

“Heresy” and the Utilitarian Policy of the Lê - Trịnh Court

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Abstract: In the 17th and 18th centuries, to satisfy the demand for weaponry, military supplies, and luxury items, the Lê-Trịnh government opened its ports to Western merchant ships trading in the Tonkin market. Consequently, Christianity found an opportunity to reach Đại Việt along with Western missionaries who traveled on board these trading vessels. Initially, the missionaries and the Christian religion were welcomed. Therefore, the missionaries achieved quite promising evangelist results. However, around 1650s onwards, due to political and national security reasons, the Lê-Trịnh court imposed a ban on Christianity and showed inconsistency towards Western missionaries. At the same time, the civil war with Cochinchina ended in 1672, lessening the urgency of the Lê-Trịnh court’s needs for weaponry and military supplies compared to earlier periods. Christianity was thus regarded as a heretical religion by the authorities and was strictly banned. This article aims to clarify the status of Christianity in Tonkin and the state’s reactions, thereby revealing the pragmatism and opportunism of the Lê-Trịnh period during the 17th and 18th centuries.

Keywords: Christianity, heresy, utilitarian policy, Lê-Trịnh court, 17th-18th centuries.

Subject classification: History.

1. Introduction

In the Christian Bible, the phrase “And he said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature” (English Standard Version Bible, 2001: Mark 16:15) became the guiding principle for the activities of Catholic

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missionaries. Thus, along with the significant achievements of geographic explorations and the development of the maritime trade network from West to East, the world also expanded before the eyes of the exponents of Christianity. As such, the mission to expand “God’s kingdom” was also presented to Westerners during the 15th and 16th centuries. Portugal, a mighty empire at that time, continuously expanded its territories, political influence, and religious presence in “new domains”. In the year of the Water Snake (1533), Portuguese missionary Ignatius (Ignatius could be a transcription of Inácio in Portuguese, or Ignacio or Íñigo in Spanish) arrived by merchant ship to the area known nowadays as Nam Định. The *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư* (*Complete annals of Đại Việt*) does not record this event; however, the *Khâm định Việt sử thông giám cương mục* (*The imperially ordered annotated text completely reflecting the history of Việt*) notes that: “According to versions of *Dã lục* [*Dã lục*: similar to *Dã sử* (unofficial history)], these are books by private individuals in the folklore tradition, different from the official historical records, thus referred to as *Dã lục*], in the third month of the first Nguyên Hòa year (1533), during the reign of Lê Trang Tông, i.e. Lê Duy Ninh, who, in 1533, ascended the throne at Sầm Châu (Laos), with the era name Nguyên Hoà. In 1546, the royal residence at Yên Trường (Thanh Hoá) - the newly established resistance capital of the Revival Lê Dynasty - was constructed. The area of Nam Định (then known as Sơn Nam) in 1533 was under the administration of the Mạc family. A Westerner named Ignatius secretly came to the villages of Ninh Cường and Quần Anh of Nam Chân district, and Trà Lũ of Giao Thủy district, covertly spreading the heretical teachings of Catholicism” (Nguyễn Dynasty Historical Institute, 1999: 301). The arrival of the Portuguese missionary Ignatius in Nam Định in the year of the Water Snake (1533) marked the beginning of the introduction of Catholicism into Vietnam (Hanoi People’s Committee, 2010: 115).

Confucianism was considered the orthodox religion, while other faiths were considered heretical or heterodoxy, hence Christianity fell into the heretical bracket. Reflecting on the accounts of the Nguyễn Dynasty historians, previously Westerners (also known as arbarians from Holland at that time) brought with them the heretical religion of Christianity to “deceive and tempt the naive populace, who were mostly a rural and simple living folk who embraced the faith, established pulpits to listen to their teachings, and day by day became increasingly enchanted and deeply engrossed.” However, for pragmatic political and military purposes, during the Lê-Trịnh period, reactions to Christianity fluctuated.

In the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, the monarchy's concept of Christianity was completely different from the view of religion in Vietnam today. According to bibliographic records, Christianity was not divided into branches; instead it was called “Thiên Chúa”, “Ki tô”, “Công giáo”, or “Hoa Lang” by the historians.

2. The phase when Christianity was accepted

In a historical and social context of contact with the West, the missionaries and traders brought Christianity with them, and introduced this as a new religion into Tonkin. A segment of the Tonkin population embraced Christianity, leading to changes in their perception and religious beliefs. After Portuguese missionary Ignatius preached in Nam Định in the year of the Water Snake (1533), which marked the beginning of Catholicism's introduction into Vietnam until the end of the 16th century, the Mạc and Revival Lê dynasties took measures to attract the Portuguese to come to Tonkin, including missionaries who came to preach. Some Western sources believe that in the 16th century, the Vietnamese authorities sent letters or emissaries to Goa and Macau to invite missionaries to come to preach. A letter believed to be from priest Pedro de Alfaro of the Franciscan order from Macau written to a colleague in Manila, reflected the reality in Vietnam as follows: “Cochinchina (referring to the territory of Vietnam in general at that time) asks the Bishop of Macau to send missionaries and preachers; there they have cut wood to build churches. The Jesuits are too busy in Japan to be able to go. It is said that the people there are more refined, obedient, and gentler than the Chinese. If God wants us to go there, it will not be in vain” (Trương Bá Cần, 2008: 23). The authorities mentioned here could have been King Lê Anh Tông (1557-1573) who wrote to the Franciscan friars and the Bishop of Macau. However, it cannot be ruled out that it could have been the Mạc dynasty, as in the year of the Metal Snake (1581), the head of the Saint Francis monastery in Macau, Giovanni Battista da Pesaro, sent a letter written in Chinese to King Mạc Mậu Hợp requesting permission to enter Đại Việt to preach (LM. Nguyễn Hồng, 2009a: 30). At that time, missionary Alonso Sanchez noted: “Like all nations that know the Portuguese, these people [meaning the Vietnamese] want to profit from trading with the large merchant ships of the Portuguese, hence they say they want missionaries... On the other hand, the Portuguese also want priests and assistants to accompany them to the countries and ports where they trade: this is a way to gain good advisors and make more friends for profitable trade.” (Trương Bá Cần, 2008: 23-24). The relationship between Đại Việt and the Western countries in general, and Western missionaries in particular, made greater progress in the 17th and 18th centuries compared to the year of the Water Snake (1533).

According to the records of missionaries as well as those of traders, initially the Lê King and the Trịnh Lord, especially the Trịnh clan, had a particularly open attitude towards Westerners coming to Tonkin, regardless of religious or commercial reasons. Lord Trịnh Tráng acknowledged that: “As for the friendly trade relations, all of these are agreeable to the people and convenient for the populace, what more is there to say?” (Nguyễn Thừa Hỷ, 2010: 70). The Portuguese are noted as the earliest Westerners who came to Tonkin. By the mid-1640s, their arrival for trade activities became “a matter that he [Lord Trịnh Tráng] was very proud of and very eager for”. In March 1626, priest Baldinotti - a Jesuit priest from Portugal - was sent to Tonkin. The approval of the Lê-Trịnh court led priest Baldinotti to assume that: “All the favors that he [Lord Trịnh Tráng] had granted us seems to have stemmed from the motive of wanting trade exchange with the Portuguese, as rumors had spread throughout the kingdom that they would bring great profit with the goods on their ships” (Baldinotti, 1903, as cited in Nguyễn Thừa Hỷ, 2010: 61). However, due to language barriers, priest Baldinotti was unable to carry out his evangelist mission (Alexandre de Rhodes, 1994: 61). This greatly disappointed him but it motivated him to seek ways to establish relations with Tonkin and was the sole reason for Alexandre de Rhodes - who had spent time preaching in Cochinchina and who knew how to speak the local language - to come to Tonkin. Alexandre de Rhodes was warmly received by the Trịnh Lord, who built him a residence and a beautiful church. News about de Rhodes “spread throughout the country and people flocked in great numbers to hear him preach, so much that he had to preach at least four, sometimes six times a day”. The Trịnh Lord had an open attitude towards Christianity, so the missionary group quickly achieved unexpected results. “Seeing the results, I could hardly believe it. A sister of the lord and ten of his close relatives had been baptized, several famous generals also asked to follow the faith, as did many soldiers. In the first year, 1,200 people were baptized, the next year, 2,000, and the third year 3,500” (Alexandre de Rhodes, 1994: 72-73). The initial years of Alexandre de Rhodes's preaching were very successful. In 1629, before he left Tonkin, there were 3,500 parishioners in Hanoi and the surrounding areas. By 1645 - when de Rhodes left Đại Việt - he and his colleagues had laid the foundations for the Catholic Church in Vietnam. In Tonkin, Christianity was propagated in Thanh Hóa and Nghệ An provinces, in Thăng Long and the neighboring provinces of Hưng Hóa and Tuyên Quang, where parishioners numbered about 100,000 (some sources say 200,000). Nghệ An alone had up to 72 villages which followed the faith, with 100 large and 300 small churches (Nguyễn Văn Kiệm, 2001: 53-54). Notably, among the first parishioners who embraced Christianity when priest Alexandre de Rhodes began his missionary work in Kẻ Chợ [the unofficial name of Thăng Long/Hanoi], were many monks and herbalists. In three years of preaching in Tonkin, he counted more than 200 herbalists who had

religious conversion [into Christianity] (LM. Nguyễn Hồng, 2009a: 111). According to William Dampier, by 1688 French priests in the area of Phố Hiến (now belongs to Hưng Yên province) alone had helped spread the faith, resulting in 14,000 Vietnamese converting, and many more each day (Dampier, 2007: 116). Tonkin, referred to by the missionaries as Đông Kinh, was divided into two missionary dioceses: the diocese of Đông (or East) managed by Spanish Dominican priests, and the diocese of Đoài (or West) overseen by a French bishop from the Paris Foreign Missions Society. According to a letter dated 7 May 1766, written by Bishop Reydellet who managed the diocese of Đoài, to his brother in Paris, he noted that across Đông Kinh there were about 300,000 parishioners (Center of National Studies, 2013: 79).

The accuracy of the figures provided by missionaries and traders at that time requires further research. In fact, by the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the number of people following Christianity in Vietnam was only approximately 5% of the population, a ratio that did not increase significantly (Nguyễn Văn Kiệm, 2001: 111). It should also be acknowledged that the adherence to religion among the people of Tonkin, especially the poorer segments, was not as sustainable as William Dampier once mentioned: “I was reliably informed that those converted were usually the poor, and during times of scarcity, the distribution of rice for famine relief contributed more to their conversion than the preaching itself. Even those allegedly converted - through the use of rosary beads or sacred images - would quickly lose their faith once their fields ripened with crops. They soon stopped flocking to attend worship unlike in times of hunger when the priest would distribute food and drink. Hence, I would doubt that these sheep of Tonkin - people with deep-seated beliefs in their supreme deity - could be led to believe in God merely by zealous and kind-hearted individuals. At the present level, it seems unlikely that Christianity could flourish in this land” (Dampier, 2007: 117). This also coincides with the observation of author Nguyễn Văn Kiệm: “the material power of Western civilization sparkled beside the cross of this new religion, which is fully exploited by the missionaries, creating in the hearts of the believers a hope of salvation not just for their souls” (Nguyễn Văn Kiệm, 2001: 48). Western documentation reflects a reality that not only the poor - those easily influenced by materialism - were converted to Christianity but also individuals from the upper strata of society began to believe in and accept Christianity. This stratum can be divided into two groups:

Kings and officials who accepted Christianity for the purpose of collaborating with foreigners;

Officials and nobles who sincerely believed in the religion due to reverence for God.

In the first group, the acceptance of missionaries by kings and officials who listened to their preaching had a clear goal tied to the politics and military of Tonkin; therefore, the evangelist activity of the missionaries was initially facilitated unobtrusively. It has been noted that the Trịnh clan's tolerance towards Western missionaries came from a pragmatic perspective which created an opportunity for the establishment of the Catholic Church in Tonkin... (Nguyễn Văn Kiệm, 1995: 239). However, when the authorities suspected missionaries had an alliance with Cochinchina, and especially when the war between Tonkin and Cochinchina ended, the demand for weapons decreased, the priests immediately encountered difficulties carrying out their activities in Tonkin. Conversely, in the second group, among the nobility who faithfully followed the religion, despite the state's strict anti-religious policies, the activities of Christianity continued (Roland Jacques, 2007: 90). Disguised as traders, the missionaries cleverly stayed active in Tonkin. The French missionaries effectively used this method, which can be seen through the letters priest Pallu sent to the French Minister of Finance, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, and King Louis XIV in 1672 and 1680. They "placated" the kings and officials of Tonkin with precious gifts; in return, they were allowed to stay in Tonkin, establish a trading post in Phố Hiến, and quietly carry out the work of converting followers: "Both reasons, the religious and commercial ones, remind the King that he must implement some measures with the king of Tonkin to protect the French priests who are masquerading as traders here and, under that guise, are managing a prosperous parish with more than 100,000 followers. Currently, they are eagerly hoping to see some of our merchant ships arrive here soon to trade at the seaports" (Nguyễn Văn Kiệm, 2001: 128). For the missionaries, the presence of French merchant ships in Tonkin was a necessary cover to ensure the success of their missionary work as well as their stability, as written by missionaries Bourges and Deydier in a letter sent to France dated 27 December 1678 (Nguyễn Văn Kiệm, 2001: 130).

3. The phase when Christianity was considered heresy

From about the latter half of the 17th century, the Lê-Trịnh dynasty in Tonkin as well as the Nguyễn Lord in Cochinchina both implemented anti-Christianity policies, and measures became increasingly strict making the missionaries' work quite challenging. By the year of the Metal Tiger (1650), the state enacted regulations recorded in the *Quốc triều chiếu lệnh thiện chính* (A Collection of Imperial Decrees and Regulations): "In the capital, if anyone studies the religion of the Dutch barbarians, let the Rituals Ministry monitor and arrest them for religious conversion. Outside the capital, if there are followers, let the local officials ban them. If these groups establish any indecent temples, within the capital let the Governor, and outside the capital let the Ministry of Justice abolish them. If any

citizen of our country wears a cross on his/her body, collect the crosses all and destroy them, and punish each person with less than 50 lashes” (Nguyễn Ngọc Nhuận, 2011: 582-583). By the year of the Metal Dog (1670), the court issued an explanation for the prohibitions: “Đạo Hoa Lang (another name that the court used to refer to Christianity) deceives the mind of people; if there are violators of the ban who subjectively follow it, verify the truth and punish them with no more than 80 lashes and burn all books to eradicate foolish customs to ensure the decree takes effect” (Nguyễn Ngọc Nhuận, 2011: 633). Measures to prevent the missionaries from preaching were consistently applied in the years 1712, 1721, 1737, 1745, and 1773. In 1745 and 1773, some Dominican priests were shackled and sentenced to death (Annals of Đại Việt, 1991: 66, 358; LM. Nguyễn Hồng, 2009b).

Documents from the Dutch and English East India Companies reflect this situation rather vividly. In 1642, among the news that Dutch traders received from Batavia, besides news about goods and transactions, there was also information about the difficulties Western missionaries were facing in Tonkin due to the prohibitions imposed by the royal court. When Dutch ship the *Meerman* set sail for Tonkin it had to be thoroughly inspected before departure, ensuring no missionaries or any prohibited items related to Christianity were on board to avoid being questioned upon arrival in Tonkin (Hoàng Anh Tuấn, 2010: 107). In 1669, seven junks arrived in Tonkin. One of them carried four Frenchmen who came to request the establishment of a trading post. However, the Trịnh Lord and the royal court refused outright. It was rumored that the French were not accepted because they brought inferior standard gifts to those desired by the Trịnh Lord. Therefore, the French were not yet able trade there. However, for some years, a French priest named Deyder had infiltrated Tonkin and covertly carried out missionary work (Hoàng Anh Tuấn, 2010: 189). As the anti-Christianity policy of the Lê-Trịnh state became stricter, missionaries could not preach openly. As in the case of two French missionaries reported in the Dutch East India Company records, they had to live discreetly and frugally in a village called Domay near a river mouth, close to where the Dutch East India Company and foreigners anchored their ships. They also secretly carried out missionary work in Tonkin. Deydier, one of the two Frenchmen, and three Vietnamese priests were once arrested by local officials of Tonkin after their activities were discovered. They were released after some time, but were banned from working and had to stay in one place under the supervision of the local officials. These Frenchmen lived in deprivation, relying on contributions from Vietnamese parishioners. They even had to sell their silverware and personal belongings, spending as little as possible to be able to survive. Their difficulties continued in the years 1673 and 1674, and they “could not manage much because the Trịnh Lord strictly prohibited their activities. These Frenchmen were eagerly awaiting news from another priest named Pallu, Bishop of Heliopolis.” These French priests were also increasingly despised by the locals because they were

abandoned by their compatriots. By 1677, two French priests remained pitifully abandoned in Tonkin. They had no means to leave as they wanted to go south on a company ship, perhaps to Bantam. At that time, missionary work in Tonkin was quite challenging because of strict royal controls. Therefore, their work was less effective than many thought (Hoàng Anh Tuấn, 2010: 191, 197, 199, 201, 202-203, 205, 212). Not only French priests, but Portuguese ones too faced similar situations. It was rumored that another Portuguese priest had joined the missionary work in Tonkin. The company's staff thought that their missionary activities did not seem to yield significant results. In 1693, Portuguese ship the Santa Nosa sailed from Macau to Tonkin with three priests on board. They were closely monitored by the Phố Hiến garrison to the extent that they could not carry out their missionary work. Dutch records further confirmed: "In recent years, the French in Tonkin have also been regulated in the same way" (Hoàng Anh Tuấn, 2010: 209, 244).

The British arrived in Tonkin later than the Dutch, so the difficulties they encountered were considerable. According to records from 12 July 1672, the British were disappointed because they were not welcomed by the garrison of Phố Hiến. The Portuguese priest along with the director and deputy director of the French (also all priests) boarded the ship to sympathize with them about the existing difficulties, saying that the people of Tonkin were naturally arrogant and hated competition, that only patience could conquer these people (Hoàng Anh Tuấn, 2010: 261). According to British records, the difficulties the priests faced increased because the Lê-Trịnh court took action to imprison and beat them. On 16 July 1673, two Portuguese priests, still shackled, were brought down to the river mouth. They told of the tortures they had suffered, such as red-hot tongs and bamboo sticks ... capable of breaking ankle bones. Priest Philippi Marino, nearly 80 years old, was beaten with a hammer and mallet on his knees and forced to confess ... The goods had been confiscated, almost nothing left to take back to Macau". On 21 July 1696, a priest from Tonkin and some Christian followers were arrested. The existence of a church was also discovered. On 22 July 1696, the garrison of Phố Hiến went to Kẻ Chợ, bringing along two Portuguese priests who had been arrested and imprisoned in his residence. On 25 July, 1696, one of the two Portuguese priests (the other was seriously ill) was summoned to the Trịnh Lord's mansion. The previously confiscated silverware was returned, but all items related to Christianity, such as sacred images and rosary beads, were burned at a pagoda in front of the priest, then all the ashes were thrown into the river. The Trịnh Lord ordered the priests to return to Phố Hiến. The Defense Command Governor of Phố Hiến would be responsible for expelling them from the kingdom. On 12 March 1697, a Portuguese priest was captured by the Defense Command Governor of Đông (or Eastern) province and on the order of the Trịnh Lord he was taken to the latter's mansion to be imprisoned and handed over to the Governor of Kẻ Chợ for processing (Hoàng Anh Tuấn, 2010: 292, 532-533, 544-545).

Along with imprisoning and torturing missionaries, the Lê-Trịnh government rejected all petitions as well as interactions with priests from all countries. In 1696, the Jesuit priest Nissitadore from Macau came to Kẻ Chợ, bringing many gifts for the Trịnh Lord and requesting a plot of land to build a residence in the capital, Kẻ Chợ. However, he was not granted an audience with the lord, but instead received the response that this was contrary to the customs and laws of the kingdom. The commercial supervisor in charge of the Portuguese stated that if they chose to stay in Phố Hiến, they could receive spacious and convenient land to live on. Everything related to Christianity made the authorities furious and was banned. On 20 July 1696, the director of the Dutch trading post along with the Dutch people on the ship arrived at the trading post in Kẻ Chợ. They waited all day for the lord at the resort.

There they opened a cargo box that a Portuguese priest had requested and discovered many rosaries inside. As these items were related to Christianity they were confiscated and sent to the lord's mansion. The lord was furious with the Dutch. He ordered the return of five horses they had brought (Hoàng Anh Tuấn, 2010: 529-530).

Alongside the specific policy on Christianity, the state enacted policies that generally applied to foreigners in Tonkin, including the clergy, during the 17th and 18th centuries. The change began in the mid-17th century when the state started tightening the policy on foreigners. In the year of the Water Rabbit (1663), the state required people to report on and categorize foreigners residing in the territory. [Chinese zodiac recognizes Rabbit as a zodiac. In Vietnam, it is transformed into Cat. Therefore, both refers to the same zodiac]. This census was meticulously and formally carried out at all administrative levels within the country, listing: the number of people who married and had children, those who volunteered for citizenship, people skilled in weaving, people capable of crafting royal utensils, and the number of Dutch migrants. Regarding this event, the *Khâm định Việt sử thông giám cương mục* (*The imperially ordered annotated text completely reflecting the history of Việt*) adds: The court issued a ban on the Christian religion. Accordingly, missionaries from the West were banned from preaching and expelled from the territory (Nguyễn Dynasty Historical Institute, 1999: 300). In the years of the Metal Tiger (1650) and the Fire Rabbit (1687), the prohibition on foreigners living among the populace was enacted with more comprehensive and stricter regulations. As such, foreigners were not allowed to “settle” or “visit” the capital; they could only reside in Cao Dao (for those with relations to royalty), or return to Vạn Lai Triều or Hải Dương. Traders meeting royalty or officials were strictly monitored by the Local Management and the Defense Command Governors (Nguyễn Ngọc Nhuận, 2011: 582-583, 645). Furthermore, an edict to relocate foreigners from Kẻ Chợ was issued. The court established a separate settlement area for the Chinese community

outside the capital Đông Kinh (Thăng Long). Thus, the Chinese traders chose Phố Hiến as their place of residence. The court's decree was also effective against other Westerners, except the Dutch who, despite being asked to move several times, managed in one way or another to stay in Kẻ Chợ until 1700, when the Dutch East India Company decided to close its trading post there.

Charles B. Maybon speculates that the anti-Christianity policy of the Lê-Trịnh state might have stemmed from the fear of the Tonkin royalty that the new religion would promote free thinking, and weaken and destroy the people's sense of submission; it might also be due to the larger number of missionaries in Tonkin who showed a lack of tact and respect for the authorities (Maybon, 2006: 78, 80). Under the guise of traders, French priests were the most persistent among the Western missionaries in Tonkin during this period. The missionaries disguised as traders, "cleverly hid their missionary work with a covering of commerce" (Phan Huy Lê, Chu Thiên, Vương Hoàng Tuyên, Đinh Xuân Lâm, 1960: 525) to avoid being pursued and imprisoned by the Lê-Trịnh court. Beyond what Charles B. Maybon analyzed, there was another particularly important reason that clearly reflects the pragmatism of the Lê-Trịnh government, explaining why at times missionaries were allowed to preach in its administered areas. According to the British East India Company's records, in a letter from an English trader sent to Bantam (intended to be sent via a Dutch ship) dated 2 February 1674, it was written: "...The trade supervisor conveyed the lord's words: the trade of the English has been frozen and no ships will arrive this year (even if there are valid reasons for not coming) making the lord suspect that we might not be able to meet their demands as the French have done - the priests bear the name of traders but are received by the lord here because annually, they have a ship carrying guns and goods to serve the lord as the Dutch have done for many years" (Hoàng Anh Tuấn, 2019). Thus, the goal of obtaining weapons and military equipment was the most fundamental reason, which helped to enhance the military capability of the Lê-Trịnh court in its war with Cochinchina. In the year of the Water Rat (1672), the civil war ended and the Gianh River became the boundary line (Lê -Trịnh regime in the North and Nguyễn regime in the South), the policy of the Lê-Trịnh court towards foreigners in general, and Western missionaries in particular, was tightened again because the need for military equipment was not as high as in the previous period.

4. Conclusion

In the past, the feudal regimes were trading with foreigners to satisfy curiosity and the desire for luxury goods, when those goods had filled the storehouses of the lord's mansion, the authorities were no longer interested in

Westerners. From the end of the 17th century, the court increased strict control over foreigners, and the policies and actions against the Christian religion became even more severe to ensure national security and territorial sovereignty. In reality, the method of strict prohibition and control was not an optimal solution, reflecting the court's confusion over the issues of religion and trade resulting in a missed opportunity for international integration and national development in the 17th and 18th centuries.

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