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Haydn played in China by the Chinese!
Why shouldn't they? We were all deeply moved.

Joseph Alexander, Graf von Hübner, after hearing a Haydn symphony played by Chinese students at Zikawei, Shanghai, October 1871

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Preface

When do books begin to be written? The day on which I began this book was a sunny afternoon in the Spring of 2010, when I visited the French Jesuit Archives at Vanves for the first time. The elderly archivist knew of my interest in the person of François Ravary (1823–91), who I had been tracking down for several years prior to this with the help of my RAs (research assistants) at The Pipe Organ in China Project in the Department of Music of Hong Kong Baptist University. Father Ravary, I had come to know, was the mastermind behind the "Bamboo Organ of Tungkadoo" (董家渡 Dongjiadu), built by the Jesuits in 1856–57 and a landmark of Shanghai's musical and religious culture until its destruction by Red Guards in August 1966 during the Cultural Revolution. (I seem to recall that Ravary's name was first brought to my attention in its Chinese form, 藍廷玉 (Lan Tingyu), by my RA, Florence Cheng, to whom I will be eternally grateful).

"*Vous n'y trouverez pas grand-chose*" (You won't find much in this), said the archivist as he flung a thin Manila paper folder ("*Dossier personnel: Ravary, F.*") onto the table at which I was sitting, and walked out of the room. Twenty minutes later in a flush of excitement I rose and went across the corridor to his office. "It's all here, Father. The whole story. This is what I have been looking for, for over two decades." He smiled weakly and went back to his reading.

Indeed, these letters of Father Ravary told all, or almost all, of the history of the famous bamboo organ in the Cathedral Church of St. Francis Xavier at Dongjiadu in Shanghai. They also related a completely unknown history of organs in other Shanghai churches, and of a rich musical culture that had never, to my knowledge, been discussed since the nineteenth century. It was an overwhelming moment, one of those epiphanies to which a researcher is perhaps entitled when dedicating half of his or her life to a major undertaking, such as The Pipe Organ in China Project which I established in 1989. In 2010 I could only deal with parts of the eight long letters which Ravary wrote to his friend and colleague in France, Hippolyte Basuiau (1824–86) between 1856 and 1861. These parts, naturally, had to do with the bamboo organ workshop.[1] The richness of detail given by Ravary on so many

[1] See my article, "The Bamboo Organs of Nineteenth-Century Shanghai," *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 11/1 (2014): 113–134; and *Keys to the Kingdom: A*

other musical, artistic, religious, political, military, cultural, educational, and social topics made me regret at the same time that I had to leave out almost everything extraneous to my narrow subject. I was determined then and there that someday I would find an opportunity to transcribe, translate, and publish them in full. But who, I then asked myself, in the twenty-first century wants to read the letters of a Roman Catholic missionary? Unsure what to do, here the matter rested while I wrote my book on the pipe organ in China.

Then a second, almost equally dramatic moment occurred four years later in Hong Kong, at the 2014 China in Print antiquarian book fair. A French bookdealer offered for sale a copy of a photographic album, entitled *Album chinois*, with a price of over 8,000 USD. Gingerly leafing through it (since it was way out of my budget to purchase) I realized that among these albumin silver print photographs were images of many of the persons mentioned in Ravary's letters. Most of the photographs were taken in Shanghai in 1857–59 and were thus exactly contemporaneous with his letters to Father Basuiau.

One picture caught my immediate attention. It is captioned simply *Musiciens*; but I saw at once that this was in fact the brass band (*fanfare*) of the College of St. Ignatius at Zikawei, formed by Ravary in 1858 with instruments cadged from his old school in Belgium, the College of Brugelette. This historic ensemble was the first brass band formed in China. The photograph together with the letters soundly trumps the claim routinely made that the first such local ensemble in China was only created in 1885 by Sir Robert Hart (1835–1911) and trumps it by nearly three decades.[2] Ravary, to my great relief, can be seen in the center of the studio photograph of the band (see cover and Fig. 4-2). Basuiau, who came to Shanghai in 1865, in like manner formed the first publicly-performing orchestra in China, the *Société de Sainte Cécile*, another "first" which predates by at least a decade the Shanghai Municipal Band founded in 1879 (and so prior even to Hart's band), and which eventually became the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra.[3] I

History of the Pipe Organ in China (Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Institute, 2017). The website of the Project is: www.organcn.org.

[2] See for example: Liu Ching-chih, *A Critical History of New Music in China*, trans. Caroline Mason (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2010), 24–25. Hart was the long-time director of the China Imperial Maritime Customs (IMC).

[3] A chamber orchestra had been formed by Jesuits in the 1740s at the imperial palace in Beijing under the Qianlong emperor, but this was hardly a public institution.

subsequently discovered that the example of the *Album chinois* put up for sale in 2014 was one of only three known surviving copies. The two others are at the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles, and the *Bibliothèque nationale* in Paris. The "Hong Kong" copy turned up again at China in Print in 2015 and 2016, the price doubling each time.

Ravary's letters and activities have the potential to rewrite a certain amount of the history of the integration of Western music and fine arts in China in the mid-nineteenth century, as well as providing a new record of experiments with East-West art and knowledge transfers. Beyond that, they pose alternatives to conventional wisdom and assumptions. Today they refract the ways in which European (largely, though not entirely, French and Jesuit) education and educational methods were introduced to Chinese students after 1842. Some of these, as will be seen, were liberal and creative in ways that were not to be found in schools in Europe at the time. They reveal the whole experience as more, and more nuanced, than merely "a French Church inserted into China."

Of further interest in the letters is observing how open Ravary was to cross- and intercultural exchanges, one of the things in which missionaries as a *collective* are typically criticized for having no interest. The *Album chinois* provides corroborative evidence of some of these things, mentioned and described in the letters. What was left for me was to find the time and the narrative plan to tie them together with enough background to understand the environment and the context in which they were originally written, along with a contemporary, critical narrative to evaluate and explain why I think they are or can be important and informative to us today.

This study cites many documents contemporary with Ravary, and many of these were written by people who knew him. In this type of source study, this is more important as a path to understanding how he saw his position and arrived at his actions than any amount of diachronic history-in-hindsight. Some of these texts are often referred to today, but rarely if ever quoted. Readers will also note the almost-entire reliance on Western-language sources, and this is not by choice. Nothing contemporary with Ravary has so far surfaced to tell any part of this specific story from the Chinese side. Chinese writings of today that mention François Ravary depend on the same European sources I have used, often in quite faulty translations. The lives of the Chinese people touched by Ravary (for good) do not seem to have been written down or published in accounts of their experiences. Should anything of this kind come to light someday, we would be better informed by the inclusion of another perspective. We would be better informed as to how far the cultural transfer and diffusion of art and aesthetics is a potential meeting point between societies, one that has the

potential to be reciprocal and integrative, and not just an anthropologically-driven act of power. And those whose experiences were not so nice—for example, perhaps that of Ma Xiangbo (馬相伯, 1840–1939)—never to my knowledge mentioned Ravary specifically. Ravary was and continues to be lumped together collectively with the rest of the French Roman Catholic mission, where personalities are for the most part unimportant, and the arts nothing more than a form of culturally-learned human behavior.

And that in sum is what this book essays to do.

Manila, Philippines, Spring 2021

A Note on Sources and Texts

Chinese personal and place names have been rendered in *pinyin*, except where the place or the person is no longer identifiable, or where customary transliterations are unavoidable. I have used Zikawei for *Xujiahui*, and Hong Kong for the unrecognizable (and for this history, irrelevant) *Xianggang*. While most people today will be able to recognize that Nanking (or Nan-Kin) is now *Nanjing*, and Soochow (or Sou-Tcheou) is now *Suzhou*, I am less certain with today's Tianjin and the old form, *Tientsin*. In connection with the 1844 Treaty, I have used the original Whampoa for *Huangpu*, to avoid confusion with the same-named river running through Shanghai. With one exception, I have also avoided the clutter of giving the Chinese names assigned to Western persons. These are in the main phonetic approximations with occasional allusions to personality traits and belong properly in an eventual Chinese translation of this book. Where otherwise unremarked, all translations here are my own. English translations of biblical citations are taken from the AV. All dates are assumed to be A.D., unless specified as earlier.

Acknowledgements

Funding for research and writing of the present study of François Ravary, and the translation of his unpublished letters, has been provided by the Instituto Ricci de Macau (Macau Ricci Institute). I must first thank the Father Director of the Institute, Stephan Rothlin, SJ, for his help in securing a Fellowship to underwrite part of the cost of this research, and for his consistent faith in my project over a period of years. I have also been honored by the Institute by being asked for a second time to give the annual Yves Raguin Lecture (in November 2020), which covered in summary form a small part of the work presented here.

A big *Merci* must also go to my colleague at the Macau Ricci Institute, Father Dominique Tyl, SJ, for reviewing my transcriptions and translations of Ravary's letters and other French-language documents. I have learned a great deal from this humbling experience. Part of my translation of Letter 7 appeared in the *Journal of the Macau Ricci Institute*, Issue 6 (September 2020), and appears here by permission.

Other permissions and material assistance have come from several notable institutions. First, I would like to thank the Archives françaises de la Compagnie de Jésus, Archivist Barbara Beaudry, and M. François Dubois, for their considerable help. The original manuscript letters published here are in their collection of records of the French Province of the "New Company" of the Society of Jesus. They have also granted permission to reproduce an image of part of Letter 1, and four portrait images from their copy of A.M. Colombel's *Histoire de la Mission du Kiang-nan*, for which I am most grateful.

Parts of my translations of the letters of François Ravary appeared earlier in my article "The Bamboo Organs of Nineteenth-Century Shanghai." *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 11(1) (2014), 113–134 © Cambridge University Press 2014, published by Cambridge University Press. They are reprinted here with permission.

I further thank the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, California, for assistance in obtaining public domain images from the *Album chinois*, which have not only added to the attractiveness of this book, but most importantly provide conclusive evidence of François Ravary's groundbreaking *fanfare* of 1858.

The Ferdinand Verbiest Institute at KU (The Catholic University of) Leuven, Belgium, kindly gave permission to reproduce some passages which appeared in my book, *Keys to the Kingdom*, published by FVI in 2017. I thank them, and especially the Institute's Director, Pieter Ackermann, for all the help extended to me. KADOC (the Interfaculty Documentation and Research Centre on Religion, Culture and Society at KU Leuven) in like manner was helpful in sending me information from the Flemish Jesuit Archives, and I thank in particular Patricia Quaghebeur for this contribution to the present study.

Prof. Lionel Hong Li-xing, Fu Jen University, Taiwan, gave graciously of his time to help me with a variety of questions, including tracking down citations, back-translations of romanizations of Chinese made in the mid-nineteenth century (especially of the impenetrable Shanghai dialect), and generally helping out while I was stranded for over a year in the Manila COVID-19 Lockdown, far from any research library. I also thank the Fu Jen Faculty of Theology of St. Robert Bellarmine, and the Director of its library, Wu Ling-ling, for her assistance with examining parts of the old Jesuit library collection of Zikawei.

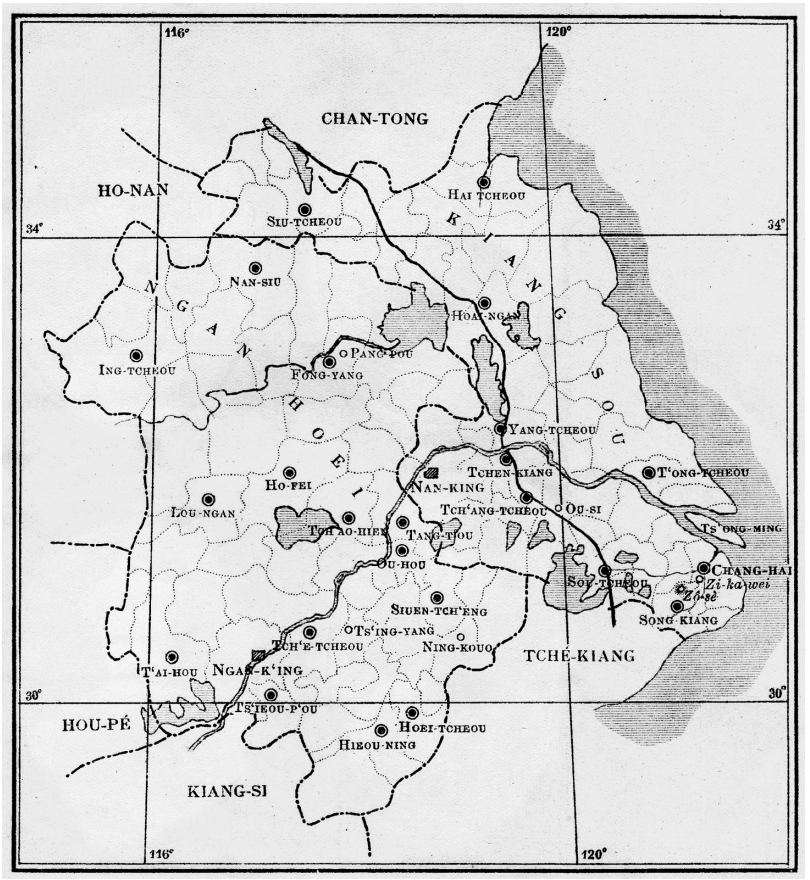
A heartfelt *xiexie* is due to Father Anthony Chen Ruiqi at the Guangqi Research Center, Shanghai, for his hospitality and his advice on many matters. Of the three maps, two were drawn especially for this book by Kate Blackmer, whose interest in the topic was very gratifying to me. And finally, to my old comrade of nearly half a century, Tim Doherty and Rhema Verlag, *ich bedanke mich* for the typography and preparation of the book manuscript for printing, far exceeding anything I could have expected.

Maps

Map 1: Glossary of Place Names

For the most part, the old names conform to the system of the École française d'Extrême-Orient (est. 1900), and the modern names are given in *pinyin*. A few names have changed since 1925, and the older name is given in parenthesis where needed.

Old Name	Modern Name (*pinyin*)
Chang-Hai	Shanghai
Chan-Tong	Shandong (Province)
Fong-Yang	Fengyang
Hai Tcheou	Lianyungang (Haizhou)
Hieou-Ning	Xiuning
Hoai-Ngan	Huaian
Hoei-Tcheou	Huizhou
Ho-Fei	Hefei
Ho-Nan	Henan (Province)
Hou-Pé	Hubei (Province)
Ing-Tcheou	Fuyang
Kiang Sou	Jiangsu (Province)
Kiang-Si	Jiangxi (Province)
Lou-Ngan	Liuan
Nan-King	Nanjing
Nan-Siu	Suzhou (Anhui Province)
Ngan Hoei	Anhui (Province)
Ngan-K'ing	Anqing
Ning-Kuou	Ningguo
Ou-Hou	Wuhu
Ou-Si	Wuxi
Pang-Pou	Bengbu
Siuen-Tch'eng	Xuancheng
Siu-Tcheou	Xuzhou
Song-Kiang	Songjiang
Sou-Tcheou	Suzhou (Jiangsu Province)
T'ai-Hou	Taihu
T'ong-Tcheou	Tongzhou
Tang-T'ou	Dangtu
Tch'ang-Tcheou	Changzhou
Tch'e-Tcheou	Chizhou
Tchao-Hien	Chaohu
Tché-Kiang	Zhejiang (Province)



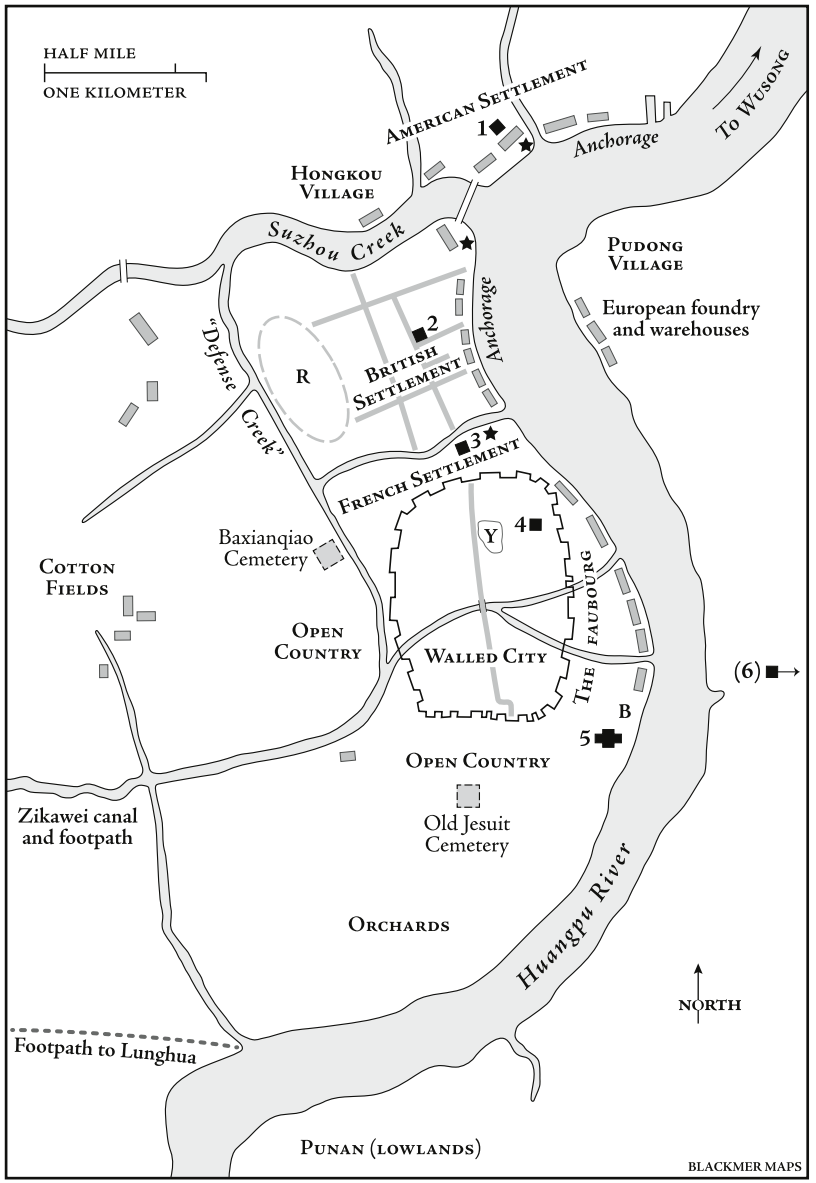
Map 1: The Apostolic Vicariate of Jiangnan, China (from de la Servière, 1925).

Tchen-Kiang	Zhenjiang
Ts'ieou-P'ou	Chizhou (Qiupu)
Ts'ong-Ming	Chongming (Island)
Yang-Tcheou	Yangzhou
Zi-Ka-Wei	Xujiahui (Zikawei)
Zô-Se	Sheshan

SKETCH MAP OF SHANGHAI, CA. 1860

Redrawn from Dennys (1867)

★	Consulate	**1**	Church of Our Savior (1853)
■	Church	**2**	Holy Trinity Church (1847)
□	Warehouse	**3**	St. Joseph's Church (*yangjingbang,* 1861)
B	Bamboo Market	**4**	Old Catholic Church (*lao tianjiaotang,* 1640)
R	Racecourse	**5**	St. Francis Xavier's Church (*dongjiadu,* 1853)
Y	Yu Garden (*yuyuan*)	**(6)**	Sacred Heart Church (1744) and Seminary (*zhangjialuo,* 1850)

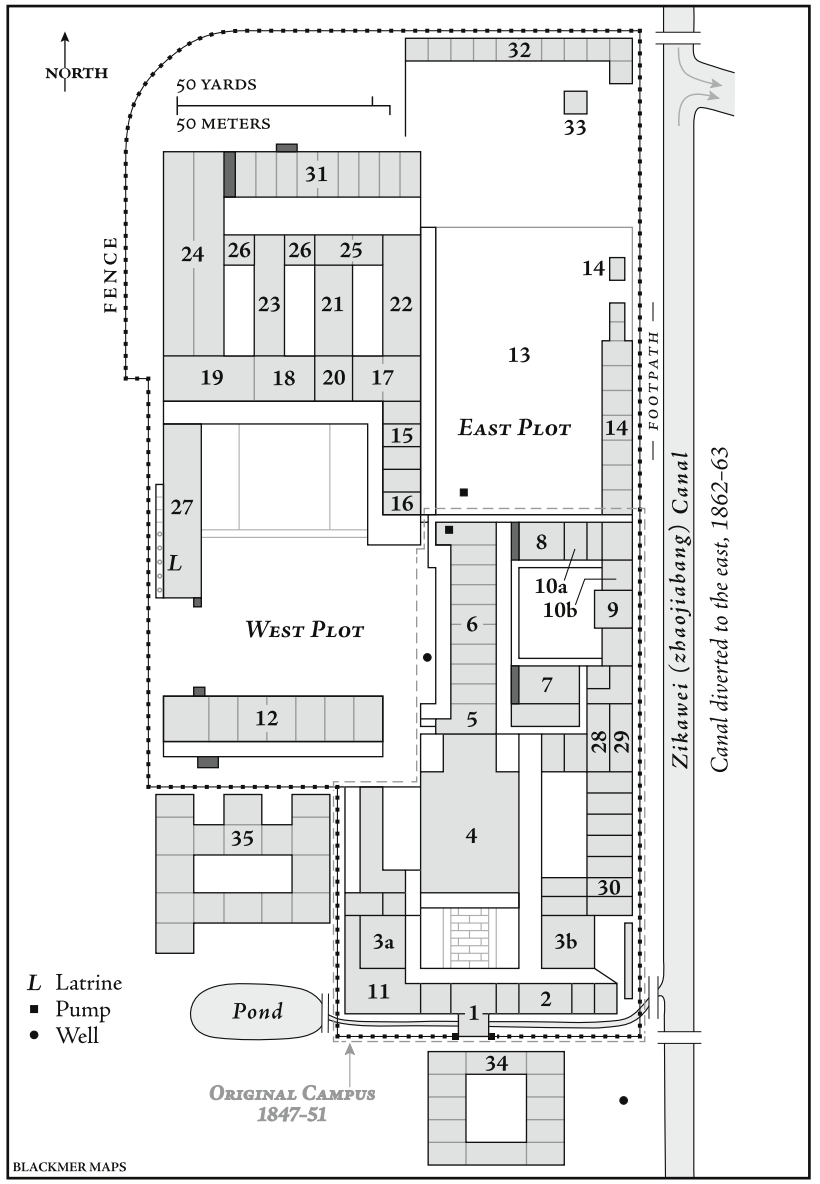


Map 2: Sketch map of Shanghai, ca. 1860.

GROUND PLAN OF ZIKAWEI, CA. 1860

Redrawn from Colombel (1899)

1 Gate
2 Guardroom
3a Women's parlor
3b Men's parlor
4 Church of St. Ignatius (1851)
5 Sacristy
6 The Residence
7 Refectory
8 Common room
9 Clock tower
10a Pharmacy
10b Infirmary (on second floor)
11 Painting studio
12 Priests' workrooms (possibly also bedrooms)
13 Garden
14 Stables
15 Chapel (Shrine) of the College
16 Classroom for Latin
17 First House: St. Francis Xavier
18 Third House: St. Stanislas
19 Second House: St. Aloysius Gonzaga
20 Common room
21 Refectory
22 Senior students' dormitory
23 Primary school dormitory
24 Middle school dormitory
25 Teachers' refectory
26 Teachers' dormitory
27 Covered shed
28 Western-style kitchen
29 Chinese-style kitchen
30 Carpentry workshop
31 Lodging for officers
32 Barracks for soldiers
33 Observation tower
34 Zi clan compound (Christians)
35 Zi clan compound (non-Christians)



Map 3. The College of St. Ignatius, Zikawei, ca. 1860.

Chapter One

François Ravary, SJ, and the France and China of his Time

I.1 Introduction

The concept of the long nineteenth century—that metaphorical phrase of British historiographer Eric Hobsbawm—has been largely accepted as a useful, pertinent concept by a wide range of historians in recent decades. These even include many (including the present author) who do not share belief in either Hobsbawm's Marxist ideology or historicism. It is a metaphor rather than a theory, because it is contrary to logic and fact (among other points, centuries should have one hundred years). But like all metaphors, the falsity of its informational content is the very thing that carries an instructional vector, and this is one reason why it has become so influential a concept.[1]

François Ravary, the central figure of this study, was born and lived out his life in the middle years of the continuum of this long century. As a French citizen of his time, he was indelibly affected by growing up in a thunderous landscape. As a seminarian, he was directly impacted by a volatile culture of local and international political events. And as a missionary, he was caught up in an era of adventure and conflict surrounding the often-violent integration of global space. In the past two decades this process of integration has been called *convergence* (or reconvergence), the ways and means by which discrete human societies have established contacts, "exchanged culture, copied each other's lives, and bec[o]me more like each other."[2] Taking Ravary's life as an example of these processes, which are at heart the basic stuff of all history, it is worth starting with a short

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[1] It encapsulates the topics of Hobsbawm's trilogy which begins with the French Revolution in 1789 and ends in 1914 with the outbreak of the First World War: *The Age of Revolution*, 1962; *The Age of Capital*, 1975; *The Age of Empire*, 1987.

[2] Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Pathfinders: A Global History of Exploration* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2006), 1.

resume of the chaotic political life of the France into which he was born and spent the first three decades of his life, before his permanent move to China in 1856. This will be followed by brief examinations of other planes of social, political, and religious history that are also parts of this story.

I.2 From the Bastille to Napoléon III

It has been argued that 1789 is too *late* a date to establish the starting point of this "long century." Indeed, where would France have been without the example of the American Revolution of ca. 1765–83, the writings of Thomas Paine (not to mention his residence in revolution-wracked Paris), and the crucial involvement of the Marquis de Lafayette in both conflicts? But for France, 1789 was the start of an 80-year period of cyclical upheavals every twenty or so years, teetering between chaotic forms of republican government (at least, in name) and periods of rule by a relatively autocratic, revived monarchy.

The French Revolution, as everyone thinks they know, started with a jailbreak, and the looting of supplies of gunpowder and weapons from the Bastille fortress-prison.[3] In fact it had begun earlier on the morning of 14 July 1789 with the storming of the Hôtel des Invalides and, in a sense, yet four weeks earlier with the formation of the National Assembly. The aftermath of all this was several years of political jockeying between the Assembly, the Third Estate, and the monarchy, the proclamation of the Republic in 1792, the Terror of 1793–94, the murder of most of the royal family, the Committee on Public Safety, and eventually the fall of its principal actors into the grinder of their own culture of violence, in particular the guillotining of Robespierre on the 10th of Thermidor (28 July) in 1794. This paved the way for the Directory of 1795–99, with its bicameral legislature. The entire decade was marked on the one hand by a popular promotion of inherent civil rights to liberty, equality, and fraternity, and on the other by a profound personal and corporate ideological anticlericalism. This included the attempt to eradicate the entire Roman Catholic church structure in France (a move that

[3] It is still popularly thought that the main reason for storming the old prison, which was on its way to be decommissioned anyway, was to free prisoners unjustly incarcerated there under the system of *lettres de cachet*. In fact, all but one of the seven prisoners in the Bastille Saint-Antoine at the time had been sent there through judicial process. These six counted four forgers and two madmen; and then there was a *débauché sadique*, the Comte de Solages, who had been locked up by his own family. See Richard le Gallienne, "The Farce of the Fall of the Bastille," in *From a Paris Scrapbook* (New York: Ives Washburn, 1938), 306.

failed), and a tension between church and state that has not fully evaporated even today, and one that had significant impact on Ravary's life and career choices.

In 1799, with France waging unnecessary wars in many theaters, the Directory was overhauled through the convenient mechanism of a coup d'état, largely instigated by Napoléon Bonaparte in November of that year. The five Directors were replaced by three Consuls, of which the First was naturally France's great military hero of the day. This arrangement lasted for five years, when on 18 May 1804 Napoléon declared himself Emperor, and France returned to a monarchial system, now styled as an empire. European allies fought against his expansionist wars for a decade, finally defeating him with the taking of Paris in 1814 and exiling him to the island of Elba. But he escaped and returned for a brief moment of rejuvenation in February 1815, which led to the Battle of Waterloo in June of that year and his permanent exile to St. Helena, where "Boney", as the British called him, died on 5 May 1821.

Napoléon had an heir, styled Napoléon II (1811–32), but he was in exile in Austria. In 1814, after his defeat and first abdication, the Committee on Government that took over from him had recalled to the throne the brother of Louis XVI, Louis XVIII, known as *Le Désiré* (the desired one). For all the bloodshed of the previous twenty-five years, France found herself again under the rule of the Bourbons in what is known as the First Restoration, although the power of the king had been reduced and France was now a constitutional monarchy (as had been partly the design of the original National Assembly). During Napoléon's brief 1815 return (the "Hundred Days") the King fled Paris but was restored again after Waterloo and returned to rule in July of that year (the Second Restoration). Louis XVIII held the throne for slightly less than a decade, until his death in September 1824. He was the last French monarch to die in office, and was succeeded by his younger brother, the Comte d'Artois, who ruled for six years as the ultra-royalist Charles X. This unpopular king tried to turn France back to the type of monarchy swept away in the years following 1789, and this miscalculation eventually led to his abdication after the 1830 Revolution.

François Ravary was born during the penultimate year of Louis XVIII's reign, and thus grew up in a period of profound instability. He was 7 when Charles X was deposed and the Chamber of Deputies eventually declared his Orleanist cousin, Louis Philippe, as his successor.[4] The "July Monarchy" of

[4] It may come as little surprise to learn that today (2021) France has no fewer than four pretenders to the throne, representing the Jacobite, Legitimist (Bourbon), Orleanist, and Bonapartist lines of succession.

Louis Philippe I is thus the context for Ravary's formative years. He was 9 when the brief and unsuccessful anti-monarchial June 1832 uprising broke out (this is the event that makes for the climax of Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*). Louis Philippe, the "citizen king", could not, however, resolve the larger problems facing a conservative government out of tune with its population, a widening income gap, or the environmental problems facing Europe as a whole as the 1840s wore on. The tipping point, as such, was probably the sensational Praslin murder-suicide of August 1847, which turned even the wealthy *bourgeoisie* against the king. The February Revolution of 1848 finally led to his abdication, his flight to England, and the proclamation of the Second Republic. In the elections of April 1848 several members of the Bonaparte family were elected to the National Assembly, and in the June elections, Louis Napoléon (1808–73), nephew of Napoléon I, was elected. Riots broke out in June, and Louis Napoléon left for London. He returned after the suppression of that uprising, and took part in further elections held in September. The new Constitution of the Republic then called for presidential elections, which were duly held in December 1848: Louis Napoléon received almost three out of every four votes cast, and for four years he held the self-given ambiguous title of Prince-President. He then tried, unsuccessfully, to have the four-year term of office extended by the legislature. As a response to his defeat in this, in December 1851 he staged a coup essentially against himself. After a referendum held in November 1852 (largely assumed to be an extreme case of voter fraud) the Prince-President was declared emperor, the short-lived Second Republic came to an end, and the Second Empire began under Napoléon III.

This was not the end of the era of turmoil, and the American writer John Steinbeck dryly observed that "what has been called in other countries "instability" is in France a kind of stability."[5] But it brings us to a two-decade period of *relative* stability and growth during which Ravary left France for China. With this in mind, it is now feasible to map onto this superficial review the parallel story of what was going on in the Roman Catholic church in France and China during these years, and in particular where the Jesuit order, which Ravary joined in 1845, fits in this puzzle.

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[5] John Steinbeck, *The Short Reign of Pippin IV: A Fabrication* (New York: Viking, 1957), 17. This satirical novella concerns a restoration of the French monarchy in the 1950s by a descendant of Charlemagne.

I.3 The Jesuits and Roman Catholicism in France and China, 1789–1851

For all the ink that has been spilled in the past several decades on the topic of the French protectorate in China—usually casting it as a witting accomplice of "imperialism"—the fact remains that the history of the Roman Catholic church in France in the long nineteenth century is more often one of anti-clericalism and repression than of official support. Indeed, in the history of European culture in the Modern era it is difficult to find any movement more barbaric in its anticlerical actions than the French Revolution.[6] A year after the storming of the Bastille, the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, passed by the National Constituent Assembly on 12 July 1790, completed a series of acts by the new government that essentially gutted the church. Already tithes had been abolished, church property nationalized, and orders and congregations dissolved (except those established for teaching or medical purposes). The 1790 Constitution reorganized the church, made the clergy subservient to the national government, and disassociated the church from the control of Rome. Readers may note how this rather closely describes the position of the Roman Catholic church in China after 1949.

Louis XVI, however, still the nominal head of state in 1790, had refused to sign the legislation. Rome declared it to be unsupportable, and the required oath of allegiance to the French state became the engine for sorting out religious into jurors and non-jurors. Then came the comedy of the Cult of Reason and the Cult of the Supreme Being (anticlerical reactions, to some extent, to the murder of Marat in July 1793), and the unspeakable tragedy of the Terror and the subsequent deaths of thousands upon thousands of priests, nuns, and other church-associated persons at the guillotine. The Convention was repealed by the Assembly in 1795, but Pius VI's continued condemnation of the Revolution was in turn the pretext for Napoléon's invasion of Italy in 1796, the occupation of the Papal States, and the imprisonment of the Pope. Pius VI was eventually taken to France and died a prisoner in Valence in August 1799. It was only with the Concordat of 1801 that fences were mended, somewhat, between France and the Papacy. However, it still concentrated great power in the French state, and among other prerogatives gave Napoléon (a Deist, of all things, although he had an uncle who was

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6 Throughout this book, *Modern* (when capitalized at mid-sentence) refers to the global Modern era beginning in the fifteenth century with the global rise of empire building and exploration; *Modern European* refers to the post-Napoleonic era, beginning ca. 1815. *Global* refers to a level of integration and exchange above and beyond conventional international interrelations.

a cardinal) the right to nominate bishops; but at least it allowed for the re-establishment of some seminaries.

While all of this had been going on, France was on the personal level sharply divided on the question of religion (which here means Roman Catholicism: there were Protestants, Jews, and other groups, but they simply do not turn up on this type of radar). Divisions in a single family over the issue were not uncommon. There is no doubt however, that a large minority (or perhaps even a "silent majority") were in general supporters of the faith, if not always of the Church, and this even if they were not all Legitimists who wanted to see the monarchy return as well. Napoléon Bonaparte, however, was very strongly biased against the Jesuit order in particular: "I shall never permit its re-establishment in France" was his summary statement as First Consul.[7] This had to wait well beyond Napoléon's abdication in 1814, the accession of Louis XVIII, and the official restoration of the Society on 7 August of that eventful year.

Meanwhile in China, Jesuit missionaries who had been left (one really has to say, abandoned) there in 1775 with the promulgation of the papal brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor* of Clement XIV (signed on 21 July 1773, suppressing the Jesuit order) had slowly withered away along with their confrères in other orders and societies.[8] News of the suppression did not even reach China until August 1774, and it was not put into effect there until 15 November 1775. This was because the document in question was not a papal bull, but a *brief*, and it required the assent of local bishops to enact. This also explains in part why the Jesuit order was permitted to continue in some territorial areas of Russia and Poland between 1773 and 1814, reflecting the support for the Society of Jesus offered by the Empress Catherine the Great. The 1773 suppression, coupled with the 1789 Revolution and almost two decades of Napoleonic wars, choked the flow of missionaries into foreign missions for over a quarter of a century, and not just from France. At the same time, the increasingly restrictive and punitive laws enacted against all foreign missionaries in China after the abdication in 1796 of the Qianlong emperor (乾隆, 1711–99) by his son, the Jiaqing emperor (嘉庆, ruled 1796–1820), had worsened the situation for these remnants of the great age

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[7] John W. Padberg, *Colleges in Controversy: The Jesuit Schools in France from Revival to Suppression, 1815–1880* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), 3.

[8] Fernando Mateos, "Suppression and Restoration of the Society of Jesus in China," paper given at the conference *Jesuit Survival and Restoration 1773–1814: 200th Anniversary Perspectives from Boston and Macau*, held at the Macau Ricci Institute, 28–30 October 2014.

of the first China mission of the Modern era, led initially and so memorably by Andrea Valignano (1539–1606) and Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) from the final quarter of the sixteenth century onward. The Vincentians (Lazarists), who had taken over administration of the China Jesuit missions after 1775, were not spared in this situation from attrition and persecution during this period. The very last Jesuit of the Old Society in China, Louis de Poirot, passed away in Beijing on 13 December 1813, only eight months prior to the publication of the papal bull *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum* of Pius VII, restoring the Jesuit order worldwide.

De Poirot's demise marks the terminal point of what is often called the First Death of the Church in China. However, while this may be true symbolically when read from a missiological perspective (something not to be scorned out of hand), at the same time it does not fully take into account the fact that during the nearly seventy years of Jesuit (and to a large extent, Roman Catholic) suspension in China, an indigenous church had survived and grown, along with an indigenous clergy. In an inconsistent way it had managed to keep the basics of the faith and a religious life alive for Chinese congregations under trying circumstances.[9] However, it was here that the conflicts which arose upon the (long-desired) return of the Jesuits to China originated, about which more will be said later.

Back in France, the Jesuits were revived in 1814 as individuals, but were still in an ambiguous position as the New Society (*nouvelle compagnie*) was not authorized as a religious entity by the French government. Louis XVIII was sympathetic to some extent, but as John Padberg put it, they were placed on a see-saw and "without official recognition and without legal corporate existence or rights, the Society also saw no official prohibition."[10] Liberal members of the government, on the other hand, tended to blame the Jesuits for all manner of problems and outrages, and the attacks reached back to a popular memory of demonization that had gripped Europe in the seventeenth century. The Jesuits were a "vile rabble, filthy corruptors of youth, monsters of treachery, hypocrites, criminals …"[11] And yet, the strange atmosphere of semi-official tolerance saw for a while a modest growth of members of the Society in France, as well as the growth of eight minor seminaries. By 1824 there were 108 Jesuit priests, 131 scholastics, and 81 lay brothers in

9 The period has recently been covered in David Mungello, *This Suffering is My Joy: The Underground Church in Eighteenth-Century China* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021).

10 Padberg, *Colleges in Controversy*, 6.

11 Ibid., 8.

the Province of France. The accession of Charles X was not something that favored the Jesuits, and in 1828 he signed two *Ordonnances* that put the Jesuit schools under the control of the *Université*, the monopoly of the government higher education authority. The Jesuits, of course, refused to accept these regulations, and the result was that their schools and minor seminaries were subsequently closed down or transferred to lay control, and the members of the unofficial order dispersed. It was in this context that Ravary grew up, educationally speaking.

During the 1830 revolution Jesuit properties were sacked in a frenzy of continuing anti-Jesuit madness. But by 1831 things calmed down, and although the seminaries had been closed or laicized, Jesuits took up other works, mostly pastoral and catechistical, on an individual basis while the Society figured out what to do. What was done was simply to recommend keeping a low profile, and primary schools and some minor seminaries (though no longer officially Jesuit) continued to operate. Some Jesuits, seeing now no reason to remain in France, began to request to be sent to foreign missions for the first time in decades. It was at this juncture that the Jesuit exile colleges began to be established, of which the most important ones for this study are those at Fribourg in Switzerland (1828), Brugelette in Belgium (1834), and Issenheim (1843, although in Alsace and technically still in French territory). Ravary was a novice at Issenheim (1845–48), and a scholastic at Brugelette (1848–52), and thus had a more liberal education and formation at these schools than he would have had at a seminary.

Increasing political action against the Jesuits in the mid-1840s led to the move of all the scholastics studying in Paris to Brugelette in 1845. The 1848 Revolution, the fall of the July Monarchy, and the subsequent fall of the short-lived Second Republic (1848–51) were at first major blows for the Society. In the new Constitution of 1848, however, the official line on education was that "Teaching is [to be] freely exercised." Through this positive beginning, a compromise was eventually reached with the government through the Falloux Laws of March 1850. These allowed for private schools to be founded by any qualified French male citizen, and "the monopoly of the state system [of education] was destroyed."[12] This was a boon for the seminaries in France, and at the same time a death knell for the exile colleges, now rapidly becoming superfluous. Brugelette closed in 1854, and its students transferred back to French seminaries, by which time Ravary had moved to the major seminary of Laval to complete his theological stud-

12 Ibid., 43.