(seller's brother) | 85 yuan |  |

## Appendix H

### Property deeds of Shangtangwei of Boluo

The data is from C1.12\_003, 056; C12.18\_059, 066, 069, 072, 075, 083.

| Date            | Property type  | Location                     | Seller   | Buyer         | Middlemen       | Witness         | Prices  | Reason to seel / note                 |
|-----------------|----------------|------------------------------|--|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------|---------------------------------------|
| October 5, 1893 | House and land | Shangtangwei of Boluo 博罗县上塘围 | Zhang Yarong 张亚容, Zhang Yaqi 张亚奇, Zhang Yaho 张亚和                 | Father Ba 巴神父 |                 |                 | 50 tael |                                       |
| 1875            | land           | Shangtangwei of Boluo 博罗县上塘围 | Deng Meixiu 邓美修 and 38 households of the Zhang and Deng lineages | Father Ba 巴神父 |                 |                 | 0       | Property was donated; No. 260 in file |
| June 5, 1880    | land           | Shangtangwei of Boluo 博罗县上塘围 | Zhang Yaguan 张亚观, Zhang Yalian 张亚连                               | Father Ba 巴神父 | Zhang Yahua 张亚华 | Deng Meixiu 邓美修 | 5 yuan  | No. 261 in file                       |
| June 5, 1880    | land           | Shangtangwei of Boluo 博罗县上塘围 | Zhang Folian 张佛连, Zhang Yalian 张亚连, Zhang Guandai 张观带            | Father Ba 巴神父 |                 |                 | 20 yuan | No. 262 in file                       |
| May 28, 1880    | forest         | Shangtangwei of Boluo 博罗县上塘围 | 张刘稳  | Father Ba 巴神父 |                 |                 | 20 yuan | No. 263 in file                       |
| May 27,         | land           | Shangtangwei                 | 张三胜, 张视保, 张  | Father Ba     |                 |                 |         | For the                               |

|                         |        |                                     |          |                  |                       |                                       |            |                               |
|-------------------------|--------|-------------------------------------|----------|------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|------------|-------------------------------|
| 1880                    |        | of Boluo 博罗<br>县上塘围                 | 刘文       | 巴神父              |                       |                                       |            | construction of the<br>chapel |
| Decemb<br>er 3,<br>1881 | forest | Shangtangwei<br>of Boluo 博罗<br>县上塘围 | 张亚水, 张荣光 | Father Ba<br>巴神父 | Xu<br>Yingming<br>许应明 | Several<br>Catholics at<br>the dinner | 27<br>yuan | No. 264 in file               |

## **Hongyan Xiang**

Department of History  
108 Weaver Bldg, University Park, PA 16802  
hong.xiang@psu.edu

### **Education**

2014            Ph.D. History, Pennsylvania State University  
2009            M.A. History, National University of Singapore  
2006            B.A. History, Wuhan University, China

### **Publications**

“Catholicism and the Gelaohui in Late Qing China,” *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, 15 (June 2013): 16-35.

Review of *A Protestant Church in Communist China: Moore Memorial Church Shanghai 1949-1989* by John Craig William Keating (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2012), *Asian Studies Review*. May, 2014.

Lead translator from English to Chinese, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci, 1552-1610* by R. Po-chia Hsia (Oxford University Press, 2010). Published as *Li Madou: Zijincheng li de Yesu huishi*. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2012.

### **Conference Papers and Invited Talks (selected)**

“The Invisible Battle: The Contest between the French Catholic Mission and the Late Qing Government over Property Ownership,” Asian Institute, Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto, Canada, March 2013 (Invited Talk).

“The Secret of Holy Economics: Power Projection through Property Ownership by Catholic Missions to Guangzhou, China (1860-1910),” Association of Asian Studies Annual Meeting, Toronto, Canada, March 2012.

### **Fellowships (selected)**

Spring 2014    Institute for the Arts and Humanities (IAH) Fellow, College of Arts and Architecture and College of the Liberal Arts, Pennsylvania State University

Spring 2014    Edwin Earle Sparks Fellowship in the Humanities, Department of History, Pennsylvania State University

2012-2013    Doctoral Fellowship, Ricci Institute at the Center for the Pacific Rim, University of San Francisco