

ANDREAS LY ON THE FIRST JINCHUAN WAR IN WESTERN SICHUAN (1747-1749)

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Introduction

Andreas Ly (Li Ande 李安德) was born into a Chinese Catholic family in Shaanxi in 1692 or 1693, not long before he and his family moved to Sichuan. As a boy he studied with Jean Basset and Jean-François de la Baluère, missionaries of the Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris, and left China with them in the aftermath of the Rites Controversy in 1707. He studied in Ayudthia, Siam, at the Collège de St. Joseph, a seminary for training indigenous clergy in Asia.

Ly returned to China after his ordination in 1725 and worked in Fujian for several years before returning to Sichuan in 1734. When the last European missionaries were forced to leave Sichuan in 1746, Ly was left as the senior Catholic priest in the province. He maintained contact with the Société des Missions Étrangères by sending his journal, written in Latin, by courier to Macao and thence to Paris, where it is held by the Archives des Missions Étrangères.¹ Ly's journal ends in 1763, nine years before his death.

The passages from 1747-1749 here translated concern the First Jinchuan 金川 War, fought between the Qing and the rGyal-rong people of the Sichuan-Tibetan frontier. The Qing won a partial victory over the rGyal-rong in 1749, but succeeded in subjugating them

¹ This translation relies primarily on the published text edited by Adrien Launay, *Journal d'André Ly, prêtre chinois, missionnaire et notaire apostolique, 1747-1763* (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, éditeurs, 1906), xxiv + 705 pp. Father G. Moussay, archivist of the Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris, kindly allowed me the opportunity to examine the original manuscript. Ly's life and his diary have been examined in Armand Olichon, *Aux origines du clergé chinois: Le Prêtre André Ly, missionnaire au Setchouan* (Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1933); Anton Borer, "Das Tagebuch André Ly's als Quelle der Missionspastoral," *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 1:194-203 (1945); and Henry Serruys, "Andrew Li, Chinese Priest, 1692 (1693?) - 1774," *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 32.2:39-55, 130-144 (1976). I am grateful to Mme. Annie Salavert-Sabayolles of the Bibliothèque Asiatique des Missions Étrangères for providing me with a copy of Olichon's book, and Susan Naquin for bringing Serruys' article to my attention.

only after a second war, lasting from 1771 to 1776.² Andreas Ly's journal provides a rare unofficial perspective on the First Jinchuan War, showing how it affected ordinary people in western Sichuan; particularly interesting are his reports of widespread rumors, some true, about court politics and the conduct of the war.

I have added Chinese characters, which with rare exceptions do not appear in Ly's manuscript (and not at all in the published text). Chinese names are romanized in pinyin when I have been able to identify the characters; otherwise the romanization is Ly's, which reflects French orthography and Sichuanese pronunciation. Manchu names are romanized according to Kanda Nobuo 神田信夫, Matsumura Jun 松村間, and Okada Hidehiro 岡田英弘, Hakki tsushi retsuden sakuin 八旗通志列傳索引 (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko 東洋文庫, 1965). Many entries concern themselves only partially with the Jinchuan War, and in some cases I have left out irrelevant sentences or paragraphs. They are indicated by ellipses.

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Text

1747

October 9 (9 yue 6)³ The soldier Joannes-Baptista [Ly], sent one month ago to take military supplies to the war, has returned safely from the battlefield. He says that the war is being fought with tremendous difficulty because of the mountainous terrain of that region.

1748

²A recent examination of the Jinchuan wars is Dai Yi 戴逸 and Hua Li 華立, "Yichang debu changshi de zhanzheng - lun Qianlong chao Jinchuan zhi yi" 一場得不償失的戰爭—論乾隆朝金川之役 (More loss than gain: on Emperor Qianlong's Jinchuan campaigns), Lishi yanjiu 歷史研究, 1993, no. 3, pp. 30-41. See also Zhang Jiefu 張捷夫, "Ping Qianlong diyici dui Jinchuan tusi de yongbing," 評乾隆第一次對金川土司的用兵, in Wang Rongsheng 王戎笙 et al, eds., Qingdai de bianjiang kaifa 清代的邊疆開發 (Chongqing: Xinan shifan daxue chubanshe 西南師範大學出版社, 1993), pp. 196-205; Wang Gang 王綱, Qingdai Sichuan shi 清代四川史 (Chengdu: Chengdu keji daxue chubanshe 成都科技大學社, 1991), esp. pp. 310-348; and Erich Haenisch, "Die Eroberung des Goldstromlandes in Ost-Tibet," Asia Major, vol. 10, no. 2 (1935), pp. 262-313, an annotated translation of the 1843 account by Wei Yuan 魏源 in Shengwuji 聖武記。

³ Ly dates most of his entries both according to the Christian calendar and the Chinese lunar calendar.

February 2 (Qianlong 13, 1 yue 4) I left the said place [a village near Chengdu, where Ly had gone to administer sacraments] and returned to Chengdu, where I saw Jacobus Ouang, just returned from Guangdong on January 20. I learned that eight White Lotus rebels were condemned to death around the end of January, of whom one was dismembered, a second strangled, the rest beheaded; one had already died but at the official's orders the coffin was opened and the body beheaded in execration of his crime. The governor-general of this province took this occasion to issue a new proclamation to be posted everywhere, ordering the arrest of all adherents of perverse sects and fasters.⁴

I heard of a terrible massacre of many in the Chinese army sent against the barbarians, in which very many officers and men were killed by the barbarians. While the campaign lasted, some were cut to pieces by the barbarians, or maimed by cold and hunger; others dashed themselves to pieces off the cliffs, unable to bear the onslaught of the enemy; a great many officers of the ravaged army hanged themselves because of the destruction of the army. Troops have been summoned from various provinces and new soldiers enrolled that they might take the place of the dead; the Chinese people openly groan over the increased burden; rebels everywhere stir up trouble. Here, there, and everywhere, even in the villages and hamlets, a rumor has spread for three months that the Qianlong Emperor has died. On the first day of the new year shops and inns in this city were open, contrary to general custom; these things indicate the terrible state of the empire; may Merciful God deem it worthy to change it for the better.

February 5 (1 yue 7) [. . .] During the days when the bad news of the battle came, very many houses in this city were put up for sale; thus it was impossible to sell the houses belonging to the mission, nor could we lease them out or borrow money using them for security.⁵ Baptista Ly is thinking of returning to the battle; I don't know of anyone else to whom we can entrust the house. [. . .]

February 11 (1 yue 13) [. . .] This same day the third-born son of the Sun family came from Xinfan to invite me to come and administer sacraments to his grandmother, aged over 80 and ill; but because of the troops being sent to the war these days, horses and mules have been seized at the city gates, so I cannot go with this young man; besides guards are stationed at the four city gates, just as in 1746 [when there was a campaign against the White Lotus and Christians], before the White Lotus rebels were destroyed; gambling lanterns and drinking are forbidden.

⁴ "Fasters" is a reference to vegetarian White Lotus sectarians. The Catholic practice of fasting on Fridays and during Lent led to suspicions that they were related to the White Lotus.

⁵ The Catholic mission owned two houses in Chengdu, held in Andreas Ly's name to disguise ownership.

February 12 (1 yue 14) I visited our neighbors and learned that three squadrons of Chinese troops, a hundred soldiers in all, were killed with their officers by barbarians feigning surrender. The officials ordered lands belonging to the bonzes to be given to the people, and the younger bonzes forced into secular life.

February 16 (1 yue 18) [. . .] This same day 500 soldiers with their officers went off to war.

February 28 (2 yue 1) Titus Tching, who came two days ago from Han Zhou to invite me to visit the Christians of that place, returned after Ash Wednesday service and mass. I was not able to go with him on account of the lack of horses, seized by the Board of War for the war, just as ten days ago I was not able to go to Xinfan despite the entreaties of Paulus Sun.

On the same day about noon came Philippus Thang, Lucius Ma, and Benedictus Ou to say goodbye before returning to their homes with some soldiers of Suifu, who had conducted them here and guarded them. Because of the presence of the soldiers they could not confess their sins and be admitted to the sacraments.

March 2 (2 yue 4) The wall around the house was repaired with straw by Benedictus Tseng, Jacobus Ouang, and Petrus Pe. The house on Kou-leou-kiay [Guloujie 鼓樓街 street in Chengdu] was repaired by Joannis Baptista Ly, who so far has not been sent to the war, but is kept in this city in command of fifty soldiers, standing by to help if necessary in the war.

March 21 (2 yue 23) I returned from the village of Kao-ping-po to Chengdu. There I saw Benedictus Tseng planting kan-tche [ganzhe 甘蔗, sugar cane] in the back part of our land. I gave permission last year. It is better to cultivate it than leave it uncultivated.

Ten days ago, if I am not mistaken, the president of the Board of War [Bandi 班第] came here at the order of the emperor, bringing with him a copper cannon almost two yards in length. After a few days he set off for battle as commander of the cannon with the title of Jiangjun [將軍 general], so that he could personally go to battle with the barbarians himself, in case he might by any chance be able to report victory.⁶

March 26 (2 yue 28) The governor-general [sic] of this province, surnamed Ji [Jishan 紀山], went to fight against the barbarians. Yesterday 600 soldiers from Guizhou and

⁶ Bandi (d. 1755), a member of the Borjigit clan and the Mongol Plain Yellow Banner, was sent in 1748 as quartermaster-general of the armies fighting against the Jinchuan. He was acting governor of Sichuan before being demoted for his lack of success in the war. See his biography in Arthur W. Hummel, ed., Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912), two volumes, (Washington, D.C.; United States Government Printing Office, 1943), I:15-16 (hereafter ECCP).

others from Shaanxi set off before him.⁷ Because of the extremely generous provision of relief grain, many from Shaanxi have left their homes and migrated here.

March 28 (2 yue 30) It is reported that troops summoned here from Huguang are beginning to hasten back on foot, to help the Fujianese against the inhabitants of Taiwan, who are rebelling against the Chinese. It seems clear to me that this and other similar catastrophes arising each day presage the vengeance of the True and Living God against the persecutors of the Church. Indeed, aside from those massacred by the barbarians, starved to death, or fallen off cliffs, many soldiers return useless from the war, frostbitten by cold and maimed in their hands and feet.

April 3 (3 yue 6) [. . .] Today I was told that troops from Shaanxi, Guizhou, and Yunnan have arrived in this province to fight against the Jinchuan; the president of the Board of War, surnamed Ban [Bandi], who arrived at the battlefield at the beginning of the second lunar month, has returned here for a short time.

April 15 (3 yue 17) [. . .] Yesterday 500 soldiers from Yunnan left this city for the war, and 630 have withdrawn from the battle, of whom a better part is mutilated in fingers and toes, because of the extreme cold that fell in this January. From Shaanxi 10,000 soldiers, and 3000 from Yunnan, and another 3000 from Guizhou go forth to war.

In the village of Huicun, district of Xindu, Benedictus Ho died on the first of April (3 yue 4) and was buried with superstitious ceremonies: for the village constable and soldiers were gathered, and there was danger of being denounced if they did not comply with orders. On account of this none of the Christians participated in the funeral. Behold the wretchedness of the Christians!

April 16 (3 yue 19) I admitted to holy communion Joseph Van, commonly known as "Toothless" [vulgo dentibus carentem nuncupatum], whom Verthamon absolved from excommunication.⁸ The said censure was laid upon Joseph on account of a statement of apostasy he had made reluctantly to the magistrate of Huayang, shaken by the fear of torture and punishment, then he snatched the statement out of the hands of the illustrious praetor. I admitted him to sacred communion on account of the weakness which troubled his health.

Ten thousand soldiers from Shaanxi, 3000 from Yunnan, and 3000 from Guizhou

⁷ Jishan, a Manchu of the Yellow Banner, later transferred to the Bordered Red Banner, was governor, not governor-general, of Sichuan from 1743 to 1748. *Sichuan tongzhi* 四川通志 (1816), 103.6b.

⁸ Jean-Hyacinthe de Verthamon (1700-?), a missionary of the Société des Missions Étrangères, served in Sichuan in 1745 and 1746. See his biographical entry in Adrien Launay, *Mémorial de la Société des Missions-Étrangères*, 2 vols. (Paris: Séminaire des Missions-Étrangères, 1912-1916), II:625.

pass through here on their way to the Jinchuan barbarians. The blacksmiths of this city have nearly all been occupied at forging cannon for three months. How many soldiers are departing from this province to go to war I cannot say. The war continues and is very cruel. Many soldiers, many people, many officers have perished. How will it end, and when, and with what consequences, I will inform you later.

April 28 (4 yue 2) Around noon, to the great surprise of us all, Maria, the one-year old daughter of Joseph Van, fell into the well, and her mother immediately jumped in in order to rescue her. This created not a little confusion. The women of the neighboring Tan family flocked around to watch. Ignatius, firstborn son of Joseph, took part. Both mother and daughter were rescued safe and sound from the well. The father was at the time absent from the house.

On the same day Yue Zhongqi [岳鐘琪], once ennobled by the Kangxi Emperor with the title of gong [公], who once rescued a domestic servant of the Franciscan Father Bonaventura from a beating, then was dismissed from all grades of nobility by the Yongzheng Emperor, and now finally given the title of zongbing [總兵 commander-in-chief] by the Qianlong Emperor, has entered the city and will shortly leave for the war against the barbarians with the hope of victory: for this purpose troops from various provinces depart for battle, with the character for victory [sheng 勝] sewn on their uniforms.⁹ In the eighth month a general battle will begin. Perhaps with Great and Good God demanding vengeance and punishment for the sins of the Chinese, especially for the persecution undertaken in 1746, a single barbarian will put to flight a thousand Chinese, and two will put to flight ten thousand, because their leaders united together against the Lord, against His Christ, against His ministers, and also against the faithful of Jesus Christ.¹⁰

May 2 (4 yue 6) I wrote a letter to the Christians of the city of Chungking asking

⁹ It was the Yongzheng Emperor who gave Yue Zhongqi (1686-1754) the title of gong (duke) in 1724, and Yue's later disgrace was not related to his rescue of Bonaventura's servant. In 1733 Yue was sentenced to immediate decapitation because of his failures in a war against the Junghar Mongols. His sentence was commuted to imprisonment awaiting execution, and he was released by the Qianlong Emperor in 1737. In 1749 Yue, then provincial commander-in-chief, persuaded the Jinchuan leader known as Solobun (沙羅奔, actually a title, not a proper name) to surrender. See Yue's biography in ECCP, II:957-959. The Franciscan missionary mentioned here is Bonaventura or Gianbonaventura di Roma, who was in China from 1692 to 1721. Ly provides the character for sheng in his manuscript, Archives des Missions Étrangères [hereafter AME] 500.80.

¹⁰ The reference is to the persecution of 1746 in Fujian, in which the Spanish bishop Pedro Sanz, O.P., and four other Spanish Dominicans were executed.

whether they have news of Father Kou [Gu Yaowen 谷耀文] or Jovita Tching.¹¹

On the same day Yue Zhongqi, with the rank of *zongbing*, left this city for the battlefield, leading two hundred Manchu soldiers, his personal attendants. On the 16th of this lunar month (May 12) he will arrive to bring war against the enemy.

May 10 (4 *yue* 14) We sold mulberry leaves from the trees in our gardens, both in our new house and our old house, for almost 300 cash, which will be used in repairing the old house. It has been dry for almost two months. [. . .] Everywhere it is rumored that a war has broken out between the Europeans and the Cantonese, and therefore the officials of that province have added guards to the maritime coastline: which seems false to me, but perhaps they have heard of fighting between European princes, and for that reason are on their guard, lest the Europeans make trouble in the province, which seems unlikely to me.¹² [. . .]

May 12 (4 *yue* 16) Joannis Baptista Ly and his wife Clara Tching came from our house on Kou-leou-kiay to visit me and Van Ta-ghiang.¹³ I told them:

- 1) in the future both should serve God with one mind;
- 2) that they should love one another and bear with patience each other's burdens;
- 3) that they should definitely abstain from gossiping, whispering, and boasting with gentile neighbors. As the Apostle James says: "Let every person be quick to hear the word of God, slow to speak, slow to anger. For the anger of man does not work the righteousness of God."¹⁴
- 4) that they be watchful over the house of our mission and the things in it lest they be ruined as has happened before.

¹¹ Jovita Tching was a church courier who traveled between Sichuan and Macao. Joannes-Baptista Kou (Gu Yaowen, 1701-1763) was a Chinese priest who had studied in Naples. Initially assigned to Sichuan, he returned to his native Peking after the persecution of 1746. His career in Sichuan is discussed in Robert E. Entenmann, "Catholics and Society in Eighteenth-Century Sichuan," in Daniel H. Bays, ed., *Christianity in China, from the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 8-23.

¹² Ly is correct, of course, in discounting rumors of war between Chinese and Europeans in Canton. The "fighting between European princes" probably refers to the War of the Austrian Succession, which pitted Britain and Austria against France and Prussia, and concluded with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748.

¹³ Joannis Baptista Ly and Clara Tching, a widow, were married on April 30, 1748. Ly, *Journal*, p. 61.

¹⁴ James 1.19-20. Ly does not quote exactly: the Vulgate does not have "Dei verbum" (the word of God) and has "viri" instead of "homini" (of man).

If they earnestly observe all of this, they will obtain the manifold grace and blessings of God.

The same day the governor-general [Zhang Guangsi 張廣] returned from the battlefield and entered the city to defend it against the barbarians, many of whom are coming to take this city.¹⁵ On this side, if I am not mistaken, many more than the accustomed number of guards are stationed within the walls and each night are sent outside the walls, to check whether they by any chance might encounter the enemy. They say that the barbarians themselves are established in very strongly fortified towns, four leagues square in circumference, and built on top of high mountains. Except for one or two entrances, they are otherwise impenetrable because of cliffs or guards. The weapons that have been destroyed by the Chinese troops are repaired; they boast that they abound in skilled armed troops and cannon cast from copper; nor do they lack iron cannon. All this seems to me ridiculous. In the meantime other barbarians in the southern part of the province, not far from Zhandui [瞻對], have taken arms against the Chinese and pour out their soldiers, and have built blockhouses against the army of the Muslim general Ma zongye [總爺], renowned for boldness in warfare.¹⁶ I will inform you of future events.

May 25 (4 yue 29) Joseph Van, second brother of Ignatius, and Anselmus Ouang, with his seventh uncle, along with several kinsmen, set off by foot today to Jinchuan to carry out trade. A year ago, if I am not mistaken, several Christians marched there in a troop of soldiers - Antonius Ouang and Paulus Tcheou from Chungking were definitely among them, and from this city Julianus the brother of Franciscus Ouang. That Franciscus Ouang, just like Baptista Heou, also enlisted in the army, is still staying in the city. All these youths conduct themselves with no care for their well-being, but hasten to cast themselves with blind impetuosity into eternal damnation by following their passions; nor yet has anyone been strong enough to withstand them, especially in this time of persecution. Would that they ever improve themselves, internally motivated and illuminated by the grace of God!

May 31 (5 yue 5) This day is annually observed by the gentiles as Duanwu [端午] and it is customary to have a race of dragon boats known as longchuan [龍船] and a feast, but this year it passed quietly and without celebration [because of the mourning for the empress-dowager]. The widowed wives of soldiers fallen in the war, who had not received the stipend owed them, all came in mourning to the prefectural offices, complaining loudly with reproaches and insults of the injustices they had borne: the officials consoled them, that they not arouse tumult and sedition in the city.

¹⁵See the biography of Zhang Guangsi (d. 1749) in ECCP, I: 43-45.

¹⁶ Zongye is a courtesy title for a military commander. Ma Liangzhu 馬良柱 was a Muslim from Gansu. See his biography in Qingshi 清史 8 vols., (Taipei: Guofang yanjiuyuan 國防研究院, 1972), 6.4202-3 (zhuan 320).

June 16 (5 yue 21) In the middle of the night I woke up to celebrate mass before dawn, to offer Holy Communion to the dying man.¹⁷ Having administered it, I gave Jacobus full indulgence according to apostolic authority given me, and returned at dawn to the house of Joannis [Lieou Ou-ye]. On the same day, the first minister and uncle of the Qianlong Emperor, surnamed Na [Naqin 訥親], arrived in Chengdu, and will soon leave for the front.¹⁸ [. . .]

July 7 (6 yue 12) Petrus Pe a few days ago was sent back to Chengdu by me, in order to bring Benedictus Tseng's horse to me, so I could return; for indeed on account of the debility of my feet I could not perform my duties of the mission without an animal to ride, according to the rules of the mission, which in such a case permit missionaries to ride horses, asses, or water buffalo, on account of necessity but not for convenience, worldly pomp, or vanity.

I learned from Petrus that a rumor is circulating among the people that a certain European will come here at the order of the emperor to teach the Chinese how to make a cannon, called a xigua pao [西瓜炮], with which the Chinese could overcome their barbarian enemies.¹⁹ Whether this rumor is true, time will tell.

July 11 (6 yue 16) I returned from the village of Ly-kia-keou to the city of Chengdu, but could not enter the city that night; because of the absence of the commander of the soldiers this gate is closed immediately at dusk, nor is it opened until the next morning. On account of the poverty of the family I visited this time, I consumed 1 tael 5 mas of silver on my journey.

For a year I often went on mission business using Benedictus Tseng's horse, both because of the debility of my foot and because of the expenses of buying and feeding a horse. In past years a journey of seven or eight leagues in one day would wear out my feet, but now I am growing old and I can barely go two or three leagues in one day

¹⁷ Ly had traveled to the village of Wumacun in the nearby district of Xindu to administer sacraments to Jacobus Lieou Tsou-ly, who was dying of consumption. Ly, *Journal*, pp. 68-69.

¹⁸ Nacin, a Manchu of the Bordered Yellow Banner, was executed in 1749 for cowardly conduct, abusing the emperor's trust, and making false reports. See ECCP, I:44-45, and his biography in *Qingshi liezhuan* 清史列傳 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1928), 22.11b.

¹⁹ "Xigua pao," literally "watermelon cannon," refers to the size and shape of the cannonballs, which resembled round Chinese watermelons. The manuscript (AME 500.96) does not provide the characters, and I am grateful to Joanna Waley-Cohen for helping me make sense of this term. The rumor that missionaries were coming to forge cannon was untrue, but not implausible. Jesuits at court had introduced European military technology, of course, and a foundry for casting cannon had been established in Peking under the direction of Ferdinand Verbiest in 1673. Cannon forged under the direction of the Portuguese missionary Felix da Rocha (1713-1781) contributed to the final defeat of the Jinchuan in 1776.

without my feet being injured and swollen for many months. Of course I know that the rules of the mission prohibit all missionaries from traveling by horse, mule, or sedan chair in mission business, except in case of necessity. When hindered by infirmity one cannot succor the Christians without help from a beast of burden. Would that last year and now I could cleave to the example of my Lord Jesus Christ and the footsteps of my prelates and be able to walk on foot! In that way I would not have burdened the Christians, who for the most part are poor, and I would have collected more abundant fruits for the mission, just as I have at other times. But nobody is held to the impossible.

July 19 (6 yue 24) Another *zongbing* or commander of troops, sent from Peking, has arrived here in order to wage war against the Jinchuan. Meanwhile small boats have been seized in order to carry coal, and blacksmiths have been compelled to cast new cannon. The people are weighed down by many public burdens, whether tribute, taxes, or labor. But horses and mules belonging to farmers and merchants are kept succored to carry rice, wheat, and hou-teou [*hudou* 胡豆, lima beans] as food, first for the soldiers and then for pack animals in war. Rice and wood and everything else that is of value must come from here. Yue Zhongqi, brought back from commoner status with the title of *gongye* [公爺],²⁰ and who has now been declared commander-general or *tidu* [提督] of this province, remains in the field of battle.

July 27 (7 yue 3) Merchants coming from Jinchuan report that the *zongbing* [Yue Zhongqi] and over a hundred soldiers have been killed by the barbarians.²¹

August 2 (7 yue 9) I have been told that the war between the Chinese and the Jinchuan barbarians has gone on most cruelly. After many battles fought in vain, with neither side willing to withdraw, Yue Zhongqi, the commander-in-chief or *tidu* of this province, pretended to summon the king of the barbarians for the purpose of making peace with them. The king of the barbarians, not ignorant of the plot against him, responded to the commander-in-chief with these words:

"If many of your army have perished in the battlefield, not a few of mine have been killed and lie in their graves. If I surrender to you, I shall certainly not escape death; if I do not surrender, I will certainly die. It is better to die among my own people than to perish in your hands. Not peace, but sword and battle, until victory."

Irritated by this stubborn response, Yue Zhongqi went to the imperial minister Na [Nacin] and said to him:

"I am over sixty years old, and for that reason if I do not carry back a report of victory in this war, I will be accused of *lèse majesté*, for which I will have to die. If I rush in against enemy troops, I expect to die. It is better to be slaughtered by the

²⁰ Launay mistranscribes *gongye* as "Hong-ye." AME 500.100.

²¹ This rumor was incorrect, at least in regard to Yue Zhongqi.

enemy for the glory of faithfulness to the Emperor than to die ignominiously and cowardly and pusillanimously by an executioner's sword."

The president of the Board [of War] Na [Nacin] did not agree to this advice at all, and persuaded him to proceed slowly and not to despair of future victory. But after a few days two officers and five hundred soldiers were killed by the barbarians, and the news was brought back by merchants. The prefect of this city summoned new soldiers to fill the ranks of those killed.

Today I have finished a little work, which I have undertaken these days, which is a short account of the persecution in Fujian in 1746, and renewed in 1747, and the martyrdom of the venerable martyr Petrus [Pedro Sanz], excerpted from various letters and accounts, arranged in chronological order and written in Chinese to be read publicly for the edification [of Chinese Christians].

August 14 (7 yue 21) Joseph Van, second son of the late Andreas Van, has returned safely to our house from Jinchuan, and he reports that each day in the war area a hundred Chinese -soldiers, merchants, and porters - are killed by the barbarians, and it seems impossible that victory will be won by the Chinese.

August 28 (run 7 yue 4) Raphael Ouang, a catechumen recently returned from the war, after having gone there two months ago to engage in commerce, told me that in no previous war had four zongbing²² been killed, executed according to the laws of the land at the order of Chinese courts rather than killed by the plots and snares of the barbarians. Several thousand soldiers and merchants have perished, nor is there any hope of Chinese victory, rather only certain death.

September 10 (run 7 yue 18) Jacobus Ouang left Chengdu for Macao today with my letters and diary. Today, according to a rumor circulating, Yue Zhongqi, appointed to the title of zongbing in battle, published an order in the entire province in order to enlist new soldiers, promising falsely an imminent victory and urging all who are honorable and fit for military service to enlist, with hope of the great glory that they soon will win. At the same time he mistakenly relies on soothsayers and practitioners of magical arts for victory, and he orders those skilled in such arts brought to him. Thus he demonstrates to those sent from the court that he is able to do nothing, and is reduced to extreme distress. With weapons unable to win victory, he resorts to superstition. Meanwhile, ten days ago, if I am not mistaken, two good-for-nothing fellows, one a Huguang man and the other a native of this city of Chengdu, produced I don't know what arts before the emperor, so that both were sent to the war as if they were ambassadors or emissaries, for they promised the emperor that they would regain victory over the barbarians.

September 23 (8 yue 1) [. . .] On the same day two military commanders sent to the

²²See entry for April 28 (4 yue 2) above.

war by the emperor came into the city. All thieves captured by the officials are destined for the war to serve as soldiers under the command of Yue Zhongqi. Yesterday three hundred soldiers were lost in battle. [. . .]

September 26 (8 yue 4) [. . .] In the war there are some Christians among the soldiers of that same province [Shaanxi] with a Christian officer.

November 3 (9 yue 13) At about 11:00 at night, while all were asleep, not a small earthquake struck; thanks be to God, nothing bad happened to the people living in this house.

A few days earlier an edict of governor Pan [Bandi] was published in the city of Chengdu, and sent out to the towns and markettowns of this region, directing all village chiefs and constables to search out and hunt down and denounce sectarians. Christians are not specifically mentioned in this edict.

I saw a letter from the king of the Jinchuan to the Qianlong Emperor, in which he reproached the emperor for cupidity and unfair means of achieving his ends and seeking to vindicate himself.

In the entire time I was among those Christians [of Pengshan district near Chengdu] I baptized eight children, confessed fifteen people, of whom four were admitted to communion. Besides those others persevering in private apostasy, others surrendered to superstition; others, especially the young, would rather make jests with the world than expiate their sins through the sacraments and choose to be reconciled to God. The tepidity and negligence of those young people is so execrable and deplorable, not to mention fatal, that I cannot alleviate it, since I am alone, lacking a catechist or prudent assistance. With all my heart I wish for and beseech God's mercy for them and me.

November 17 (9 yue 27) I said farewell to the Christians of Pengshan, who had been my hosts until now, and embarked upon a boat for Jiading; had it been possible I would have departed earlier, but the boats had been seized by the prefect to carry rice to Ya Zhou for provisions for the soldiers, and this made me postpone my journey.

November 18 (9 yue 28) I arrived at the city of Jiading, where I learned that Xaverius Ouang had set off from the district of Qianwei for Chengdu with two brothers of his wife, named Sun, one to be enlisted in the governor-general's army, and not to lead me to Tshao-yang-pa to the said Sun family. Hiring a boat, I departed on 20 November (9 yue 30) for Xu Zhou.

1749

January 24 (12 yue 6) Father Stephanus Xu [徐] came from He Zhou to see me,

accompanied by Jovita Tching and Benedictus Ouang, his servant.²³ I learned from him that Yue Zhongqi, advancing in the war against the Jinchuan, has been given the title of tidu of the entire province of Sichuan.

February 4 (12 yue 17) Petrus Kouo came here from Anyue seeking a priest. From him we learned the following:

1. Besides the Christians detained at the market town of Thien-lin-tchang [unidentified], whence Father [Domenico] La Magna returned to Macao in February 1747, eleven, if I am not mistaken, were beaten at the orders of the official of that region in order to compel them to apostatize; others in the area escaped persecution through bribes;

2. Many have fallen into great tepidity;

3. Some, because of long-term disputes over land, are not at peace with each other;

4. Many thousand Tartars, as they are called, have arrived in Chengdu, sent by the emperor to go to war against the Jinchuan;

5. Armies are being formed in every province of China to go to war against the barbarians in the third month. It is also rumored that three or four thousand Tartars from the province of Huguang have been sent to this province to help in the war. Thus they have ordered that boats in the river be seized to move infantry, horses, and mules.

March 7 (1 yue 19) Jovita Tching, returning from Chungking, turned over to me 4 taels 5 mas of 94% purity, for part of the price of the sou-mou [sumu 蘇木, logwood]. He saw 700 soldiers from Huguang arrive and pass through Chungking on their way to Chengdu on foot.

May 2 (3 yue 16) After noon, thanks to God, I arrived, though ill, with Jovita Tching, Petrus Pe, and Baptista Liu in Xu Zhou. In order to let Cletus, the catechist from Linjiang [Jiangxi], know immediately of my return, they carried me in a sedan chair. That night I had a fever. On the next day they washed my foot and applied some medicine. It had swollen much more than before. They made four holes around the joint of my big toe, and pus and blood and water flowed unceasingly. May God comfort me.

Thus I have learned about our declared enemies, who four years ago incited a persecution against the Christian religion, and who were the authors of the martyrdom of the glorious martyrs, confessors, and virgins of Christ: the governor of Fujian, surnamed Zhou [Xuejian 周學健], stripped of all possessions, killed himself in

²³ Stephanus Xu (1694-?), a native of Sichuan, was trained by the Lazarist missionary Johannes Mullener and ordained in 1725. He served in Sichuan until 1739 and again from 1748 to 1756. See his biographical entry in F. M. J. Gourdon, *Catalogus cleri indigenae in provincia Szechouan 1702-1858* (Chungking: Typis Missionis Catholicae, 1919), pp. 2-3.

one of the three ways the emperor had commanded by hanging himself.²⁴ The governor-general of Shaanxi and Sichuan, surnamed Zhang [Zhang Guangsi], all his possessions seized for the emperor's privy purse, was taken to the palace. When the emperor accused him of not conducting himself prudently in the Jinchuan war, Zhang answered the emperor in these words: "I always acted prudently in accordance with necessity, but each time everything had to be done according to the command and pleasure of Duke Na [Nacin], according to Your Majesty's order, and if anyone is guilty it is not me but only Duke Na."

Then the emperor ordered Zhang beheaded at the hands of his own attendants, and Duke Na beheaded in the presence of the army in Jinchuan. The war between the Chinese and the Jinchuan barbarians has gone on for two years but has finally been brought to an end, through I don't know under what circumstances. It is said that the barbarians submitted to the Chinese because of a shortage of provisions that they were unable to supply. On that account troops from various provinces are gathered there, and afterwards will all be sent back to their homes.

June 16 [no Chinese date given]. I finally arrived in Chengdu [after a pastoral visit to Jiading] and came to our house, and learned the following:

1. that the widow Anna Hoang, who was living in our house and who last year was delirious for some months, passed away on January 22 (12 yue 4) of this year;
2. that the war has ended through a fraud perpetrated by the emperor, who had falsely invited the barbarians for talks;
3. that the lieutenant Paulus Yang Khay [a Christian], sent from the province of Shanxi, has arrived here, also some Manchu and Shanxi Christian soldiers;
4. that were it not for Yang's presence, [Laurentius] Su Veng-hoan would have been on the verge of selling the church's land at Xiasixiang, but he was dissuaded by Stephanus Chy, who gave various reasons why the land should not be sold and prevented its sale;
5. that Su Veng-hoan received through the above-mentioned Manchus a letter from Father Paulus Su, now at Peking and in charge of all of Father Pedrini's things, ordering Veng-hoan to sell the church land at Xiasixiang and send the money to Peking;²⁵
6. that Veng-hoan accepted this order from Paulus Su, seeing that the land was

²⁴ The three means of avoiding execution by suicide were a rope, poison, or a dagger. For biographical information on Zhou Xuejian, the governor of Fujian responsible for the execution of Bishop Sanz in 1746, see *Qingshi liezhuan*, 23.28b.

²⁵ Paulus Su Hongxiao 蘇宏孝 (1691-c.1770), a native of Guangdong whose family had settled in Sichuan, was trained in Naples and served in Sichuan from the 1720s to 1746. Laurentius Su Veng-hoan was his adopted son. See the entry on Paulus Su in J. Van den Brandt, *Les Lazaristes en Chine, 1697-1935: Notes biographiques* (Peiping: Imprimerie des Lazaristes, 1936), p. 3.

under the care of Franciscus Lieou, an old catechist of the church, who has himself gone to Peking;

7. that the father-in-law of Beng-hoan, weakened by old age and senile, had Beng-hoan's widow married to a gentile;

8. that Michael Ouang joined in marriage to the youngest daughter of Ambrosius Lieou;

9. that three men and three women of the Christians of Mingshan came here last year to meet me, but did not see me because I was absent; also three Christians from Guangyuan who had heard that I was at the mountain of Shuangmengzi; they have returned home;

10. that two gentiles, father and son of the Hiu family, have died, neighbors of our house on Fang-tching-kiay [Fangzhengjie 方正街]; also the wife of the family Tang, neighbor of our house on Gouloujie;

11. that many of this city have died and many continue to die daily because of the pestilence going about.

June 24 (5 yue 10) [. . .] These days I have learned some things I was unaware of in the past:

1. The leader of the persecution [of Catholics] of 1746 throughout the empire, the first minister of the emperor, named Na [Nacin], was, on account of the hatred and envy of the nobles and army, executed at imperial order on the battlefield of the Jinchuan campaign on a mountain called Deer Mountain, in the army camp. With three blows of the sword his head was severed and exposed to view.

2. In the war 100,000 soldiers were summoned from the provinces.

3. Of all the soldiers who died in the war, the 7300 who were killed by pestilence and cold are not counted, nor the number of officers, probably one hundred. The number of merchants, porters, civilians, and boatmen who perished cannot be determined.

4. Peace between the Chinese and the barbarians was achieved by an imperial prince, the fifth brother of the Qianlong emperor, surnamed Fu [Fuheng 傅恆], sent with full powers after Duke Na.²⁶

5. Lucius Ma, who previously lived in Luoranggou [洛漢溝], and last year returned to Longmentan [龍門灘] in Jiangjin district with his family, was returning home from business in Hezhou when he fell into the river from the boat carrying him and drowned, after Easter of this year.

6. Almost everyone returning from the war, whether soldier or merchant, brought back pestilence and spread it to his family, and both in city and countryside many have died. God has specially protected us, for no Christian soldier or merchant in the various parts of this province has brought home this illness.

7. A European missionary returning to Macao from Peking was captured in

²⁶ Fuheng (d. 1770), actually a brother-in-law of the emperor, was a member of the Bordered Yellow Banner. See his biography in ECCP, I:252-253.

Jiangxi by the authorities and detained in the city of Nanchang until October of last year.

8. For the present the province lacks a governor, whose role is taken by the governor-general *zongdu* [總督], so in the future this province will not depend on anyone other than that governor-general.

Our governor-general, surnamed Ce [Celeng 策稜], is said to be the elder brother of the executed Duke Na.²⁷ The commander of the army of this province is Yue Zhongqi, returned from the war: he is the one who twenty years ago protected the Franciscan Father Bonaventura from a beating.

When the last governor of this province, Ky [Jishan], issued twenty-eight orders against sectarians of various perverse religions, and the authorities transmitted them to all, the district of Huayang presented the following declaration:

"I, Ghan [An], the magistrate of Huayang,²⁸ in the jurisdiction of the prefecture of Chengdu, in obedience to the imperial edict, present this statement and attest and promise humbly to instruct and lead all men under my jurisdiction toward good, in accordance with the issued edicts: in regard to those sectarians of perverse religions, if I discover the odor of cremations or other perverse assemblies, I will examine the facts and I promise to capture them instantly, interrogate them, and denounce them to my superiors. This I declare in accordance with the edict of this 10th day of the 9th month of the 13th year of the Qianlong reign (30 November 1748).

Translated from Chinese into Latin this 25th day of June, 1749, by Andreas Ly, Chinese priest and apostolic clerk.

²⁷ Like his brother Nacin, Celeng was later disgraced in a border war. Arrested in 1756 because he failed to capture the Junghar leader Amursana, he was killed in a Junghar attack while under escort back to Peking in the following year. See ECCP, I:220.

²⁸ An Hongde 安洪德, a native of Shandong, was magistrate of Huayang district from 1746 to 1750. Huayang had its seat in the provincial capital of Chengdu. *Sichuan tongzhi* 四川通志 (1816), 104.1b, 5b.