







*Figure 1 by J. Mason*

## A JESUIT IN UNIFORM.

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# CELEBRATED JESUITS.

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VOL. I.

A SAINT, A DOCTOR,  
AND  
A REGICIDE

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BY THE

REV. WILLIAM H. RULE,

AUTHOR OF "THE BRAND OF DOMINIC," "MARTYRS OF  
THE REFORMATION," &c.

WITH ENGRAVINGS OF JESUIT HABITS.

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## PREFACE.

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IN no department of literature has the simplicity of Englishmen been more abused than in that of biography. Great names, passing current among millions who know little or nothing of the men beyond their names, lend a charm to the system which they represent, and serve as vehicles for the propagation of falsehood. Partly to counteract a popular delusion, and partly to give general readers information which was locked up in the libraries of the learned, the following volume is written, and another similar volume is in course of preparation.

The life of Francis Xavier, written by Bouhours in French, was translated by Dryden, who might have been better employed. The brighter passages of the translation were published, many years ago, in a small volume, long out of print. Dryden's version I have not thought it worth while to examine, and the abridgment I had long forgotten. But a life of Xavier had to be written fairly for English readers; and I have endeavoured to supply the want, stating the sources of my history.

No life of James Laynez, so far as I know, has been written in any language, notwithstanding the prominence of his position, and the

## PREFACE.

frequent mention made of him by the historians of Trent, and of the Reformation. The present biography is gathered from Jesuit sources; and I hope that it will be found tolerably complete.

As for Garnet, he lived in the dark during that part of his career with which *we* are most concerned; and unless the little that is known of him had been dilated for the sake of making up a book, I could not have filled even the few pages allotted to his name. Instead, therefore, of attempting this, I have departed from my general plan, and narrated the progress of a conspiracy against the liberties and the religion of England during a period of forty-five years, culminating—not ending—in the gunpowder treason.

These three pieces are so written and arranged, that the volume may fall into three parts, each perfectly distinct; and the two volumes will contain six Jesuit portraits, each differing from the other, as it represents a distinct phase of character, and recalls a distinct series of events. I shall still be careful to select personages not very familiarly known to general readers; and thus to occupy ground that is nearly, if not entirely, new. To do this, an amount of research is necessary that would have been quite equal to the production of large volumes; but I bow to popular taste, and bring very copious material into the smallest possible dimensions.

W. H. R.

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FIRST ROMISH MISSIONARY TO INDIA.

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**A JESUIT SAINT.**

**ST. FRANCIS XAVIER,**

**FIRST ROMISH MISSIONARY TO INDIA.**



## A JESUIT SAINT.

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### XAVIER AT PARIS.

THE dominion of the world was to be lost or won. It seemed to the imagination of Don Ignacio Loyola, himself a soldier, that two great armies were assembling for the fight, one for God, as he thought, and the other for the world. But he imagined that the Lord's host waited for a chief,—a *man* able to take the command, and lead to victory. The thought returned, haunted him day and night, peopled every scene, coloured every object, and absorbed every desire. He believed himself destined to conquer the world for the Pope, to put down the Reformation, and bring back the charm and power of the Papacy. Justly regarding the conflict as intellectual, in great part, he felt himself incompetent, as an unlearned man, to hoist the standard, and lead the routed forces into the field again; and therefore spent some years in recovering the rudiments of an early education, and in toiling to the literary level required in a leader. Contemplating the wide field of action, the many positions that were to be re-conquered, and the strategy that would be needed to retain the conquest, he resolved to surround himself with com-

## XAVIER

panions imbued with ambition like his own, to help him in conducting the new campaign. First of all they were to be taught renunciation of the world; but a renunciation that God or the Church would compensate a hundred fold, even in the present time.

Full of this design, he came to the University of Paris, ostensibly to finish his education; but, at the same time, and perhaps chiefly, to try the virtue of his influence on the chivalrous or the simple-minded. The first persons whom he marked for subalterns in the projected warfare were two friends, Pierre Le Fèvre, a Savoyard, and Francisco Xavier, a Navarrese or Spaniard. He resolved that they should both love him, and surrender themselves to his influence, conscious, as he was, of an indomitable strength of purpose, and equal facility of adaptation. He therefore took lodgings in the same house; and, in the usual freedom of intercourse between young men at college, made himself the third of a party to be joined thenceforward in firm friendship. He had written a book of "spiritual exercises," wherein those two armies figured, and their hostile banners. He professed to have enlisted himself in the army of the Lord Jesus, to fight against the world, the flesh, and the devil, to mortify self, to slay the enemy within, and, after annihilation of every selfish passion, to fight the battle of the Lord. Le Fèvre, a young man of gentler spirit, soon yielded himself to Ignacio, studied the spiritual

## AT PARIS.

exercises, and was actually in training for membership in the forthcoming Company of Jesus.

Francisco Xavier laughed at the mystic. A young man of ancient family, he had made up his mind to shine in the world after another fashion. His mother, María Azpilcueta Xavier, was the sole heiress of one of the noblest families in Navarre; and lest the name of her house should be lost, she gave it to Francisco at his birth.\* His brothers were seeking glory, like their ancestors, in the profession of arms. Even his sister, Magdalen, formerly Maid of Honour to Isabel "the Catholic," and now Abbess of a convent, sought glory too, under the character of Prophetess; for the gift of prophecy was affected by many who aspired after fame. The literary toil of Don Francisco was already crowned with honour in the University. On the arrival of Ignacio, he already occupied a chair of philosophy, and foresaw future eminence. He was high-spirited, vain, witty, and rich enough to purchase indulgences equal to his rank. Ignacio had chosen voluntary poverty, constantly spoke of Christian perfection,—but it was perfection of a very artificial sort,—and the young Professor, thoroughly despising both poverty and humility, rebutted his advances on behalf of ascetic perfection and "spiritual exer-

\* He was born in the Castle of Xavier, at the foot of the Pyrenees, seven or eight leagues from Pampeluna, on the 7th day of April, 1506.



## XAVIER

cises" with torrents of ridicule. "What shall it profit a man," said Ignacio, "if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" The question called forth derision; but Ignacio bore it; and the more haughtily the other scowled, the more submissively he smiled. Ceasing to recommend perfection, he praised his talent, ministered to his vanity, and collected hearers for his lectures. Seated at his feet, Ignacio applauded every sentence, recruited fresh companies, crowded the room, and so made himself necessary. Francisco did not know that he had been caught on his weak side; but so it was. He now admired the ascetic as a prodigy of humility; but he also felt, and was not ashamed to own, the superior force of mind that vanquished him; and the University wondered to see the saint applauding the wit, and the wit paying honour to the saint. Very gently Ignacio resumed his effort to win over the half-conquered friend to the great idea that swayed his mind; and one day, as they were sitting alone, he solemnly repeated the same sentence that had once been repelled so rudely: "What shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" Xavier suffered it; and then the master summoned up the whole force of his eloquence, and pleaded that a heart so noble and so great ought not to be restricted within the narrow bounds of worldly honours; that the glory of heaven was the only object worthy the

## AT PARIS.

ambition of so high a nature ; and that his good sense ought to prefer that which endures eternally to that which fades like a dream. To convert the sinner he told him of his virtues, and pampered his vanity ; but this is the gospel of Jesuitry.

Xavier listened. Such discourses gained upon him. The work was done. The contrary doctrines of the Reformation, then entertained by many in the University, had invited his judgment ; but their impression faded away under a nearer and unremitting influence. His proud spirit recoiled, indeed, again and again, from voluntary poverty and utter self-annihilation ; but he found a new element of ambition in the calculations of Don Ignacio, and, after a few short struggles, abandoned himself to his direction. When his course of lectures in philosophy was ended, he applied himself to theology, and laboured, with all his powers, to subdue his ruling passion,—pride. “But as he knew,” says Bouhours, “that the pride of the spirit cannot be overcome without mortifying the flesh, he set about subduing his body by sackcloth, by fasting, and by the other severities of penance.” The spiritual exercises which Ignacio was afterwards thought to have prescribed under Divine inspiration, became the standard of his religious life ; and they say that he sometimes passed four days and nights without receiving any sort of nourishment. He caused his arms and legs to be bound with cords before he

went to prayer, that there might be no movement of the flesh, but only of the spirit; and that he might resemble the man spoken of in the parable, who was bound hand and foot, and cast into outer darkness, because he had not on a wedding garment.

While busy in these performances, which must have gained him no small notoriety, a messenger arrived to tell him that he was created a Canon of Pampeluna, and thus come into possession of a benefice and honour that the highest nobility and even Kings did not disdain.\* But he smiled at the courier, refused the canonry, and told his friends that God had now marked him for superior honours.

By this time Ignacio Loyola, who had already visited Jerusalem, professed to have received a message from heaven, bidding him and his companions go to the Holy Land to convert the infidels. He disclosed the revelation to Xavier, who received it as authentic, and prepared for departure. The company now consisted of seven:—Ignacio Loyola, Pierre Le Fèvre, Francisco Xavier, Diego Laynez, Alfonso Salmeron, Nicolas Bobadilla, and Simon Rodrigues, besides three other theologians, whom Le Fèvre had

\* This was common during the times before the Reformation, both on the Continent and in England. (Thomassin., *De Disciplina*, &c., pars i., lib. ii., cap. 64.) But lay Canons were set aside by the Council of Trent. (*Sessio xxiv.*, *De Ref.*, cap. 12.)

#### IN ITALY.

gained in the absence of his chief. The seven quitted Paris; and on the day of "the Assumption of Our Lady," 1534, made their vows in the church of Montmartre. Xavier exceeded them all in mortification; and it is related of him that, loathing the strength and agility of limb which God had given him, he bound small cords round his thighs before setting out on his first day's journey for the Holy Land. But the irritation and swelling produced by the ligatures very soon made it impossible for him to walk. They took him into a house, and found the cords cutting into his flesh; a surgeon refused to cut them out, lest he should gash the patient. His companions laid him on a bed, and prayed for him, and next morning the swelling had subsided, and the cords were loose. They pronounced this to be a miracle; and thus began the miraculous adventures of Saint Francis Xavier. But he never again so equipped himself before a pilgrimage.

#### IN ITALY.

A long pilgrimage brought them to Venice, the intended port of embarkation for Palestine. But as no ship was ready, they spent some days in visiting "holy places;" and, having perambulated the city of St. Mark, agreed to present themselves in the city of St. Peter, and ask the Pope to fortify them with his benediction. But before wandering a second time, they occupied

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themselves, during two months, in works of mercy. Xavier found lodgings and vocation in the Hospital of Incurables, where he dressed wounds, made beds, and performed other services yet more menial. Although unable to speak Italian, he often addressed the sick, in Spanish, concerning God, and exhorted them to do penance. But his great achievement was so wondrously heroic, that it may only be related in the words of his biographer, Bouhours:—

“One of those patients had an ulcer which it was horrible to behold, and whence rose a stench yet more insupportable than the sight of it. No one dared even to approach this wretch; and even Xavier once felt great unwillingness to serve him. But he remembered, at the same time, a maxim of Ignacio, that no advance can be made in virtue but in proportion that self is conquered, and that the occasion of a great sacrifice is precisely the opportunity that should not be suffered to escape. Fortified with these thoughts, and animated by the example of holy Catherine of Siena, which he just then remembered, he embraced the patient, laid his mouth upon the ulcer, an act that made his very heart heave within him, and sucked out the corruption. At the same instant all his repugnance ended; and after this he had no more trouble with anything, so important it is to conquer one’s self well once for all.” Quite credible that, after *that*, nothing would be too much for him.

## IN ITALY.

From Venice the party proceeded towards Rome, trudging with perseverance through rain and sunshine. On reaching the city they paid their first duties at the churches, and consecrated themselves to the "evangelic ministry" at the tomb of the Apostles. Pedro Ortiz, a Spaniard, sent to the court by the Emperor on the affair of our Queen Catharine of Aragon, having known Xavier at Paris, introduced him to the Pope. Paul received the pilgrims graciously, often made them dine in his presence, and converse learnedly for his entertainment. Having received the benediction, with permission to be ordained to the priesthood before embarking for Palestine, they returned to Venice, and in that city the Nuncio administered to Xavier the vows of poverty and chastity.

War between the Turks and Venetians broke out with fresh violence. The Venetians blockaded Palestine; the devotees necessarily relinquished their intention until a more favourable time,—for the yearly pilgrim-ship did not sail from Venice; and Xavier, that he might be more active in Europe, now that he could not visit Jerusalem, prepared to receive Priest's orders. In order to make preparation for the priesthood, he fled from the city, wandered over the country to find some solitary place, where the sound of a human voice would not reach his ear. Such was a deserted and ruinous thatched house in the neighbourhood of Monsélice, a village at some distance from

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Padua. Of that cabin, open to wind and weather, he took possession for forty days and forty nights, lay on the hard ground without any shelter, scourged himself with a whip, fasted every day until evening, when he walked abroad among the far-scattered cottages to beg for a morsel of bread, and quenched his thirst with water. Fancying that his haunt had some resemblance to the stable of Bethlehem, he resolved to imitate the poverty of the infant Jesus. That forty days' retreat sufficed to raise his fame, which spread throughout the country; and after the period of discipline was ended, he sallied forth in the guise of a penitential hermit, admired by the simple folk, who believed that he had come from the wilderness under a Divine commission to teach them the way to heaven. Thus passed two or three months more, and by that time a vow that the whole party had taken, to wait for the pilgrim-ship a year, was fully accomplished; for although they knew that none would sail, they thought themselves bound to wait in the hands of the Republic to the end of a year.

Thus exercised, and, as he imagined, thus purified, he took Priest's orders, and said his first mass at Vicenza, with extraordinary devotion; but no sooner were those ascetic labours compassed than his robust constitution sank, and he was conveyed to a hospital. If his biographers have not overcharged their description of the wretchedness of the place, one might wonder

that any patient ever survived the entertainment of such a charity; but the most notable event that marked his sojourn there, was a dream or vision of St. Jerome, his favourite Doctor, who was pleased to tell him that yet greater trouble awaited him at Bologna, where one of his companions and he would pass the winter; and that the others would be dispersed, some to Padua, some to Rome, some to Ferrara, and some to Siena. Ignacio very opportunely disposed of them in a manner punctually corresponding to the revelation of St. Jerome to his friend. The coincidence, however it came to pass, or if ever there was such a vision, was made much of, and both of them were forthwith lauded as inspired men: for the disciples were even thus distributed among the Universities of those cities, to infuse into them the leaven of the new company, so early were the Universities chosen to be seats of Jesuitical experiment; and this was but following up, in Italy, the successful beginning already made in France.

Xavier and Bobadilla were sent to Bologna, where Xavier began his public devotions by kneeling at the tomb of Domingo de Guzman, glorious founder of the order of Preachers, and early Chief of the Inquisition. In spite of his mortifications, the flowers of youth yet bloomed, and an air of chastened heroism made him still more lovely in the eyes of Isabella Casalini, a young lady whom custom required to be called



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niece of the Priest, Girolamo Casalini, an ecclesiastic of note in the city. She saw the Spanish devotee, now a man of about thirty-six years of age, saying mass at the altar, and hastened to commend him to her uncle, or, as we should be more apt to say, her father. The good man, favourably disposed by the report, went to the hospital where Xavier lodged, as was his wont, constrained him to abide beneath his roof, and offered him every comfort of a well-furnished dwelling; but the man who had aspired to a visible imitation of the poverty of the infant Jesus, would not sit at the table of his patron, but, content with nightly lodging and friendly conversation, he walked the streets of Bologna daily, begging bread and eating it from door to door. This cost but little time, for many hands ministered provision; and his hours were chiefly occupied in hearing confessions and saying masses in the church of Casalini, visiting prisons and hospitals, and teaching children the brief recitations that were then called Catechism. He spoke very badly, in a jargon of French, Italian, and Spanish; but his manner was earnest and simple; and the imperfection of speech rather added a charm to his addresses than detracted from their force. But again his frame sank under incessant labour with insufficient nourishment. Suffering a slow fever, he dragged his emaciated limbs along the streets; and popular admiration rose higher as his articulation sank;

his cheeks fell in, and death seemed to sit upon his countenance and whisper from his lips.

Meanwhile Ignacio was prosecuting his petition to the Pope for the establishment of a new order, and thought well to send for this prodigy of asceticism, and present him, with some others, to "His Holiness," offering to employ their various talents in defence of the "Apostolic See" against the preachers of the Reformation. Paul III. accepted the workmen, and commanded them to preach in the principal churches of Rome. Xavier took the pulpit of St. Lawrence in *Damaso*. There he shone as an orator, gained no small popularity, and ingratiated himself completely with the Romans by taking the foremost place in relieving the poor, by collecting alms from the wealthy ecclesiastics and others, and distributing food among the sufferers, when multitudes were dying with famine daily.

Then opened the new field of labour wherein he became so famous. The Court of Rome had not concerned themselves to send Missionaries to the Heathen, neither had Ignacio Loyola included Missionary operations in his plans for the delivery of the Church of Rome from threatened extinction by the Gospel. He was aiming at the conversion of Princes and Professors, not of Heathens. But the Portuguese began to desire the conversion of India; and Gouvea, who had known Xavier and Le Fèvre at Paris, being then at Rome in the quality of Envoy from John III.

## XAVIER

of Portugal, and observing the extraordinary zeal and popularity of those new men, thought that such as they might be usefully employed in preaching to the Heathen. He wrote to his royal Master to that effect, and earnestly advised him to ask the Pope, at whose absolute disposal they were all placed, to send some of them to India, where they were most wanted. Mascarenhas, the Ambassador, soon received instruction to ask for six. Paul referred the case to Loyola, who replied that, for his part, he desired the conversion of the whole world; but that, with so great a conflict before him in Europe, infected with heresy on all sides, he did not feel able to spare more than two labourers for India.

The Pope approved this answer, and bade him name two. Rodrigues, a Portuguese, and Bobadilla, a Spaniard, were designated for the Mission. Both were summoned to Rome; but Bobadilla fell sick on his arrival, and the Ambassador, who was about to return to Lisbon, being extremely urgent to take *two* with him, as one would be utterly insufficient, Ignacio yielded to his importunity, and, having to choose another, thought of Xavier. He is said to have addressed him thus:—"Xavier, I had named Bobadilla for the Indies, but now Heaven names you, and I inform you of it on part of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. Receive the employment with which His Holiness charges you by my mouth, as if it

#### DESTINED TO INDIA.

were Jesus Christ Himself who gave it you, and rejoice in this opportunity of satisfying the ardent desire that we have all had to carry the faith beyond sea. There is now before you not only Palestine, or a province of Asia, but immense lands, innumerable kingdoms, an entire world. And it is only so vast a field that would be worthy of your courage and your zeal. Go, my brother, where the voice of God calls you, whither the Holy See sends you, and kindle all with the fire that inflames yourself." Xavier blushed at the sudden intelligence of so great honour, bowed in silence to the eulogy, wept with joy, and offered himself to the Father of Jesuitism for unreserved obedience.

#### DESTINED TO INDIA.

Now to India. Nothing else can be spoken, thought, or even dreamt of, but India. The notion of going thither may have sprung up for a moment in his mind, but it never dwelt there. Now he is commanded to go into those pagan, half-discovered regions, and without gainsaying he will go. But however passively body and spirit may be required to obey, absolute submission cannot be rendered all in an instant, and a slight shudder passes over both.

Often, at night, Laynez and others who slept in the same chamber were disturbed by his groans. A horrid incubus oppressed him. He seemed to be labouring beneath it. One night,

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when Laynez went to his bed-side and awoke him, he said that an Indian, very large, and very black, had been riding on his shoulders. Under the unwelcome burden he lay, sweating and panting. Another night Rodrigues heard him cry out, after much moaning, *Amplius! Domine, amplius!* That time he would not tell his dream; but several months afterwards, when taking leave of his friend at Lisbon, he let him know that in a dream, or ecstasy, he had seen himself in the midst of a vast ocean, where tempests were bellowing, and breakers dashing on the rocky shores of islands inhabited by savages. Hunger, thirst, nakedness, endless labours, bloody persecutions, dangers, deaths, everywhere awaited him. And then he cried, "More! Lord, more!"

Don Ignacio, for his part, resolved to take advantage of the unexpectedly suggested mission for the extension of his Company, and to employ Xavier as representative and subordinate in those remote regions, well guarding against the creation of an independent society, and making the enthusiasm of the Missioner subservient to a common plan. "Let the colonies be to the metropolis," said he, "as daughters to their mother." And in order to maintain that communication, and keep up submission to central government, he required him to make frequent and ample communications to Rome, which he engaged to do. And that the absence of Xavier

## DESTINED TO INDIA.

might not leave him with one suffrage fewer when the Pope should confirm the Company, and authorise the election of a General, he obtained from Xavier three papers, dated on the very day of his departure from Rome, March 15th, 1540. By the *first* he obliged himself to abide by all that the Company should ordain,—or so many of them as might meet at Rome,—when His Holiness had been pleased to approve their mode of living. By the *second* he gave his vote that, in the event of electing a Prelate of the new Society, it should be their “old and true father, Don Ignacio.” And the *third* contained a vow of “perpetual obedience, poverty, and chastity,” to be presented to the newly-elected Prelate by the hand of Laynez. Every one knows that Ignacio Loyola was elected, unanimously, to be the first General of the Society or Company of Jesus.

Mascarenhas, Ambassador of the King of Portugal, left Rome for Lisbon, on that day, having Xavier in his train. Xavier was no less conspicuous a personage than the Ambassador himself. At Bologna, where his asceticism had already gained him so much admiration, the inhabitants received him with festive demonstrations. In the “Holy House of Our Lady of Loretto” he said mass, confessed the Ambassador, and gave the host, all the servants following the example of their master. After this beginning, it became fashionable to be confessed by

## XAVIER

the Spanish Missionary, whom crowds of people beset, at every halting-place, for that purpose. And for this there was abundant opportunity, as the travel cost more than three months; at the expiration of which time a courier entered Lisbon to announce the return of the embassy, and to inform King John of the amazing goodness of the Father Francisco Xavier. The most convincing evidence of piety, they noted, was his refusal to turn out of the way, when the party had crossed the Pyrenees, and Mascarenhas advised him to call at the Castle of Xavier and take leave of his mother before going to India. He coldly answered, that he should see his parents in heaven, without any pain of parting. Besides, he had left *the world*, and considered, if his admirers represent his notions correctly, that to have held an interview with his mother would have been a sinful concession to flesh and blood, equivalent with going back into the world again.

Three or four days after their arrival, he and his companion were called into the royal presence; and he thus describes their first interview with John III., in a letter to Ignacio :\*—“ The

\* Sancti Francisci Xaverii Epistolarum Libri Quatuor, Lugdini MDCLXXXII, published by Turselin, with an Appendix, or fifth book, by Pousines. So far as these Epistles go, they serve to check the following authorities, which are here mentioned, once for all, as our principal sources of information :—Vie de S. François Xavier, Apôtre des Indes et du

## DESTINED TO INDIA.

King was alone in an apartment with the Queen, where we remained with them upwards of an hour. They asked us each many questions concerning our manner of living, and how and where we fell in with one another, and formed ourselves into a Society; what were our first intentions, and what about the persecutions we suffered at Rome. And they were exceedingly pleased with our account of the manner in which the truth was brought to light. They praised us highly for having so constantly and courageously carried the matter out to a conclusive trial; and the King seemed very desirous to see the sentence by which we are absolved. They were much pleased to hear a clear description of the plan and arrangement of our houses, services, and the whole management and design of our Society. While we were speaking of this, the King commanded his daughter, the Infanta, and his son, the Prince Royal, to be called in, that we might see them. He told us, very kindly, how many sons and daughters the Lord had given him, and which had died, and

Japan. Par le P. Bouhours, Paris, 1845.—*Historiæ Societatis Jesu Pars Prima, sive Ignatius*, auct. Nic. Orlandino. Antverpiæ, MDCXX. J. P. Maffei, &c.—*Historiarum Indicarum Libri xvi*. Colonæ Agrip. MDXCIII.—And even the *Histoire Religieuse, Politique, et Littéraire de la Compagnie de Jesus*, par J. Cretineau-joly, sometimes *appears* to add to the mass of original material. Of this work it is impossible to speak more confidently, as the authorities used in its composition are not specified.



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which were living. Both King and Queen showed us exceeding kindness. The King earnestly desired us, the first day that we saw him, to hear the confessions of the young nobility that are in his household. And he has himself commanded, that all the noble youth who frequent his court, make known their sins at the confessional once every week." And he requested the two strangers to take charge of the confessional, and endeavour to reform his court.

From that midsummer until the spring following, when the Indian fleet would sail, Xavier and his companion were to busy themselves in the reformation of Lisbon ; and it is undeniable that they laboured hard in the hospital and in the prisons. And there Xavier began to collect congregations of children, a procedure probably suggested by the King at his first visit to the palace, just as the King had given the first idea of an Indian Mission. Those congregations—to whom books would have been useless—he taught to recite the Catechism, or, in other words, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Apostles' Creed, perhaps with the Hail Mary, and a few current forms for common use. The novelty of this proceeding, added to the high degree of ascetic virtue displayed by the Apostle-designate of the Indies, clothed him with honour, and gave him and the Society such good repute, that the King and the courtiers desired to keep him in Portugal ; while the more

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thoughtful Bishops and Clergy judged that his departure would be most profitable to the Church. And his popularity grew yet higher when people knew him not only as a penitent, an almsgiver, and a catechist, but also as a Preacher. The King's Confessor, and a friendly Bishop, often and again besought him to add preaching to his other good works ; but he resisted their importunity, thinking it best, notwithstanding his reputation at Rome, "to begin with humbler things." But the King called him into his presence, and commanded him to preach for his own gratification, which he did gladly. For a time India seemed to be but half remembered. In writing to Rome, he professed himself willing either to go or stay ; and in truth he became so diligent in endeavouring to establish Jesuit houses, and to set up Jesuit colleges in the Universities of Portugal, that he would soon have been too busily engaged in the affairs of the Society at home to be spared for their service in the East.

Just then the Pope granted the long-desired Bull, which constituted the Society, drew around Ignacio Loyola a multitude of new labourers, and made Xavier less necessary for Portugal. After considerable correspondence, the General advised that Rodrigues should remain in Lisbon, and Xavier proceed to India ; the King approved, and the Missioner again bethought himself of departure.

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The prisons of the Inquisition were never more crowded than at this time ; nor was there ever a Sovereign of Portugal more zealous than John III. in immolating his subjects on the altars of the Church. Xavier, saint that he was, entered heartily into that service. "The Lord Prince Henry," said he, "supreme Inquisitor of this kingdom, and brother of the King, frequently requested us to take spiritual charge of the persons that are in custody of the sacred Inquisition. We therefore visit them daily, and endeavour to make them understand with how great benefit from God they are exercised in that school of penance. We give them an exhortation all together once every day, and have assigned them exercises for the first week to their great comfort and profit. Many of them tell us, that they are thankful for the singular grace of God towards them since they have heard by our means, for the first time, many things necessary to be known for the salvation of their souls." Those prisoners, it must be noted, were not confessors of Christ, but Jews who, in order to save their lives, or to avoid banishment, submitted to baptism, and professed themselves Christians ; but, being suspected of Jewish practices or opinions, were thrown into the Inquisition. Of course, they pretended to be thankful for instruction, hoping, in consideration of so good a disposition, to be the sooner delivered, and dismissed with somewhat lighter

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penalty. Their visiter, however, unmoved by the sight of atrocities that even brought down the censure of the Pope on Cardinal Henry, who is here so honourably mentioned, praised the most murderous of Inquisitions then existing, as a "school of penance," an institution honoured with the special approbation and grace of God, and boasted of the mortifications imposed by himself on the wretched inmates, that they were comforts added to the privileges and advantages of the place. If you may believe him, the prisoners were grateful for the discipline of chains, darkness, filth, penitential hunger, and hereditary shame.

During the sojourn of Xavier in Lisbon, and the correspondence between himself and the founder of his order, as well as between the King and the Pope, it was resolved that he should go to India armed with royal and pontifical sanctions, to strengthen the civil Government in those colonies, and to extend the boundaries both of Portugal and of the Papedom. In private conversations John III. gave him information of the state of affairs, charged him to visit the garrisons, and observe how far the Portuguese complied with the requisitions of the Church, ascertain what could be done to establish Christianity among the natives of those new territories, and write frequently, not only to his Ministers, but to himself. He then produced four Briefs, which he had obtained for

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him from the Pope. The first created him Nuncio Apostolic: the second empowered him to propagate the Romish faith throughout the East: the third recommended him to David, Emperor of Abyssinia, the Pope not knowing or not considering the great distance of that country from even the nearest part of India: the fourth demanded a welcome to the Apostle of the East from all Princes, isles of the sea, or kingdoms on *terra firma*, from the Cape of Good Hope to the river Ganges, and beyond. These documents were intended to render his mission more authentic and more illustrious, and he received them from the King with due expressions of respect.

The Count of Castanheira, on whom it devolved to victual the fleet, requested the new Nuncio to send him a list of things necessary for the voyage, assuring him that nothing should be wanting. "Nothing will be wanting," said Xavier, smiling; "for I have need of nothing. I am obliged to the King for his liberality, and to you for your attention; but I owe more to Providence, which you must not wish me to distrust." The Count pressed hard for a list; but the Father persisted in his determination to throw himself on Providence, only asking for a few religious books, to be given away in India, and a coarse cloak, to cover him during the rough weather off the Cape. The Count then desired him to accept a valet, in order to main-

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tain the decency proper to his dignity as Nuncio; but he cut him short by saying, that he should not only wait upon himself, but on others also, not fearing to lower his character; "for if I do no wrong," said he, "I am not afraid of scandalizing my neighbour, nor of losing the authority that the Holy See has given me. Human and false notions of respectability have brought the Church to the state in which we see it now." Thus he insisted on keeping his vow of poverty, and went forth on his mission, a beggar in form, demanding daily supplies from all the King's servants.

On the 7th day of April, 1541, Xavier went on board the Admiral's ship, accompanied by two others, Paolo di Camerino, an Italian, and Francisco Mansilha, a Portuguese. Dom Martin Affonso de Sousa, newly-appointed Viceroy of India, proceeding to assume the Government, desired to have him in the same ship. It appeared worthy of observation, that April 7th was his birth-day. He was thirty-six years of age, and had been more than seven a disciple of Ignacio de Loyola.

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After a wearisome voyage of thirteen months, lengthened by a delay of six months at Mozambique, and some stay at Melinda and Socotora, the Viceroy landed at Goa, the seat of Government, May 6th, 1542. As for Xavier, he was

already a prodigy. His prediction of a safe arrival was magnified into a prophecy; and the ease with which he communicated a few ideas to the people of Socotora, by help of an interpreter, although not thought extraordinary at the time, was afterwards taken as evidence that a slight afflatus of supernatural power brought him, in some lower degree, the gift of tongues. The truth appears to be, that at Mozambique he was exemplary in attendance on the sick belonging to the fleet, who filled the wards of the hospital on that island, although not without the ostentation that is inseparable from works of charity in the religious orders of the Church of Rome. His two companions, he said, had ministered to their bodies, while he took care of their souls "by expiating their sins, assiduously imparting to them the body of Christ." At Melinda he disputed zealously with Mohammedans, delivering invectives against the Koran,—wherein zeal must have preponderated over knowledge, inasmuch as he had not been prepared for such a controversy,—rather than expounding the Gospel of Christ. And at Socotora he interested the natives by his earnestness, and succeeded in baptizing some infants, without instructing the parents in the least concerning repentance towards God, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. And it also appears highly probable, that the agreement of his conduct with his profession of austerity and devotion, gained him the respect

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of all on board the five ships that constituted this fleet.

The letters of Xavier may be commended as models of perspicuity. Between four and five months after his arrival at Goa, he wrote a narrative of his proceedings to the Society at Rome; a statement of the religious condition of Goa, with some suggestions and requests to Ignacio Loyola; and another letter to the same, containing requests to be presented to the Pope, made at the instance of the Viceroy. They are all of equal date,—although the composition must have cost several days,—and were despatched September 20th, 1542. But with all this perspicuity, there seems to be a reserve of what it might not be expedient to state to the General of the Jesuits, by one who must own no other authority than that of the General and the Supreme Pontiff, or who might not wish to afford written evidence of a concession to the Bishop of Goa, that was not meant to be permanent.

According to Bouhours, he would not enter on his duties as a Missionary, until he had paid his respects to Don João de Albuquerque, Bishop of Goa, to whom he presented the Papal Briefs, and then fell at his feet, and asked his blessing. It is said that the Bishop raised him up, embraced him tenderly, kissed the Briefs many times, and returned them with these words: “An Apostolic Legate, sent immediately from the Vicar of Jesus Christ, has no need to receive



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a mission from any other : use freely the powers given you by the Holy See, and be assured that if the episcopal authority is necessary to maintain them, it shall never be wanting." He speaks of this Prelate very casually, and writes as one perfectly independent of him, giving an account of himself and his mission.

He lodges in the hospital among the sick, to whom he ministers the sacraments of confession and communion. So many persons come from all quarters to confess, that if he could be in ten places at once, he would never be unemployed. In the morning, after attending to the sick, he hears their confessions. After mid-day he visits prisoners, teaches them how to confess, and hears confessions of the sins of all their life. This done, he goes into the church of St. Mary, by the hospital, and to a large number of boys, sometimes more than three hundred, teaches prayers, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments. *Therefore* the Bishop has commanded the same thing to be done in other churches. By this means the good opinion of the inhabitants is gained. In the same church of St. Mary he has preached, on Sundays and festivals, to a general congregation in the morning, and after dinner has explained the articles of the Creed to the native inhabitants, as many as the church will hold. After this he has expounded the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ten Commandments, to the

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inmates of a lepers' hospital, heard confessions, and said mass. He says that his preaching has completely won over the inhabitants, who now all partake of the sacraments, and that, with authority of the Viceroy, he is going to Cape-Comorin, to preach to the Heathen, accompanied by two Portuguese Deacons, who understand their language, and by a third who has not yet received the lesser orders.

Already, he tells his General, some good men have established a college in Goa, which increases daily, the Viceroy being at the head of the undertaking, and a large building is in progress of erection. The foundations of a splendid and capacious church are laid adjoining the college, and the building will be consecrated next summer. Within six years he expects to see three hundred students assembled, from various nations, and of many languages. The founders were, in fact, Franciscans, but the college is to be transferred to the Society of Jesuits. De Sousa is intent on this enterprise, believes that every house of the kind will bring him a victory over the natives, on whom he is always making war, and has written to the King, praying His Majesty to send out more members of the Society, to be pillars of that college in time to come. The design of the college is to collect children from the various nations of India, teach them "the Christian religion," and send them hence again, when sufficiently instructed, to

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communicate their knowledge to others. "Also, for the dignity of the Christian religion, and increase of piety in that country, De Sousa desires a privilege to be obtained from the Pope in favour of the great altar of the new temple, that whenever mass should be said there for the dead, one soul might be released from purgatory, even as at Rome each mass performed at a privileged altar releases a spirit from its pains." And, for the encouragement of Priests, it is further prayed, that whoever shall say a mass for the defunct, without payment, having been duly confessed before officiating, shall be saved "from Tartarus and hell."

Among the additional Missioners to be sent out, Xavier doubts not that one, and even more than one, will be distinguished by undoubted probity and faith, such qualities being necessary for those that are to rule the college. A Master is also wanted to teach grammar; and the Viceroy desires a Preacher capable of teaching the Priests, three of whom he expects forthwith to labour in administration of the sacraments. And he hopes that the Pope will send them a liberal grant of indulgences, because "the Portuguese excel all nations that I have seen, in their fondness for Roman indulgences, and, by the charm of things of that kind, are much more enticed to frequent participation of the sacraments." And whatever the Pope may be pleased to grant, he hopes it will be certified in a diploma, "that the

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thing may have the more credit and dignity." He recommends that, with the indulgences, some presents should be sent to the Viceroy and his lady. And the Viceroy begs Ignacio to obtain from the Pope this favour, that whenever he, his wife, and his children, go to confession, they may all receive the same indulgences as if they had visited the seven churches of Rome.

The prayers for spiritual help from Rome are not yet exhausted. The third letter contains an enumeration of "certain spiritual necessities of those countries." The Indians need encouragement to pay greater veneration to St. Thomas, which might be given them in the form of plenary indulgence to all who attend confession and mass on the day consecrated to that saint, and on the seven days following. In time of Lent, which falls in the Indian summer, people are all under arms, fighting with the natives, or are out on coasting-trade. They cannot, therefore, wait before altars, nor frequent confessionals. To make up for this lack of Lent, it is desired that all inmates of hospitals in Goa be supplied with an indulgence, for the obliteration of all their sin, whenever they confess, and for absolution, at the hour of death, from all penalty in the world to come; and that if people, when at leisure, will go to the hospitals and tend the sick, they shall be cleansed from guilt, so that by this contrivance the population may have the benefit of a sort of secondary Lent. The Blessed Virgin has

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many churches in the province, fine buildings, and well furnished; but public zeal towards her worship languishes. It must therefore be quickened, and a grant of plenary indulgence to all who pay due visitation to her churches is advised. There is a Brotherhood of Mercy in Goa, the members being all Portuguese, and very zealous. For their encouragement, Xavier asks that those men and their wives may be made sure of a pardon of all sin in one annual confession, with certain forgiveness when they die. The Portuguese garrisons in India lie so far apart, that the Bishop of Goa cannot administer the sacrament of Confirmation; and therefore the Viceroy prays that, for the establishment of the Christian faith, the Bishop may be authorised to empower his Vicars to confirm. Inasmuch as, in the month of April, fish is no sooner dead than it begins to stink, and it is, therefore, impossible to live upon fish in Lent, the Viceroy prays Xavier to implore the Pope, which he does in God's name, (*et simul per Deum obtestarer,*) to transfer Easter into the month of June or July, if that be possible.

After this fashion did "the Apostle of the Indies" set about propagating Christianity without Christ, and contrive methods for the salvation of the Portuguese, and conversion of the Indians, without the slightest reference to the Saviour of mankind as the object of trust, to the Bible as the standard of belief and rule of life,

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or to the Holy Spirit as the source of power. As for the Portuguese possessions in India, they were utterly destitute of religion in any form. The people were sunk into the lowest depths of immorality : only four Priests were to be found in all those regions when Xavier landed at Goa. He winked at prevailing wickedness, and merely proposed to revive the Romish superstition under a very mild and easy form ; and to expiate by sacraments the sins of a population that was deluged with adulteries, assassinations, and every abomination of slavery, and laden with the sins of Paganism in addition to their own.

The best thing that he did was to walk the streets of Goa, ringing a bell, to collect children, who, drawn by their own curiosity, or sent by their parents, followed him to the church, where he taught them to repeat the Lord's Prayer, the Angelical Salutation, the Creed, and the Decalogue. Yet our own experience of the little value of recitations by memory of the same things,—the *Ave* of course excepted,—enables us to understand that, among so degraded and ignorant a people, with no advantage of a Liturgy in their vernacular language, nor a Bible, nor any continued system of instruction, that heartless repetition could not have produced any perceptible effect,\* beyond the assemblage of two

\* Perhaps thinking to shun this defect, many teachers now fall into the opposite extreme, and there are thousands

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or three hundred children. Large congregations of adults were easily brought together to hear his discourses, preaching being a novelty in those days; and with the mere circumstance of their coming to hear him he expressed himself as quite satisfied.

Xavier, like most other persons, rejoiced when he could get quick returns, but was not very scrupulous in his choice of means. Concubinage was prevalent in Goa, as in all slave-colonies, and settlements occupied by promiscuous and immoral populations; and he applied himself to the extinction of the custom. He was a general visiter, and, whatever evidence of licentiousness he witnessed, made himself agreeable to the guilty. He was used to invite himself to dinner, and, with an air of gaiety, would ask the master of the house to let him see his children. After caressing the finest of them, he usually asked to see their mother, who came forward with confidence to meet Father Francis, by this time ingratiated with all the family. He received her with all the ceremony due to a legitimate mistress of the house, and, if the shade of her complexion was light enough, complimented her on the comeliness of her person, and would tell her that she looked like a Portuguese. Afterwards,

of children in Protestant schools who have no knowledge of the Ten Commandments. They were written on tables of stone; but, for no small part of the present generation, they might as well have been written in sand.

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in private with his host, he would say: "You have a fine slave here, she is quite fit to be your wife," and, making slight mention of their sin, or none at all, would advise him to marry her. "But, if the woman was a black and ugly Indian, he would exclaim, 'What a monster you have in your house! How can you possibly bear the sight of it?' These words, apparently spoken without design, generally produced their effect. The concubinary married that one of his concubines whom the servant of God had praised, and dismissed the others."

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A fashion of going to confess, and performing works of piety, as they are called, was gaining ground in Goa, when a new field of enterprise appeared in prospect.

Miguel Vaz, Vicar-General of the Indies, told Xavier that, on the south-eastern coast of India, extending from Cape-Comorin to the Isle of Manaar, and commonly called the Fishing-Coast, there was a people called *Parrawer*, or "Fishermen," who had been baptized for some time past, on occasion of receiving succours from the Portuguese against the Moors, but had no more of Christianity than baptism and the name. He advised him to go thither, and finish their conversion; and, as the inhabitants of Goa had been instructed in better customs for the space



of five months, his presence in that city was thought less necessary.

Having received the Bishop's blessing, he embarked, in the month of September, 1542, in a galliot that was despatched with a new Captain of Comorin, and took with him three youths, natives of the country, who had learnt Portuguese and ecclesiastical ceremonies in the seminary at Goa, to serve him as interpreters and assistants. He found the Parrawer no better than Heathens, "knowing nothing more than that they were Christians." No one had ministered religious rites among them, nor taught them Catechism. He, therefore, hurried from village to village, making them repeat the Creed, the Pater, the Ave, and the Commandments. All the unbaptized children he "washed clean in sacred water," and thus "expiated a very large number of infants, who, as they say, did not know their right hand from their left." The children, attracted by his attention, beset him so closely to be taught the new lesson, that he had not time to eat his food; and then he "began to feel that of such was the kingdom of heaven," and perceived that they were very intelligent, and likely to make very good Christians in time to come.

From these neophytes he turned aside into a pagan village, and asked the inhabitants to become Christians. "Although they saw that their nearest neighbours were turned to Christ,"

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no one would consent, but they all excused themselves by saying that they lived under a Chief who would not permit his people to join in Christian worship. But just then an incident occurred that he thought might possibly be made use of in some way for the attainment of his object. A woman had been for three days in the pains of child-birth, and her neighbours began to despair of her safety. As the prayers of the wicked are an abomination to God, Xavier could not ask them to pray for her. Yet he went with one of the young men to the woman's house, and there began confidently to invoke the name of the Lord, forgetting, as he tells us, that he was in a strange land, for the earth is the Lord's, and all that dwell therein. Then he began, by the interpreter, to recite over his patient the articles of Christian faith, which, no doubt, the poor Heathen would suppose to be an incantation. And at length he asked her whether she was willing to be a Christian. Willing to say or do anything that might bring relief, she consented; and, without losing a moment, he "repeated the words of the Gospel," or, to speak more correctly, the form of baptism, and forthwith she gave birth to a boy. The joyful mother imagined that this was the effect of the ceremony she had undergone, so thought the spectators; and while they were full of wonder and delight, Xavier baptized her husband, their new-born babe, and the other children, and thus,

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to borrow his own words, "I brought forth the whole family to Christ." The village was in uproar with amazement. The Missioner went to the head men of the place, and called on them to submit to Christ by baptism, in acknowledgment of so great and manifest a miracle. They refused to cast off the religion of their forefathers, unless their Chief would permit them so to do. But an agent of the Chief was there at the time collecting revenue, and to him ran Xavier, soliciting permission. He said that it seemed very well to be a Christian, and that any who chose might be baptized. For his own part, he would not make any such profession; but the head men did, and the villagers all followed.

The village of Tuticurin, inhabited by proselyted fishermen, was next the scene of labour. Those fishermen had lately complained to the Viceroy of India that the Saracens had stolen their boats. The Viceroy sent a few ships to punish the Saracens, from whom the boats were easily recovered, and other boats taken, all which were given to the fishermen. The Saracens being utterly beaten, the neophytes regarded the Viceroy as their deliverer, coveted his protection, and prayed to be regarded, from that time, as his children. And Xavier either originated or adopted a project for assembling all the proselytes from various parts of the coast into one settlement, that might be fortified and defended

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with European skill, an armed colony, under the government of Portugal, and, with the sanction of the Pope, a military church. And so marvellously rapid was his career of conversion, that his voyage from Goa to the pearl-coast, his catechising and baptisms in the scattered villages, his visit to the Heathen, with preaching, miracle, and baptisms again, as well as deliberation concerning the plan of a fortified Christian settlement,—all took place between the date of two letters, the 28th of September, and the 28th of October, showing a rate of speed that modern evangelists might envy, if it were speed in the career of awakening and conversion.

Our Missioner shall report his own proceedings during the remainder of his visitation in this part of India. He speaks, in a letter to the Society in Rome, dated from Cochin, January 12th, 1544, immediately after his return :—

“Francisco Mansilha and I have been living among the Christians of Comorin, of whom there is a very large and daily-increasing number. When I first arrived, I asked them if they had any knowledge of Christ, our Lord. But to my inquiries as to what they thought concerning the articles of our faith, and what they believed more than when they were Heathens, they could only say that they were Christians; but as they did not understand the Portuguese language, neither did they know the precepts and mysteries of the Christian religion. Therefore, as I was as

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ignorant of their language as they of mine,—for I speak Spanish, and they Malabar,—I selected some of the most ingenious and best-informed of them, and then found out the most conversant with both languages. So, when we had spent many days together, by united and hard labour, we translated the Catechism [or Decalogue, &c.] into Malabar. When I had committed it to memory, I began to travel through all the villages on that coast, everywhere collecting, by sound of bell, as many as I could, men, women, and children.

“To the children thus assembled, I delivered this Christian instruction twice every day; and by this means the children could very fairly commit it to memory in the space of one month. And at the same time I bade them teach their parents, families, and neighbours what they had learnt. On Sundays I convened men and women, boys and girls, in church. They all came very willingly, and listened with great attention. Then, in the hearing of them all, I went through the Confession of the Most Holy Trinity, the Lord’s Prayer, the Angelic Salutation, and the Apostles’ Creed, in their native language, pronouncing all this with a loud and clear voice, which they all repeated after me with extraordinary pleasure. When I alone repeated the Creed, dwelt upon each article, and asked them each to tell me whether they believed it without any doubt, they all laid their hands in the form of a cross upon

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their breasts, and in a slow voice answered that they did believe. Thus I make them recite the Creed more frequently than the *other* (?) prayers, and at the same time teach them that all who believe what it contains are called Christians. In the same manner I teach them the Decalogue, that I may show the Christian law to be comprehended in those Ten Commandments, and that whoever duly keeps them all is a true Christian, and shall attain to eternal life ; \* but that, on the contrary, whoso neglects any one of them is a wicked Christian, and must be cast into hell, unless he duly repent of what he has committed.

“At this, both neophytes and Heathens are amazed, when they perceive how holy is the law of the Christians, how consistent with itself, and how agreeable to reason. After *these chief prayers* (?) I usually repeat the Pater Noster and Ave Maria, they following. Then we return a second time to the articles of the Creed, reciting a Pater and an Ave, with certain verses after each. For example : after the first article I lead them with this verse, in the language of their country, — ‘O Jesus, Son of the living God, grant that we may fully believe this first article of Thy faith ; which that we may obtain from Thee, we offer this prayer, appointed by Thyself !’ Then we add another verse, like the following : ‘Holy Mary, Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, obtain

\* It can hardly be necessary to note that this is not the doctrine of the Gospel.

for us from thy dearest Son, that we may believe this article of Christian faith without any doubt !' The same order we observe with the remaining eleven chapters of the Creed.

"Then we inculcate the precepts of the Decalogue, most generally in the manner following. The first commandment, which is about *loving* (?) God, we chant together, and together then we pray, 'O Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, grant that we may love Thee above all things;' and immediately, to obtain this, we add the Lord's Prayer. Next, we all sing together this verse: 'Holy Mary, Mother of Jesus Christ, obtain from thy Son that we may keep His first commandment carefully!' Then we add the Angelic Salutation. The same order is observed with the remaining nine commandments, slightly varying the intercalary verses. This is what I accustom them to ask of God in prayer; and at the same time tell them, that if they obtain this they will also gain other things more abundantly than they can ask.

"Then I command all, including those who are to be baptized, to recite a form of general confession; and I ask the latter, at each article of the Creed, whether they steadfastly believe it; and when they have answered affirmatively, I usually repeat an exhortation, composed in their own language, wherein I give a short summary of the discipline necessary to salvation.

"Last of all, I duly baptize those who have

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been thus prepared, and we finish by singing the *Salve Regina*, imploring the help and succour of the Holy Virgin. How great multitudes are gathered into the fold of Christ may be conjectured, when I say that my arm is often so wearied with baptizing that I am no longer able to move it; for I have often baptized an entire village in one day. Not unfrequently, by the reiterated recitation of the Creed and other forms, I lose both voice and strength."

The great readiness with which the Indians enter into these ceremonies, leads him to believe that the children will retain a strong attachment to Christianity, and be far better Christians than their parents; and he rejoices in the zeal of those children in overthrowing and breaking the images of the gods. Nor were they more diligent in breaking the idols than in chastising the worshippers; for once, when it was heard that a new convert had been secretly worshipping his former god, and would not be persuaded to desist, Xavier commanded the children to go and set fire to the man's house, to make him understand that worshippers of devils deserved to be burnt everlastingly *like* devils. They punctually set about the combustion of the house; but he threw out his idols, which they brought away in great glee, and spared his dwelling. It is also said that those children performed miracles of healing, going to distant places for that purpose, when the saint had not time to go himself. But it



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does not appear that he ever pretended to have delegated such powers to children, or any other person ; although he made great use of children for teaching grown persons to repeat the lessons. And here, with regard to his translation and oral instruction, we must acknowledge that he would have deserved high praise, if he had stayed to finish the work begun ; and, so far as a similarity of circumstances requires, even his methods might be well imitated by our Missionaries, while his ingenuity, when kept within the bounds of honesty, merits universal emulation.

The employment of neophytes to teach Catechism, and to baptize in the absence of Priests, began on the Fishing-Coast. A class of catechists thus arose, called by the natives *canacopoles*, and were maintained by grants from the crown of Portugal. A letter from Xavier to the Queen is mentioned, containing an application for a grant out of duties levied on stockings imported from India, and hitherto transferred to the Queen's privy purse. He pleasantly tells Her Majesty that she may go to heaven very well without stockings, and that the prayers of persons benefited by her gold would help her on the way.

### IN DIVERS PLACES.

After spending more than a year in reviving Romanism among the pearl-fishers, Xavier went back to Goa for a short time, to confer with the Viceroy concerning his mission, and to place

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some young Parrawer in the seminary to be prepared for ecclesiastical service among their countrymen. He there found Paolo di Camerino and Francisco Mansilha, who had been left at Mozambique with the invalids on their voyage out, and allotted to them their stations in the service of India. Borba, the Portuguese Priest who had founded the seminary,—for although called a college by Xavier, it was not yet known by that name,—resigned the direction of the establishment to him, where he took up his abode for the time, no longer lodging among the sick in a hospital. Having accepted this authority under the sanction of the Viceroy, he delegated Camerino to administer the government of the seminary, closed his conferences concerning the combination of temporal and spiritual powers that was to take place in the government of the East, and again embarked for Cape-Comorin, taking Mansilha to preside over that mission.

Besides Mansilha, he took thither two native Indians, now made Priests, and a Spanish Priest from Biscay. With them he made a circuit of the country, let them see his method of proceeding, and then stationed them in districts which they were constantly to visit according to his instructions.

Bent on the extension of his labours, he left them at work, and went inland to a kingdom hitherto unvisited. The name of that country is

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'not recorded. Its language he did not know. But he baptized infants, not wanting for that ceremony any translator, and also distributed charity to the indigent, who found no difficulty in making known their misery, and could fully comprehend his bounty without needing or desiring the intervention of an interpreter. This is all we know of that brief mission, and it is questionable whether the natives could have added anything to our information. As for the baptisms, they were unintelligible, and therefore inoffensive. He was contented with the notion, that every child, or other person, whom he contrived to sprinkle with water, muttering the name of the Holy Trinity, was regenerate; but as he had no apparatus wherewith to gather crowds, and make visible progress, he soon returned, and both he and his friends allowed that brief passage in his career to pass without the honours of history.

The Badages, a wild and numerous tribe in the kingdom of Bijanaghur, had made an incursion on the country north of Cape-Comorin, devastated the villages, and driven the remnant of the inhabitants to their boats. Those poor creatures, scattered on the rocks of Adam's-Bridge, between the Cape and Ceylon, were perishing with hunger, thirst, and exposure to the burning sun. Xavier heard of the calamity, hastened to the western coast, obtained twenty vessels laden with provisions, and soon distri-

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buted the charity among those fugitives, who returned to their huts after the invaders had abandoned the region that was too sterile to be worth retaining: but they were a thousand times more attached to Christianity by this benevolence than by all the recitations they had learnt; and were now allied with Portugal in a bond of common political interest against a horde of barbarians, who had kept all their neighbours in perpetual alarm. The Missioners resumed their operations; and Xavier, known under the advantageous character of a benefactor, left them with their charge, and presented himself before the King of Travancore, whose territory extended thirty leagues along the coast westward of Cape-Comorin.

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This Chieftain, being under the protection of Portugal, could not refuse the request of his powerful friends to permit Xavier to "publish the law of the true God," as they were pleased to call their superstition, to his subjects. He entered vigorously on a course of recitation like that which had succeeded so well at the Fishery, and, in a very short time, all Travancore called itself Christian. In a single month, as he related, he had baptized ten thousand idolaters with his own hand, and often, in a single day, shed the purifying water on all the inhabitants of a village. His custom was to command the newly

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baptized to go at once and destroy the idols and demolish the temples. This was the triumph of the evening of each baptismal day; and in the downfall of those gods he rejoiced exceedingly. And we, too, should rejoice in telling of their destruction, if we did not know that other idols immediately replaced them. He saw about forty-five temples rise from their foundations, dedicated to Romish saints.

By this time Xavier could speak with some fluency in the language of the country; and his admirers are pleased to say that he had never learned it by human means, but received the faculty of speaking it by miraculous gift. People thronged to hear him in multitudes larger than any building could receive; and, in the absence of better accommodation, he climbed up trees, and, sitting on the branches, preached with real eloquence. Often were sails brought from ships to be spread over the portable altars, whereon he celebrated mass in the open air.

Some Brahmins, seeing their temples torn down or deserted, laid wait to kill him. Once he was obliged to hide himself from their pursuit in the depth of a forest. Once an arrow wounded him; and he declared his joy in having shed blood for the sake of Christ, without losing his life.

The savages that had ravaged the Fishing-Coast the year before, now made an irruption into Travancore by a pass in the mountains north of

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Cape-Comorin. Their object was booty; they were not prepared for any regular resistance; and the advance of a well-ordered body of men under the Nair, or Lord, of Madura, brought them to a stand. Yet they were strong in multitude, exceedingly ferocious, and, when formed into something like order of battle, threatened with destruction the native force.

“Father Xavier,” to quote Bouhours, “no sooner knew that the Badages had made their appearance, than he threw himself prostrate on the ground, and cried, ‘O Lord, remember that Thou art the God of mercy, and the Protector of the faithful: leave not to the rage of those wolves the flock of which Thou hast made me the shepherd; that the new Christians, still so feeble in the faith, may not repent them of having embraced it, and that the infidels may not have the advantage of overcoming them who place their hope in Thee.’ His prayer being finished, he arose, full of extraordinary courage, or, rather, of I know not what Divine power that made him intrepid, took a company of fervent Christians, and, crucifix in hand, ran with them to the plain where the enemies were marching in order of battle. As soon as he was near enough to make himself heard, he suddenly stopped, and called to them, with a threatening voice, ‘I forbid you, in the name of the living God, to pass any further; and I command you, from Him, to return by the way that brought you.’

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“These few words struck terror into the soldiers that were at the head of the army. They stood fixed to the place, unable to move a limb. They who came after, finding that there was a halt, asked what was the matter. The first answered that they saw a strange man, dressed in black, of a figure more than human, of a terrible aspect, and his eyes flashing fire. The bolder of them came forward to see for themselves, were seized with panic, and they all fled in disorder. The neophytes who had come with Xavier ran to the neighbouring villages, to tell of an event so marvellous. The fame of it soon spread on all sides, and the King, who was marching to the field in haste, heard of it by the way. He called for Xavier, embraced him as the deliverer of Travancore, and, having thanked him publicly for so great a service, said, ‘They call me the Great King, and henceforth you shall be called the Great Father.’”

And the King is said to have issued a decree, that all should obey the Great Father equally with himself; and that whoever wished to be a Christian, might be so without fear. He called Xavier his brother, and gave him large sums of money; which, faithful to his vow of poverty, he distributed among the poor.

So far there is nothing grossly improbable in this part of the biography; but the Church of Rome has adopted statements that are utterly incredible, and, being incredible, are blasphem-

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ous. The acts of his canonisation, which are an authentic record of what the Court of Rome professed to believe concerning him, when he was enrolled among the saints, set forth that he completed the conversion of the kingdom—the King excepted—by means of miracles. They say that he healed all manner of diseases, and raised up four persons, two men and two women, from the dead. The acts of canonisation merely affirm the fact as to the resurrection of the women; but the tales concerning the men run thus:—

Xavier, say their witnesses, was preaching in one of the seaport towns of Travancore, named Coulan, near Comorin, and some were converted by his sermons. But the greater part of the inhabitants persisted in the ancient errors. Yet even the most obstinate heard him with pleasure, acknowledging that the holy precepts of the Gospel were agreeable to the light of natural religion; but their admiration led to no good effect. They admired Christianity, but would not accept it for themselves. One day the Father, seeing that his preaching was altogether powerless, broke off into an apostrophe to the Divine Being, fixing his eyes heaven-ward, and having his countenance glowing with unusual animation, and prayed Him, with many tears, to have mercy on the hardened idolaters. “Lord,” said he, “all hearts are in Thine hands: Thou canst bend the most stubborn as Thou wilt, and



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soften the hardest. This day wilt Thou give glory to the blood and to the name of Thy Son." Scarcely had he pronounced the prayer, when he felt that he was heard. Turning towards the audience with the air of a man inspired, he said, "Well! since you will not believe me on my word, you shall see what will prove me worthy of credit. What evidence will you have of the truths that I declare to you?" Remembering, at that moment, that a man had been buried the day before, and resuming his address in the same tone of confidence, he continued, "Open the tomb that you shut so securely, and bring the body. But be sure that he whom you buried is really dead."

The most incredulous were they who ran the quickest to the place of burial, and disinterred the body. Far from finding any sign of life in it, the smell of putrefaction offended their nostrils; but, this notwithstanding, they unwrapped the body, and laid it at his feet, for he had followed them thither. The barbarians gazed with astonishment on the carcase, wondering what would come to pass. The saint fell upon his knees, and, after a very short prayer, spake to the dead man thus: "I command thee, in the holy name of the living God, to arise, in proof of the religion that I preach." The dead man, say they, instantly stood erect, not only alive, but healthy and strong. And then they all cried with a loud voice, that the God of

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the Christians was almighty, and that the law which the Great Father taught was true. They all threw themselves prostrate in the dust before him, prayed for baptism, and received it on the spot.

Marvellous indeed! Marvellous that a miracle so stupendous should not have been heard of the whole world round. In the year 1544 a Jesuit that could raise the dead would have been invaluable in Europe. Never was controversy hotter. The fires of martyrdom were already burning. The Inquisition was preparing for its fiercest deeds. In England, despite schism, Romish orthodoxy was rampant. Yet, all over Europe, every dogma was disputed, and every sacrament of Rome denied. Had the fathers of the Reformation heard of a resurrection from the dead in India, they would have been startled, at least, and might have been reclaimed to Rome. The multitude would have wavered. The pulpits would have rung with exultation, and hundreds of witnesses would have been summoned from Travancore, to confront and to confound the heretics in Germany and France.

But, no! There is blank ignorance of such a marvel! dead silence! A man, now said to have wrought more miracles than any one of the Apostles, trod the earth so lightly, that in all the civilised world a foot-fall was not heard of him! And even India was so obdurate, even the neophytes were so faithless, that the Church

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grew desperate, and the very man who could rain miracles upon the obstinate, was obliged to call for fire to consume them; for this same Xavier, as we shall yet see, was constrained to have recourse to far inferior methods of conviction.

The other corpse was that of a young man who had died, twenty-four hours before, of a pestilential fever. Xavier happened to be walking abroad, met the funeral procession, father and mother, followed by the chief people of the neighbourhood. Soon as they saw him, they took courage; the parents fell at his feet, embraced his knees, and implored him to restore their son to life. He prayed, made a sign of the cross, threw holy water on the body, took him by the hand, lifted him up in the name of the Lord, and gave him back to them alive.

Here is a parody of the miracle of the widow's son, after a parody of the miracle of Lazarus. And wretched parodies they are. If the reader could bear to be addressed with argument in disproof of what is palpably profane, and profoundly ridiculous, it might be noted that in his letter to the Society at Rome, when describing the great success that had followed his labours, he attributes all to the use of precisely the same means as those employed on the eastern coast, and makes no mention of obstinacy in the people, nor the most remote allusion to any sort of Divine intervention apparent in his behalf,

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beyond the general acknowledgment which is usually expressed or implied. But reasoning is out of place here, either for proof or disproof. We pass on.

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Into Manaar, a small island on the north-west coast of Ceylon, a Portuguese trader, whose name is not recorded, appears to have introduced the name of Christianity. MANAAR was valuable as a commercial station; for it had an excellent harbour, and was a dependency of Jaffnapatam, with whose King the Portuguese were in amicable correspondence. But the King of Jaffnapatam was said to have usurped the throne. His brother, perhaps with right, claimed succession. His people were discontented. The trader, whether or not commissioned from Goa it might be impossible to determine, wrought the discontented Manaarese into a disposition to profess the religion of Portugal, and to send to the famous wonder-worker of Comorin and Travancore, praying for baptism. The messenger found him at Travancore; but, being unable to disengage himself from his arduous labours in that kingdom, or unwilling to commit his person to the hazards of such an enterprise, he sent some Priests from the Fishery to baptize the malcontents.

“The tyrant of Jaffnapatam,” regarding their profession of Christianity as equivalent with defection from his obedience, sent soldiers, and

put six hundred persons to death. To the admiration of Xavier, they had received Christianity before conversion, and yet great was the wonder that they should have died for that cause; and, unconverted as they were, death gave them the honour of martyrdom, and the place where they suffered was called *the land of martyrs*. The first historians tell us very little of the matter, but Bouhours embellishes his tale by representing a wonder,—*ce qu'il y eut de merveilleux*,—that each grown person whom the soldiers killed, first made a loud confession of Christ; that parents answered for their infant children, “who were not yet able to bear testimony to the faith;” and that they were thus put to death, one by one. That all those persons, utterly ignorant of Christianity as they were, should have so readily surrendered their lives, and the lives of their children, for the sake of Christ, perhaps excelling in faithfulness all Christian congregations that had ever been subjected to a similar trial, is utterly incredible. It was not conversion to Christ, but rebellion, stirred up by foreign influence, at a time when the royal family was divided by a quarrel of succession. A son of the King was amongst the slain. The trader buried him by night. A sister of the King, and her son, united in treason and the Portuguese religion, escaped on board the trader's vessel, which rode at anchor in the harbour, and set sail for Travancore. The

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Captain presented to Xavier the illustrious neophytes. "The Father received them as angels sent from heaven, and rendered a thousand thanks to God for so fair a conquest. He strengthened them in the faith, gave them salutary instructions, and promised them so to interest himself in their behalf with the Viceroy of the Indies, that they might never have to repent of leaving all for the sake of Jesus Christ."

The flight of his sister and nephew provoked the King to renewed severities, and many more of the people of Manaar were slain. Already his brother had found his way to Goa, was baptized, put under instruction as a convert, and under an oath, too, administered at the font, which bound him, that if he recovered the kingdom, he would himself labour to bring it to the obedience of Jesus Christ.

"Father Xavier, who was informed of all, judged that so favourable an opportunity should not be allowed to escape, nor a moment be lost. He saw with what perfection Christians would live in a kingdom where people died so generously for the faith almost before they knew it. He considered that if the injustice and cruelty of the tyrant went unpunished, other idolatrous Kings would persecute new believers; and he judged that the only way to repair the past, and to be prepared against the future, was to deprive the barbarian of the crown that he wore unjustly, and give it to his brother to whom it

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belonged. And to bring this about, he thought recourse should be had to the Portuguese, to engage them, by a principle of religion, to take up arms against the usurper of the kingdom and persecutor of the Christians. With these views the Father called Mansilha from the Fishing-Coast, and, having placed in his charge the Christianity of Travancore, set out overland to meet the Viceroy who was at Cambay." Following up this beginning, the Portuguese gained possession, eventually, of the maritime parts of Ceylon; the next step to this being the forcible establishment of the King's brother at Jaffnapatam, on condition of paying heavy tribute to Portugal in compensation for their service. And Xavier, who professed entire separation from the world, did not see any inconsistency with that profession, in linking his mission with treason against the occupant of a distant throne in violation of the law of nations. But the enterprises of his Church have never been limited by the law of nations, any more than guided by the law of God.

To advance the scheme, he hastened towards Cambay, by way of Cochin, where he found Miguel Vaz, Vicar-General of the Indies (December 16th, 1544). To this ecclesiastic he confided the reasons of his journey, and, moreover, complained of the weakness of the Government, to which he attributed the avarice and violence of its officers. He said that Affonso de Sousa—

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the Viceroy, to whom he was then going—had much piety, but was a weak man; and he thought it absolutely necessary that some one who had witnessed his want of energy in punishing evil-doers should go to Lisbon, and inform the King. Vaz entered so heartily into the project of removing the Viceroy,—whose patronage of the Priests did not satisfy our saint so long as he did not lend the sword to the full extent of their wishes,—that he went on board a ship that was then about to weigh anchor, and carried home a letter from Xavier to John III. They had spent five weeks in secret consultation when the letter was written, and we find it in the collection published.

He tells the King that God has put the empire of these Indies into his hands, and made him the most powerful of all Princes, in order to prove whether he will faithfully execute the business now committed to him. And this business is not so much to enrich his royal treasury as to extend the faith, and bring the infidels of India into the Church by means of the skilful ministers that it becomes him to employ; and as His Majesty will have to give God an account at last, he must command those whom he sends into those regions to labour with all their might to spread the faith far and wide; and if he fails to send such servants, or to provide India with Priests, he will be answerable for the loss of souls. Miguel Vaz, he says, will relate the



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teachableness of the Indians, and the opportunities presented for their conversion ; and it is the desire of all in India that he shall return to them in the same capacity. Then at great length he sets forth the good qualities of Vaz, and the infirmities of the aged Bishop Albuquerque, who, good man that he is, has not courage enough to do his duty.

“ I pray you, my Lord King, and, for the service of God, beseech you, that, as I write these lines with the most upright intention and sincerest truth, Your Majesty would receive what I suggest with equal kindness, favour, and benevolence. For, actuated alone by care for the Divine honour and service, and with a true desire of relieving your royal conscience, I pray and entreat you not only by letters to command your servants here to be mindful of the service of God, but also to punish those who in the exercise of their office fail in this respect, and to back your orders with examples of righteous vengeance (*justæ ultionis*). For there is danger lest, when our Lord God shall call Your Majesty to His judgment, (which will be when least expected, nor can there be any reason for escaping it,) lest then, I say, you hear God offended say, ‘ Why didst thou not punish them who, being subject to thee whom I had exalted, were contrary to me in India ; while, if the same persons had been found negligent of giving thee an account of thy revenues, thou wouldest have severely exacted

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satisfaction?' I know not, my Lord, what would be the value of thy answer, if thou shouldst reply: 'But I wrote to them every year, commanding them to attend to Thy service.' For He would rejoin at once: 'And them who set at nought those holy commands, thou didst suffer to escape with impunity; while those whom thou didst find in the least unfaithful or careless towards thyself, thou didst visit with due punishment.' O my Lord, by your burning zeal for the Divine glory, by the care you have of rendering God an account of your conduct, and of keeping your conscience clear, I beseech and adjure Your Majesty *to send out a suitable servant, armed with necessary authority, whose only care it shall be to see to the salvation of the innumerable souls that are here perishing; and who in that post shall have a power unlimited by the authority and government of those whom you command to oversee your revenue and your affairs; that thus, for the future, those many and grave inconveniencies and scandals may be avoided, from which formerly the affairs of religion here were free.*"

This must have been more than a request for the recall of Affonso de Sousa, his friend and patron. It is evident that St. Francis asked for some one whose only care would be to see to the salvation of souls, not by spiritual ministration, but by exercising an unlimited power of coercion, without answering for anything it might please

him to do, either to those intrusted with the collection of the royal revenue, or to the administrators of the vice-regal jurisdiction. But John III., not from any scruple of humanity, but perhaps from reluctance to encumber himself with another branch of that unmanageable Tribunal, did not comply with the petition; and it was not until after his death that an Inquisitor made his appearance in Goa. Another request, that His Majesty would send as many members of "the Society" as possible to enlarge the missions, and to supply the "Holy House" at Goa, although not less dangerous, was readily complied with.

The Vicar Vaz so effectually represented the incompetency of De Sousa, that another Viceroy came out to supersede him, furnished with powers in favour of the Jesuits. Xavier, meanwhile, completed his journey, made himself so far agreeable to the man whom he had ruined in the estimation of the King, as to engage him to send a fleet to attack Jaffnapatam. Thither "the Saint" went to lead the invasion in person; but when they got there, the Captains appear to have accepted bribes from "the tyrant." They declared, truly enough, although certainly with less honesty than truth, if they were bribed, that the war was unjust, and they refused to commit hostilities. However, he had the satisfaction of seeing the little island of Manaar, of receiving tumultuary honours from the Christian savages,

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and of making some more Christians of the same sort by his baptism. That a miracle might grace the visit, his biographers raise a pestilence, and make it to be driven away by virtue of his prayers. As the ships left the shores of Ceylon, the disappointed Crusader looked back upon the retiring land, and cried aloud with passion, perhaps with tears: "Ah, wretched island, with how many carcasses shalt thou be covered! What rivers of blood shall flood thy coasts!" His friends relate prodigies and prophecies that drew down wonder on him on the voyage from Cochin to Manaar, too trifling to be mentioned here; but we note the menace, which, from the lips of such a saint, could not fall to the ground. The prediction was crowned with punctual fulfilment before many years had rolled away: for Constantino de Bragança and Furtado de Mendonça made the shore of Ceylon reek with carnage; and the King, whom Xavier doomed, was murdered in his palace.

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The winds were adverse, and the ship which carried "the Apostle of the Indies" could not keep her course towards Travancore, but—so much leeway did ships make in those days—conveyed him to Meliapore, or, as Europeans call the place, St. Thomas. Driven from the desired conquest of Ceylon, he had to form a new plan of enterprise; and having heard that a rumour

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of Portugal and Christianity had reached the large island of Celebes, in the far-distant Indian Archipelago, he inclined to go thither, and break up new ground.

But having taken St. Thomas, first Evangelist of India, for patron and guide, considering that his unexpected arrival at Negapatam had brought him far on the way towards the temple of that Saint, and believing that no prayer for direction could be so effectual as it would be if offered up through his intercession, he resolved to go thither, and obtain that guidance from St. Thomas which it did not occur to him to seek from Him who said, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."

After a stormy voyage, tempests raging round him, the deep threatening hourly to swallow him up, and, to add to the romance, prophetic and miraculous powers waiting on him all the time, he reached the port; and no sooner was his landing known than the Vicar, who had heard of him as Nuncio and Apostle, came to render his respects, and invited him to lodge in his house, near the church where lay the relics of his chosen guardian, St. Thomas. He joyfully accepted the invitation, and told the Vicar that he had come as a pilgrim to cast himself before that shrine, and seek there for counsel concerning his projected visit to the further east.

The Vicar and his pilgrim-guest slept in the same chamber; and no sooner had the former

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fallen asleep than the latter arose quietly, and stole away to the church, passing through a burial-ground that lay between that edifice and the vicarage. His host had forewarned him that he might expect some disturbance, as the place was not very sure, and because horrible spectres often made themselves visible in the church. But Xavier feared nothing. He approached the resting-place of the Evangelist, and had begun to make fervent prayer to the Saint, when fearful sounds fell on his ear. But he persevered, and, night after night, prosecuted his exercises on the same spot. Terrific phantoms disputed his passage through the grave-yard, their domain; but he mocked them, and went on. But demons, says our authority, are too proud to be mocked with impunity; and, accordingly, they surrounded him one night when he was kneeling before an image of the Virgin Mary, under the flickering of an untrimmed lamp, fell upon him with one accord, and so sensibly avenged themselves upon his body, that he was necessitated to keep his bed for several days. There lay poor Xavier, men, elements, and sprites being combined against him: but he rose to the grandeur of the occasion, and, as soon as his limbs regained their suppleness, he repeated his visits; and the ghosts, satisfied with having chastised the ascetic who came to spoil their pleasures, generously allowed him to resume his devotions undisturbed. He would have kept the adventure secret, but a

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young man from Malabar, who slept near the church, was awakened by the noise, and heard the blows and the cries of the sufferer vainly invoking the succour of the Virgin in those moments of extremity. He divulged the matter ; and the humorous Vicar, not sufficiently impressed with the solemnity or the sublimity of such a conflict, often presumed to rally his guest by repeating the ejaculations that he had wasted in those moments of nocturnal terror.

One morning, very early, the demons themselves took possession of the choir while Xavier was in bed. They were singing matins. The sound passed into his chamber. The voices were those of the Canons, as he thought ; but the Vicar said that it was a band of evil ones. We should say that it was the very Canons who had committed an assault on their visiter ; but the judicial witnesses who gave testimony in order to the canonisation of St. Francis declared that the hands that inflicted bruises on him were not fleshly. The Church of Rome accepts their judgment, acquits the Canons, and adores the Saint.

Having ended his devotions to the Virgin and St. Thomas, he professed himself certain of a Divine mission to "the realms of Macassar," and awaited the sailing of any vessel that would take him to Malacca, a Portuguese possession, and the port whence it would be most convenient to proceed. His asceticism, so much the more remarkable as it was contrasted with the

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hilarity of the Vicar and his Canons, had awakened the veneration of the inhabitants of Meliapore. People imagined that he possessed a supernatural and unlimited power over their souls ; and a notion became general that a word of curse from him would plunge its object into eternal perdition. Many, therefore, did penance under his direction ; and, as usual, they say that he performed miracles. To a merchant, on embarking for a long voyage, he gave his rosary. The ship was wrecked, and the merchant was in danger of perishing on the rocks ; but he trusted, as the tale goes, in the rosary, was hushed into a trance, and, being miraculously transported from mid-ocean, awoke on the shore of Negapatam. To a poor shipwrecked soldier, who asked for charity, he gave a handful of gold ; not that he had any to give, but he put his hand into his pocket, and out came pure gold, finer than any gold known upon this planet, and, therefore, evidently of miraculous production.

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Accompanied by one Deiro, formerly a profligate person, but absolved after spending three days in confession at his feet, Xavier embarked for Malacca in September, 1545. Deiro wished to be admitted into the Society ; but the Father thought him not worthy of confidence, and therefore only employed him as a Catechist. This voyage is said to have been signalised by the conversion of



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a gambler, who had lost all in play, and was on the point of committing suicide. Our Saint, moved to pity, first retired to pray, then borrowed fifty reals of a passenger, gave them to the gambler, bade him play again in hope of recovering his fortune, sat by and saw him win largely, received the fifty reals to repay the lender, embraced the gambler affectionately, and advised him never to play again. The man was converted, some one else was defrauded; but, according to the morality of Xavier, the end sanctified the means.

Immediately on landing at Malacca he went to the Governor, and told him of his projected mission to Macassar. But the Governor said that he had already sent a zealous Priest, with a body of Portuguese soldiers, sufficiently strong to enforce the mission, and, therefore, would advise him to remain where he was until something should be heard of their success. Xavier assented. He took up his abode in the hospital, and by attentions to the sick, and great austerity towards himself, soon gained high reputation. Crowds of Portuguese came to see the apostolic man whose fame filled the east. Parents brought him their infants to be blessed; and we are told that as he took each babe into his arms he called it by its proper name, although he had never heard it from human lips.

Notwithstanding their desire to see the Apostle of the Indies, the inhabitants of Malacca were

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extremely wicked. Even in comparison with those of Goa, it might have been thought that their immorality had grown in proportion to the greater distance of Malacca from the Viceroy and the Bishop. Unable to gain attention by any other means, Xavier again took a bell, and went through the streets ringing it, and crying, "Pray to God for them that are in mortal sin." The novel summons induced many to confess and do penance; and for a short time Malacca seemed to be as religious as it had been profane. But penance once performed, and conscience satisfied, they relapsed into their accustomed vices. The incredible part of the tale is, that the Father healed all the sick that were brought into his presence, and that he raised a young woman from the dead, by a word of authority spoken to her mother: "Go, thy daughter liveth." The certain part of the biography relates to his real Missionary operations, and informs us that he studied the Malay language diligently, obtained a translation of the small Catechism he had written on the Coromandel Coast, adding to it a more copious exposition of doctrine, and that he committed the whole to memory, giving the utmost care to an exact pronounciation. Availing himself of interpreters, he held conversations with Heathens, Mohammedans, and Jews, and is said to have baptized some.

While thus occupied, he received letters from Italy and Portugal, bearing intelligence of the

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rapid spread of the Society in Europe ; and heard from Goa that three more Jesuits had come out with De Castro, the new Viceroy. He disposed of them by letter, directing one Lancilotti, an Italian, to remain in the seminary of Santa Fé, at Goa, to teach Latin to the young Indians ; and sending Criminale, an Italian, and Beira, a Spaniard, to join Mansilha on the Fishing-Coast. As for himself, having waited three months for intelligence from Macassar without receiving any, he inferred that his way was not open thither ; and seeing that the inhabitants of Malacca were inaccessible, notwithstanding this fame of miracles, he denounced the vengeance of God on them, predicted plagues, and took ship for Amboyna, in January, 1546, together with his companion Deiro.

A voyage of six weeks, long enough and stormy enough to provide a list of adventures, brought them to Amboyna. There are few details of his proceedings ; but he is represented as pursuing a triumphant, although brief, career, baptizing multitudes, and even building churches. He also entertained a project for establishing a Jesuit college there, or on some other of those islands. The appearance of Spanish and Portuguese ships in hostile attitude, disputing the occupation of the Moluccas, somewhat interrupted his operations, but he found much to do among the Spaniards during an endemic sickness. After they had left, he visited some of the smaller

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islands, and rejoiced in the conversion of some native Kings. When sailing, one day, among those islands, a tempest arose, and, in order to quell it, as they say, he touched the waves with his crucifix. The virtue of the crucifix stilled the raging of wind and sea ; but, to his great grief, he let the image fall into the water. Some time afterwards, walking with a Portuguese on the beach, he saw the sacred object appear above the crest of a wave. The wave broke on the sand, and threw up a crab holding the crucifix in one of its claws. Xavier stood still. The crab crawled towards him, carrying the cross erect, laid it at his feet, and returned to its native element. This is one of the most popular fables, because it is one of the most childish ; and European artists have not disdained to give it perpetuation by their pencils. I remember to have seen a fine picture of the Saint receiving reverence from crabs. The crabs were painted *red*.

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An itinerary would not afford instruction, or even entertainment. We must pass over visits to obscure places, and tales of wonder that were invented to cover the bareness of reality, and come to one of those passages in the life of our Missionary that may be surveyed with pleasure, because we find him displaying an imitable disregard of difficulties in the prosecution of his purpose.

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While in Ternate, he heard of a group of islands distant about sixty leagues eastward, where the barbarous inhabitants, invaded alternately by Saracens and Portuguese, knew not whether they should call themselves Heathens, Mohammedans, or Christians. A Priest, Simão Vaz, had been murdered by the very persons on whom he had poured the water of baptism, but who revolted against cruelties inflicted on them by the Portuguese. Xavier hoped to profit by the strife of parties, and thought, that as the Moors had probably deserved the larger amount of hatred, the natives might once more listen to the overtures of a Christian. To all but himself the design appeared no better than madness; and when he had shut his ear against every remonstrance, his friends besought the Governor of Ternate to interpose his authority, and forbid every ship-master, under a heavy penalty, to convey Father Francis to the islands of the Moor. But the prohibition only became a nearer, and therefore less effectual, barrier which it behoved him to surmount. "Ah," said he, "who are they that set bounds to the power of God, and have such mean ideas of the grace of our Saviour? And are there any hearts hard enough to resist the power of the Most High when it pleases Him to soften and to change them? Can they resist this power, at the same time so gentle and so strong, that makes the dry branch flourish, and raises up children to Abraham from the

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stones? What! cannot He that subdued the whole world to the empire of the Cross by the ministry of the Apostles bring into subjection that little corner of the earth? Are the islands of the Moor, alone, to be excluded from the benefits of redemption? And when Jesus offered all the nations to His eternal Father as a heritage,\* were those people to be excepted? They are very barbarous and very brutal, I know; but they were once more so; neither can I do anything of myself, and therefore I have the greater hope of them. I can do all things in Him that strengtheneth me, and from Him alone Gospel-workmen gather all their power."

And he addresses his careful friends, in language which they might well ponder, who magnify the perils and privations of Missionary life in order to excuse themselves or deter others from entering upon it. "If those islands had aromatic woods and mines of gold, Christians would have courage enough to go thither, and all the dangers in the world would never hinder them. They are weak and timorous because there is nothing more to be gained than souls: and must we be brought down to this, that charity shall be less bold and less generous than avarice? 'They will kill me,' say you, 'with sword or poison.' This grace is not for a sinner like me; but I can dare to tell you that, whatever torment

\* Here is a misapprehension of the text, Psalm ii. 8. But it is not likely that Xavier carried a Bible with him.

and whatever death they can prepare for me, I am ready to endure that, and a thousand times more, for the salvation of a single soul. Perhaps, if I were to die in their hands, they would all worship Jesus Christ: for from the first ages of the church the seed of the Gospel has flourished in the uncultivated lands of Paganism, more by the blood of martyrs than by the sweat of Missionaries."

Grotesque as were his devotions, unscriptural as was his faith, and worldly as was his policy, his enthusiasm was grand, and this argument of his is worthy of everlasting remembrance.

In a letter to the Society in Rome, dated from Amboyna, May 10th, 1546, he wrote thus:—  
 "The land overflows with perils, and is exceedingly dreaded by strangers, because of the extreme ferocity of the people, and the various kinds of poison which they are accustomed to mingle in meat and drink; and this has deterred foreign Priests from carrying help to the inhabitants. I, therefore, considering the great need of those whom no man teaches, and for whom none makes expiation by sacraments, have felt convinced that it is my duty to see to their salvation, even though it be with peril of my life. And, accordingly, I have determined to go thither as soon as possible, and place my life in hazard. But I have set all my hope in God, and desire, so far as in me lies, to conform to the admonition of Christ my Lord: 'Whosoever

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will save his life shall lose it; and whosoever will lose his life for My sake shall find it.' A sentence on which it is very easy to meditate, but not so easy to apply. For when the time comes to lose life, that you may find it in God,—when death is so evidently near, that, if you obey God, you lose your life,—then it comes to pass, I know not how, that the precept which once appeared so clear, is involved in an incredible obscurity. For the most learned men are not they that perceive the force of so admirable a sentence, but they only who are taught of God Himself, the Teacher that is within them. And in affairs of this kind it is easily seen how great is our weakness, how frail and wretched is the condition of human nature."

So just a sentence, so lovely an acknowledgment of human weakness, cannot be read without sorrow that it is not followed by any acknowledgment of the infinite merits and grace of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in whom no man can put his trust and be confounded. But there is no allusion to the grace of Him who died for us when we were yet without strength. We applaud the heroism, but we deplore the utter absence of Christian faith; and note this fundamental defect the more carefully, as it is found in one of the earliest members and chief ornaments of the Society of Jesus.

By the first vessel that could be found, after the Governor of Ternate had revoked his inter-



dict, Xavier departed for the islands of the Moor. The artistic biographer here introduces a finely-dramatic figure. It is Father Francis in a rapture and agony of second sight, fixing his eye on one point in the horizon, where, as yet, no land is visible to any other person in the ship, and exclaiming, "O Jesus! those poor people that they are killing!" To this are added many terrible, mysterious, prophetic sentences. The ecstasy passes off; the Prophet is ashamed to have been heard betraying such an inspiration. The crew and passengers do not presume to press for any explanation of the oracle; but in a few hours the mystery is unveiled, as they approach an island, and see the bleeding, lifeless bodies of eight Portuguese, murdered by the savages. They bury them, heave anchor again, and prosecute their voyage.

Father Francis soon sets foot on the chief island of the group; and, so far from being attacked by the natives, sees them flee into the woods, fearing that the Portuguese have come to avenge their countrymen. He follows them. His countenance, bright with love, subdues their fears. Speaking to them in Malay, he convinces them that his errand is pacific. All the inhabitants of one town return; and he comes with them, and soon walks through the streets, singing "the Christian doctrine." Enchanted with his benevolence and zeal, multitudes are baptized. He travels from village to village, and in

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each one plants a cross, for a memorial of his mission, and to be an object of adoration for a people who have no conception of an invisible Spirit. To engage them to live well, he speaks of punishment after death; and, to convey an idea of the penalty, then leads them to smoking craters, where they can see subterranean fires boiling, hear the hissing of stones and lava, and feel the showering ashes, and tells them that those pits are mouths of hell. He describes the torments of the damned, and, while an earthquake shakes the volcanic island, he says that his God was waking up to vengeance, and expects them to assuage His wrath with penance. They obey. We read that on St. Michael's day, when a large congregation was at mass, the earth rocked as if it would overturn the altar. The new Christians fled, but Xavier calmly remained upon his knees, and finished the mass, hoping that the archangel would descend amidst the terror, and drive the demons down into their burning depths.

Waging war with the idolatry of the East, in order to establish the rival idolatry of the West, he provoked strong opposition. When crowds of Christians were listening to his sermons, bodies of armed Pagans would disperse them. Once, at least, he narrowly escaped death; and, of course, the escape counts for a miracle. After a sojourn of three months, satisfied with having administered baptism to many, and with

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having erected many crosses, he took to ship again.

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After some detention in Ternate, and a visit to Amboyna by the way, Xavier landed again at Malacca in the month of July, 1547. Three members of the Company were there awaiting his arrival to be sent to stations; but Mansilha, whom also he had sent for, did not come, "because he loved to do his own pleasure, and labour where he was, rather than obey the will of his superior, by quitting the work that he had in hand. His disobedience cost him dearly; for Xavier expelled him from the Company, judging that a bad 'religious' would do more harm than a good workman could do good." The three "children of Ignatius" were instructed in their missionary duties by Father Francis, while waiting for a passage to the Moluccas; and his companion, João Deiro, whom he had just brought back with him from the islands, fell under censure, and was dismissed. Rich merchants had given this Gehazi money for his master; but as the master, bound by a vow of poverty, always refused gifts beyond what each day's necessity required, the man pocketed the cash, and said nothing. His unfitness for such a service was thus made evident. "Not content with administering to Deiro a sharp reprimand, he confined him on a small desert island at a

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little distance from the port, and bade him not only pass the days in prayer, but fast on bread and water." They say that the man submitted punctually to that severe discipline, and, moreover, had a vision of the Virgin Mary, who told him that he was not fit to be a member of the Society of her Son.

The Missionaries sailed to the Moluccas, and Xavier was left alone, preaching, catechising, and confessing, when an incident occurred that raised his reputation, fully compensating for the abatement it had suffered on the failure of his naval expedition to Ceylon.

You will perceive, by the map, that the northern half of Sumatra lies almost parallel with the Malay peninsula. The King of Acheen, partaking in the general hatred of the Portuguese invaders of India, and possessing larger resources than many of the petty Princes on the continent, collected no less a force than sixty large ships, well equipped and armed, besides some smaller craft. Five thousand soldiers are said to have been on board, inclusive of five hundred nobles wearing golden bracelets. In addition to the Sumatrans, a large body of adventurous Janissaries reached the court of Acheen, and waited there, burning with impatience to follow up the blow which the Saracen Sousa, commanding the armament, was expected to inflict on Malacca. Sousa suddenly entered the harbour (October 9th, 1547) in the dead of the night, attacked

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the fortress, and, after a desperate battle, it was hard to say who was the conqueror or who the conquered. The fort stood, the city was saved, and the artillery made a grand impression on the Sumatran fleet; but Sousa burnt nearly all the Portuguese vessels that rode at anchor there, then sailed away with as many of his own as outlived the fight, and, confident in the advantage gained, sent a provoking challenge to the Governor, who called a council of war to decide whether they should accept the challenge, being without ships, and to consider how they might so decline it as not to lose their honour. Xavier was invited to the council, and the Governor, De Mello, put the letter of the Saracen into his hand, and prayed him to read it, and give his opinion. The bearers of it were some new-Christian fishermen, whom the retiring enemy had caught and mutilated; and the letter was written with their blood.

Xavier perused it slowly, raised his eyes towards heaven, and stood thus in silence for a moment. Then, without hesitation, he gave judgment: "Such an insult ought not to be suffered. The honour of Christianity is yet more concerned than that of the crown of Portugal. If this injury be passed over, what will not be the audacity of our enemies, and what will not the Mohammedan Princes dare, after this example? The challenge ought to be accepted, and the infidels should see that the Creator of heaven

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and earth is mightier than their King Alaradin." "But how shall we go to sea," said the Governor, "without ships? There were but eight in the harbour; and there are now but four small vessels left, and none of them seaworthy. And even if they were, how much would they be worth against so numerous a fleet?" To this Xavier answered, "Ay! and if they had yet more ships than you think, are not we stronger than they, with Heaven on our side? and cannot we beat them, if we fight in the name of the Lord?"

Who could resist the conclusion, having admitted the premiss? Or, who could dare to contradict the holy man? Not they. The council of war, with the Governor of Malacca at their head, went in a body to the arsenal to survey the remnant of naval strength; and the amount was easily ascertained,—one "good barque," and seven boats, or galleys, only fit to be broken up for fire-wood. The officer to whom it pertained to fit out an armament, declared that the boats were irreparably damaged. And the revenue was as impoverished as the arsenal. The Governor's heart failed him, as well it might; but Xavier, whose reasons were fairly exhausted, having nothing to say to the Governor, or to the keeper of the arsenal, ran to seven Captains, embraced each of them, and to each assigned one of the crazy craft, put him in command,—and put him to silence, too,—for none would presume to contradict "the man of God."

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More than a hundred hands were set to work, each of the seven Captains generously consenting to pay for the repairs of his own boat ; and in five days each keel was in the water. Governor Mello gave the one good ship to André Toscan, a brave man, and good sailor. To the seven Captains he allotted eighty soldiers ; and on Francisco Deza rested the weighty honour of being Admiral of the fleet. Xavier burned with desire to conduct the expedition ; but the inhabitants of Malacca, thinking that all would be lost if they lost the Father, and that he would most probably be lost if he went to sea with such an armament, took part in the counsels of their superiors with so great clamour, that he was requested to stay on shore and comfort the people in the time of their extremity. But on the eve of departure he assembled the officers and men, and told them that he should be present at the fight in spirit, and would hold up his hands in prayer for them to gain the victory. And they lifted up *their* hands, and swore that they would fight the infidels to the last drop of blood. He gave his benediction to the troop, named it "Band of Jesus Christ," and then confessed and houselled the soldiers.

Next day they embarked, shouting for victory, in presence of all the population ; but scarcely had they got on board, when the Admiral's "good ship" let in so much water, that she went down before their eyes. The crew hardly escaped,

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and, at the sight, lamentations resounded along the shore. The multitude now saw an indubitable augury of defeat, and raised an outcry of vengeance against Father Francis, who very wisely had withdrawn, and was found kneeling at an altar. A messenger from the Governor came to summon him to his presence; but the Father was "consuming" the wafer; and when the man whispered the message into his ear, he waved his hand for silence, and finished mass.

Then said Xavier: "Go back to your master, and tell him from me, that the loss of that ship must not dishearten us." The messenger went back to say so, and Xavier threw himself before an image of the Virgin to implore help. Some time for reflection having thus been taken or given by both parties, he walked into the citadel, and endured many angry words from the Governor, who thought, reasonably enough, that, by weak submission to the Jesuit, he had made himself look ridiculous; but Xavier very sternly reproved him for his want of faith, and finished by saying, with a smile, "And what then? Do you lose heart for such a trifle?" Thence, hastening to the shore, he harangued the soldiers and sailors, telling those, particularly, who had escaped from the "good ship," that God had saved their lives in order that they might keep their oath. At a council of war, holden forthwith, the wiser ones unanimously condemned the expedition; but the soldiers, now reassured,



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declared that they could fight as well on seven decks as on eight. At these words, Xavier cried in a prophetic strain, "The lost vessel shall be soon replaced. I announce to you, from God, that, before sunset, you shall have a better vessel than the one you have lost." The assembly was astonished, and adjourned to the next day. Meanwhile, Xavier kept a sharp look-out, saw two sail in the north-west, brought out by the rays of the declining sun, took boat, and rowed into mid-channel to speak them. They were Portuguese merchantmen; and the Captains were told of the projected expedition, assured that the waters to the southward were covered with pirates, and advised to consult their own safety, the glory of the crown, and the honour of religion, by joining the fleet. And as they heard all this from one who had predicted their arrival, as he said, they turned their bows towards Malacca, and landed Xavier in triumph the next morning.

Again the Jesuit had gained a point. Nine vessels, instead of seven, soon set sail, with an augmentation of fifty men, but under orders from Mello not to go beyond the southernmost extremity of their own coast. But wind and weather urged them further; their inclination was not to come back without achieving some warlike action; and while evil reports were disheartening the people at Malacca, and the utmost ingenuity of Xavier was barely sufficient to keep

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him from violent hands, the daring Portuguese fell in with the Acheen fleet, and, notwithstanding an immense disparity of numbers, by taking advantage of their impetuosity and confusion, won the victory, and came back to Malacca rich with booty, and bringing several ships that they had captured. The successful prophet, carrying a crucifix, walked to the water-side to meet the Admiral, the crews cheered him as the author of their victory, and his praise resounded through all India. The Jesuits tell us, that, by a Divine revelation, he knew of the battle, saw the engagement as it went on, was interrupted in the delivery of a sermon by the vision, and published the victory from the pulpit in Malacca as soon as it was won on the far-distant sea.

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While Xavier was at Malacca, intending to revisit Goa on business relating to the Company and its Missions, reports from a country scarcely known to Europeans, for it had been discovered only two years before, stimulated him to new adventure. Some Portuguese traders,—at that time the Portuguese found their way over the oceans to lands the most remote and barbarous,—having returned from one of the islands of Japan, related a marvellous tale concerning the power of the Cross. When on shore, in the prosecution of their traffic, they had been sent to lodge in an empty house—if indeed that house could

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be called empty which a demon occupied. The evil spirits, vexed at their intrusion, stole their clothes at night, and mauled their servant, who lay prostrate on the floor in terror. The local authorities certified that the robbery and the assault had been committed by beings beyond human jurisdiction; and, as the hospitality of Japan towards barbarians did not extend to the provision of safer lodgings, the Portuguese made little crosses, and stuck them on all parts of the interior, assured that no spirit of wickedness would approach a dwelling so fortified. The ghosts, perhaps mistaking the crosses for cudgels, refrained from further trespass; and the Japanese allowed their visitors to boast of the power of the Cross. This, Father Francis thought, made a signal opening for Christianity.

The enterprising Portuguese traders, knowing that the entrance of a Priest, backed by an armament, if wanted, would engage the power of the crown, produced to Xavier a native of the country, who might be trained for service. This was a man called Anger, thirty-six years of age, a native of Cangoxima, rich and noble, but very dissolute. He had killed a man, and, pursued by justice, ran to a Portuguese, praying for a hiding-place on board his ship, and a passage of escape to some foreign country. The Captain, not being ready to sail, gave him a letter for a countryman, then in another port; and Anger, in trepidation with dread of his pursuers, deli-

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tered the letter to another person of similar name. But, as it happened, this person gave him eager welcome, conveyed him away to Malacca, talked with him of Christianity, encouraged him to cherish some feelings of compunction for murder and other crimes, and advised him to throw himself for mercy at the feet of a great saint whom he might expect to find at Malacca, "the refuge of sinners and the comforter of the afflicted." Unhappily for this fugitive, the refuge for sinners and the comforter of the afflicted was not at Malacca on his arrival; and, as he grew impatient, and thought far more of his business and family at Cangoxima than of his transgressions, he did not wait for Xavier, but embarked on board a vessel homeward bound. A storm—storms, demons, deaths, and plagues, are always at hand to fill up the Xaverian drama—drove him into some intermediate port, where he met the Captain to whom he had first applied, and heard that if he then returned to Cangoxima, it would be certain death; but that Father Francis Xavier, who must have returned to Malacca by that time, would assuredly absolve him from his guilt, and that, being made a Christian, Portugal would take him under her protection, and turn aside the arm of justice. This induced him to go back again to Malacca; and, taking his two Japanese servants on shore, he hastened to present himself and them to Father Francis, "refuge of sinners," as postulants for baptismal cleansing,

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and for Portuguese protection. Xavier was exceeding glad, embraced the profligate, hailed him as a brother Christian, and gave promise of all necessary favour. And since the Cross had ejected demons in Japan, and three Japanese were sent him so providentially, as converts, he at once designed to make Anger a Missioner by a little teaching in the college at Goa, and himself to complete the good work of conversion in Japan. Thus began the Japanese Mission : the letters of Xavier, of Anger, transformed by baptism into "Paul of Japan," and of other Jesuits, being witness.\*

Wisely judging that a sight of Romanism flourishing in India would be more encouraging to the proselyte than any inferior communications, he sent him in a vessel bound for Goa, while twenty or thirty youths from the Moluccas proceeded in another vessel, and in a third was himself conveyed to the Fishery. "For three nights and three days the image of death" was before Xavier and his companions ; but, at length, when they were drifting rapidly on shore, off Ceylon, he threw the lead, pronounced an invocation to the Holy Trinity, the vessel ceased to move, the winds and the waves fell, and their voyage ended happily. One wonders how those brethren of Gama and Magalhaens in other ships could have outlived the perils of the deep, in

\* Published by Acosta in his *Historia Rerum à Societate Jesu in Oriente gestarum*.

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that boisterous age, without living saints on board to subdue the winds and waves by miracle.

But enough of this romance. Let us observe our Missioner at work.

King John III. had desired him to write to himself, as well as to his Ministers, and to acquaint him with the conduct of his servants in India. The King sent him as a spy, and he regarded himself as empowered to exert much influence over the Government of India. Already he had obtained the removal of Affonso de Sousa from the viceroyalty; and now he writes a letter of complaint against all who are in office throughout India, making no favourable exception; and commissions the bearer, Father João de Vilhacomdea, to relate to His Majesty, at length, what it would not have been convenient to set on paper. The accusation is, that the Governors of garrisons and agents of the treasury treat the wretched neophytes, tender in the faith of Christ, which they have lately received, with extreme cruelty and extortion. He complains that the tyrant of Ceylon receives friendly recognition, instead of being warred against as an enemy of the faith; and that the Clergy have not the honour, deference, and revenue which they deserve, but are slighted when they interfere on behalf of their flocks. He also tells the King, that people murmur loudly, and say that his empire in the Indies is not used for extending the kingdom of Christ, but for accumulating

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wealth and luxury for himself and his family. And he advises the King to favour and promote several persons who are named ; winding up the whole with a hint, couched in very dutiful words, that if His Majesty does not act on these admonitions, he may be " thrust out into those terrible and gloomy regions " where hope will be for ever lost. He mentions his intention of going to Japan ; but says, that one cause of his going thither will be the wish to escape from what he must witness if he remains in India.

And, not to trust his proposals for official reform with the King alone, he wrote to his old companion, Simão Rodrigues, at Lisbon, to engage his influence with His Majesty,\* and,

\* You may judge of the morality of Xavier by his communications with Rodrigues, who carried out his plans with absolute power over the besotted King. The character of Rodrigues is drawn by a faithful hand in a Portuguese work of high authority, (*Deducção Chronologica e Analytica. Na qual se manifestão, &c. Dada a' luz pelo Doutor Joseph de Seabra da Sylva, &c. Em Lisboa, anno de MDCCLXVII. Na Officina de Miguel Manescal da Costa, por ordem de sua Magestade,*) from which I note as follows :—

The author, after confessing his wonder that Simão Rodrigues, first founder of that fatal Society in Portugal, being son of a shoemaker in the town of Bouzella, in the province of Beira, without education or respectability, should have been able to domineer despotically over so powerful a Monarch as John III., surrounded by so many and so wise counsellors, establishes the fact on irrefragable evidence, and describes the discontent and the troubles

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among other suggestions, we find this :—" But if, haply, the Governors show themselves negligent or indifferent in this respect, let him strike

that resulted from this usurpation of influence in the court and kingdom. Then he says, that Rodrigues, to increase and to make sure of his power at court, got himself appointed Master of the Prince John, (of whom Xavier spoke in his letter to Loyola, quoted above, at page 21,) in the year 1543, two years before the correspondence now before us, "the unhappy and untimely death of that Prince being the first sad announcement of the ruin which afterwards befell Portugal under the direction of the new Society." Da Sylva then quotes from the undoubted authority of Balthazar Telles, the Jesuit Provincial and chronicler, to show that King John lavished the gold of Portugal on the Company and on the Apostolic Chamber, in compliance with the instigation of Rodrigues; that while the Grandees opposed him, popular honour and royal favour vied with each other in sustaining him; that on one occasion, when Rodrigues was defending himself in the royal presence, King John said, "Never mind them, Master Simon: you have a good proctor in me. For what is necessary for the good of the Company do not apply to any one but myself; nor let any one speak to me about your affairs, except yourself." Telles boasts that the King caused inquisition to be made for all who spoke ill of the person of Father Master Simon, and banished them for ever from his dominions, "as if he would not acknowledge to be his vassals those who were judged to be our enemies." And the King was so infatuated with this person as to forget his majesty as a Sovereign while performing the office of a friend. In short, Rodrigues effected a complete revolution at Lisbon, bringing all royal appointments, both at home and abroad, into the service of his Company, and crushing every opponent. The King was despot over his vassals, Simão Rodrigues was despot



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terror into them, and let him confirm it by an oath, (for by swearing he will obtain much grace from God, and yet greater grace by performing according to his oath,) that unless they relieve him from the obligation of it, by a very extensive propagation of Christianity in India, so soon as ever they return to Lisbon, he will punish their indolence by seizing on their property, and committing them to long imprisonment." Of course, the Inquisitors of the faith would have to take such cases in hand, and forfeiture of property and long confinement (*diuturno carcere*) would be attended with all the horrors of that "school of penance." Thus did "St. Francis Xavier" seek to revenge himself on the servants of his country for not carrying fire and sword into the island of Ceylon, and for not going to the length of his desire in bribing the natives of India into a hypocritical profession of Christianity, at the expense of those who more honestly rejected the cruel religion of the stranger. But for services of this kind the Church of Rome receives him into her Calendar.

### DELIVERS INSTRUCTIONS.

Letters to Europe being despatched from Cochin, and received from various parts of over the King; and Francisco Xavier, through his friend, ejected from command in India all who did not submit themselves to his pleasure, until, as we shall presently see, he was taken in the net that he had spread, and came to a miserable end.

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India, Xavier again doubled Cape-Comorin, and made a visitation of the more important stations on the Fishing-Coast. For the better instruction of children, he directed a Malabar Priest, who understood Portuguese, to translate the larger Catechism he had written in the Moluccas into the language of the fishermen; and, that the Missionaries on that coast might act with uniformity, he gave them instructions to the following effect:—

In the first place, in every new mission, to baptize all the new-born infants, not intrusting that service to any other person. “For the present there is nothing more important than this.” It is therefore necessary “to go through all the villages, enter the houses, and baptize all the little children that can be found.” To teach the principles of the faith to all children capable of instruction. The *Cacanopoles* and Catechists must be kept to their work, and the children must frequently be examined in their presence by the Priests. To assemble the men on Sundays in the churches to recite prayers, taking care that the *Pantagatins*, or Chiefs, attend. The prayers are to be explained, and vices reproved. “You must threaten stubborn sinners with the anger of Heaven, and tell them that, if they do not change their manners, their days will be cut short by all sorts of diseases, that the pagan Kings will make them slaves, and that their immortal souls will be fuel for the

eternal fire of hell." To settle disputes, making reconciliations in the church, where all the women ought to meet on Saturdays, and all the men on Sundays. To circulate copies of the Malabar Creed, when translated, and to expound it to the Saturday and Sunday congregations. To distribute among the poor all that is given as offerings in the churches, keeping none of it. To require the people to give notice to the Priests of all that are sick, that they may be visited. "And make them understand that, if they do not give you notice, and the sick person dies, you will not give him burial among the Christians, in punishment of their negligence." To make the sick recite the Creed in their natural language, questioning them on each article, and then to say the *Confiteor*, and other "Catholic prayers," and after this to pronounce "the Gospel" over them. To make the children walk in procession at all funerals, singing "the Doctrine." After burial to give a suitable exhortation. To require the men on Sundays, and the women on Saturdays, to bring their sick children to church, "that the Gospel may be read over them for their healing." Litigations to be settled on Sundays in the church. But when these cases grow troublesome, they must be remitted to the Portuguese Commandant. Not to inflict punishment without the counsel of Father Criminale, or, if the person commanding the Portuguese is present, without his order;

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and to treat children in Christian schools kindly. Not to reprove native Christians in presence of a Portuguese. To treat the Malabar Priests well, and see that they do their duty. To keep on good terms with the Commandant, and never to meddle with the other Portuguese. Not to converse with Portuguese, except on spiritual subjects. To write frequently to the Fathers and Brethren at Goa, as well as to the Bishop. To conciliate the good-will of all persons in every place.

Of course, he could say nothing to them of the Bible, nor of preaching the Gospel. That seems as foreign from his thoughts as it was alien from his mission. He was sent to baptize, not to preach the Gospel.

For his own part, he fully exemplified the spirit of his order, especially in a visit to Ceylon; where he played the diplomatist so well, working on the hopes and fears of the "Tyrant," as to engage him to become a tributary to Portugal, and to receive the fatal protection of Portugal in return, in the shape of a garrison. From Ceylon he hastened to Goa, saw De Castro, the Viceroy, successor of De Sousa, who had been displaced at his desire. De Castro gladly sent a body of soldiers to hoist the flag of Portugal on a fortress in Ceylon, and see to the propagation of "the faith." This Viceroy died while Xavier was at Goa: his death released the diplomatic Missioner, who had for some months acted as

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his confidential adviser, but was now free to prosecute his purpose of going to Japan.

Various excursions divert him from the great voyage, and the delay gives place for sundry incidents. A rude and profligate soldier, who had not confessed for many years, nor complied with any of the ordinances of the Church of Rome, caught his attention; and, as he conceived that perseverance and good management would vanquish the most stubborn opposition, he followed the man by land and water, and at length persuaded him to confess as soon as opportunity should be afforded. "While they were on these terms, the ship dropped anchor in the port of Coulan, to allow the passengers a little recreation. Many of the fleet went on shore, and, among others, Father Xavier with his soldier. They retired to a remote and solitary place, where the soldier made his confession, with tears in his eyes, and resolved to expiate his crimes by any penance that his Confessor might impose on him, however severe. But the Father only gave him a Pater and an Ave to say; so that the astonished penitent asked, 'How is it, then, my Father, that I being so great a sinner, you give me so light a penance?' 'Be content, my son,' answered Xavier: 'we will appease the Divine Justice;' and instantly he went away into the depth of the wood, leaving the soldier to perform his penance. He then did what he had once before done on a like occasion. He

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stripped his back bare, and scourged himself so lustily, that the soldier was drawn to the spot by the sound of the blows. Seeing the Father covered with blood, and judging what must have been the occasion of so strange an action, he snatched the 'discipline' out of his hand, crying, that the guilty, not the innocent, should bear the punishment of the sin, stripped himself also, and chastised his body with all his strength." Thus, without a word of Him by whose stripes we are healed, did the Jesuit and the soldier fancy that they could satisfy the wrath of God. But on this occasion, as on many others, Xavier fed his vanity by an ostentatious counterfeit of charity.

Before leaving Goa, he appointed Paolo Camerino to be Superior-General in his stead, made Antonio Gomez Rector of the seminary at Goa, and gave each of them written instructions for their direction. He also sent Gaspard Barzée, a Belgian, to establish a mission at Ormus, in Arabia, and furnished him and his brethren with exceedingly copious and minute directions. As one example of his instructions has been given, a few sentences only of the thirty-one chapters, written for the Arabian mission, shall be presented to the reader; with the general observation, that they constitute a code of admirable prudence, sometimes rising into wisdom, often subsiding into cunning, but always couched in the language of piety. The Missioners are to

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humble themselves to the meanest and most disgusting offices ; they are to be patterns of immovable constancy, unruffled meekness, and less than human lowliness ; but never must they incur the scandal of the Cross. Not Jesus, but the Society of Jesus, is to be exalted.

One of the directions for the confessional runs thus :—“ In the administration of the sacrament of penance, beware of repelling, by a precipitate severity, those who have begun to disclose to you the wounds of their soul. However enormous may be their sins, hear them not only with patience, but with kindness, and even relieve their shame by assuring them of your compassion, and not letting it appear that you are surprised at what they say. Tell them that you have heard of things very much worse ; and, lest they should despair of pardon, speak to them of the infinite mercies of God. When they describe a crime in a manner that shows them to be troubled on account of it, stop them, and say that this sin is by no means so great as they think it ; that you can, by the grace of God, heal the soul’s most mortal wounds ; that they may go on without any fear, and make no scruple of telling you all. You will find, that the weakness of age or of sex prevents some from divulging shameful sins. As soon as you perceive that modesty restrains them, warn them charitably : tell them that they are not the only persons, nor the first, that have fallen into

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disorder; that what they dare not say is little in comparison with what you know. Impute a part of their fault to the corruption of nature, to the violence of temptation, and to their misfortune in being brought into pressing occasions, where falls are inevitable. In short, I advise you, in order to get those persons out of the wicked shame that ties their tongue,—persons whom the devil makes so shamefaced after the crime, that were so bold before it,—that it is sometimes necessary to disclose to them, in general, the weaknesses of our own past life; for what can true and ardent charity refuse for the salvation of souls that have been ransomed with the blood of Jesus Christ? But to know when this should be done, how far, and with what precautions, your own mind and experience must teach you at the time.”

In this way did St. Francis instruct his Confessors how to diminish the force of conscience, how to soothe the pangs of conviction, and how to comfort penitents with the persuasion, that sin is not exceeding sinful, but rather unavoidable,—to be pitied rather than blamed. First, the Jesuit is to draw out disclosures of the utmost turpitude, reciting his own transgressions in an impure colloquy; and then, Satan being once more incarnate, he is to say to the guilty one, “Ye shall not surely die.”

After some practical and really good advices on the subject of preaching, he gives the following



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remarkable injunction :—“Study these living books,” (men and manners,) “and be assured that thereby you may turn sinners which way you will. Nevertheless, I do not forbid you to consult, occasionally, the holy Scripture, the Fathers of the Church, the Sacred Canons, books of piety, and moral treatises. These may furnish solid proofs to establish Christian truths, sovereign remedies against temptation, and heroic examples of virtue. But all this is very cold, and good for nothing, if people’s minds are not disposed to profit by it ; and they can only be so disposed by the way I have shown you.” (By finding out as much as possible of public and private matters, and by shaping the discourse accordingly.) “Therefore, the duty of the Preacher is, to sound the human heart, to have a perfect knowledge of the world, to produce a faithful picture of man, and to exhibit that picture so distinctly that all may know it.”

Insufferably foolish to the pupils of St. Francis must have appeared the simplicity of St. Paul. “I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified. And I was with you in weakness, and in fear, and in much trembling. And my speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man’s wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power : that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God.” But the world may now compare the policy of St.

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Francis and the wisdom of St. Paul, or rather the wisdom which that great Apostle received from above, as "allowed of God to be put in trust with the Gospel."

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As at other times, when on the eve of a new enterprise, he secluded himself during some days, for "spiritual exercises,"—an admirable method of throwing all the energies of the mind upon the object in view. Then it was that, retired in a little hermitage in the garden of the College of St. Paul, he was heard to exclaim: *Satis est, Domine! satis est*: "It is enough, Lord! it is enough." Enough, perhaps, of rapture, in prospect of the glorious mission. The witnesses who came to promote his saintship are said to have deposed, "that he opened his habit at the breast, to give a little air to the flames with which his heart was burning." This is too poetical for our pedestrian sentences, and must be left to those who approach the shrine of Xavier with the fervid language of his Litany.\*

A week after Gaspard Barzée and his lay associate Raimundo Pereira had sailed for Ormus,

\* "By thy miracles and prophecies—By thy perils and wrecks—By thy many and long journeys—By the sufferings and labours which *amplius* and *amplius* thou didst pray might be increased to thee—By the heavenly delights wherewith inebriated, thou didst exclaim, *Satis! satis!*—By all thy virtues—By thy glory and felicity—**HELP US.**"

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arrangements for the discipline of the Company being complete, Xavier, taking with him the Jesuits Cosmo de Torres and Juan Fernandez, with the Japanese, Paulo de Santa Fé, and his two servants, besides two others to be left at Malacca, embarked at Goa for a port of Cochin, thence to cross the ocean. On the 25th of April, 1549, they weighed anchor again, and on the last day of May reached Malacca. No moment could have been more opportune for the arrival of St. Francis, inasmuch as Affonso Martins, Grand Vicar of the Bishop, after a ministry of thirty years, lay on his death-bed, full of horror in remembrance of an excessively licentious life, and prospect of the last judgment. His cries were piteous. He recounted sins that seemed too heinous to be forgiven. He raved madly when any one spoke of mercy, shrieking in agony, and crying that the damned are never pardoned, and that there is no mercy in hell. Xavier laboured to soothe the dying sinner, by telling him how a Christian ought to die. But the poor Vicar knew that he was not a Christian, and refused to be comforted. Xavier, too, was confirmed in what he had always remarked,—and, alas, it is true indeed,—“that nothing is harder than to make a dying man hope for salvation, when during all his life he has flattered himself with the hope of salvation, only to sin more daringly.” In a moment of despair, “he undertook to do violence to heaven,” and, to obtain

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true repentance for his friend, and "the grace of a good death," vowed to say a great number of masses in honour of the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin, the angels, and some saints for whom he had a particular devotion. Martins no sooner heard the vow than he imagined himself ransomed by Xavier and his masses, became calm, and expired with satisfaction, calling on the name of Jesus, patron of the venerable Society. He fell asleep soothed with masses, not saved by Christ, whose merits and intercession were not mentioned.

Grievous was this blindness in one who could say to the Society at Rome, with reference to his mission: "We go full of Divine hope and confidence. We trust that, God being our leader, we shall triumph over His enemies. And we fear not to contend with the men of learning in Japan: for what that is good can any one have learned who is without knowledge of God, and of Christ His Son? And he that cares for nothing except Divine grace, the preaching of the Gospel, and the salvation of souls, what will he then refuse? or of what will he be afraid? For if we go, not only into lands of barbarians, but even into the realm of demons, neither barbarism nor the fury of demons shall be able to hurt us, except by permission and consent of God, who is mighty over all."

And while marking the fundamental errors that spoiled the man, the worldly policy that

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corrupted him, the impetuous and haughty temper that lurked under an exterior of humility, the failure of common honesty when any apparently good object could be gained by dissimulation, spiritual pride, and a deplorably low standard of morality, we cannot help admiring his devotedness, and could wish that it were possible to separate it from other qualities, and set it forth alone for imitation,—just so far as it is imitable,—by all that labour in the Lord's vineyard. "My Japanese companions tell me that the Bonzes—these are the chiefs in sacred matters in Japan—will be offended if they see us eat flesh or fish. It is therefore fixed and settled that we will rather suffer perpetual hunger than incur offence." And they say that this determination was kept, that he ate nothing that had lived; and, by equalling the most abstemious of the Bonzes, gained a high reputation for sanctity.

They embarked at Malacca for Japan, on board a Chinese junk, on the 24th of June, 1549. Their course, it is almost needless to observe, lay along the coast of China; and the voyage, as the Captain told them, might be accomplished about the middle of August. Paulo de Santa Fé gave Xavier much information of the manners and customs of his native land; and he delighted himself in marking points of comparison between the devotees of that remote region and those of Popedom. The Bonzes, he heard, had fraternities, not unlike those of Europe, and performed

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spiritual exercises half resembling those of his own Society. A superior governed each monastery (*cœnobium*), and propounded his doctrine to the inmates, who frequently met to hear a sermon from their chief. After sermon a question was proposed to them for solution, and, plunged in silence, they all ruminated thereupon. For example: "When death stops a man's voice at the last breath, has the soul, then quitting the body, the faculty of speech; and if so, in what words does it address the body?" Or again: "If any one were restored to life after death, what would he say that he had seen?" Each Bonze gave an answer to the best of his ability, which the others applauded or disputed as it seemed them good. Every fifteenth day\* the Bonzes delivered sermons to the people, who congregated in large numbers. He was glad to learn that those Preachers, like himself, described the insufferable torments of hell; and that, during the sermons, illustrative paintings were brought into the congregations. The sight of the pictures overawed the people, and often called forth cries and lamentations from the women, till the roofs rang again.

Tossed by boisterous winds, and at the mercy of an uncertain pilot, Xavier was also perplexed and even terrified by divinations performed before

\* Writing in Spanish, Xavier would say, *cada quince dias*, every fortnight. Here is the original division of time by weeks.

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an image, with burning lamps and sacrifices. Communication seemed to be kept up with the devil, whom Captain and crew acknowledged as the disposer of wind, weather, and life. Some sad accidents occurred; and, worst of all, the Captain's daughter fell overboard, and was drowned. The oracle threw the blame on the barbarian passengers; and fear of the Portuguese Governor at Malacca alone prevented the Chinaman from throwing them into the sea. But, after all, they reached Japonia, not at the port desired, but at Cangoxima, the home of Anger,—the proselyte henceforth to be known as Paulo de Santa Fé.

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On the 13th day of August, Day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, "Queen of heaven and earth," "the sailors being unwilling, and Satan reluctant,"—thus Orlandini announces the event,—Xavier disembarked at Cangoxima, a town on the island of Nipen, subject to the King of Saxuma. The re-appearance of the rich murderer in a new character, and accompanied with Bonzes from Europe, surprised the Governor of the place, who came, attended by the principal inhabitants, to do honour to the strangers on their landing. The populace gazed on the new Priests with admiration, and thought no less of Paulo for having called himself a Christian. His family received him as if returned from the

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dead ; and he hastened to the seat of royalty, presented himself to the King, implored pardon for the murder he had committed, and very easily obtained the favour. He also explained the character and object of the Jesuits who had come back with him, so far as his knowledge or instructions enabled him to do, and gave the King much information concerning the customs, the power, and the wealth of the Portuguese in India. "Paulo," writes Xavier, "took with him a picture of the blessed Mary, sitting with the child Jesus in her bosom, which we had brought with us from India, beautifully painted, and showed it to the King, who gazed on it with amazement, instantly fell on his knees, paid it most pious reverence, and commanded all that were present to do the same. The King's mother next saw the picture, which she contemplated with delight and wonder ; and, a few days after Paulo had returned to Cangoxima, sent a man of rank to have a copy of it painted, if possible ; but as Cangoxima afforded no such talent, that could not be done." But her desire for a statement of the mysteries and institutions of the Portuguese religion was gratified by Paulo, who spent several days in preparing a writing in the Japanese language for her perusal. And Paulo engaged his wife, children, and some of his relatives and friends, to join him in professing the new religion.

A brief description of this remote country, as



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given by Xavier on his first impression, may not be unacceptable, although it seems far too beautiful to be true.

“ I must first of all say, that the people with whom we are now dealing excel all nations recently discovered in honesty, so that I should not think any nation of barbarians to be superior to the Japanese in goodness of disposition. Of generous temper, yet by no means deceitful, they are amazingly fond of honours and dignities, which they prefer to everything else. Most of them are poor, notwithstanding, yet poverty is not considered a disgrace to any one; and one thing among them is not found, so far as I know, in any Christian country,—that, although the poor nobility are not held in less honour by the others than if they were rich, no noble, however poor and indigent, can be persuaded, by any consideration, to marry a plebeian. For they think that, by demeaning themselves in forming an affinity with plebeians, they would lose all dignity and esteem, and therefore despise riches for the sake of dignity. Persons of all classes go armed with swords and daggers, which you will see carried even by boys of fourteen, and will not suffer a contumelious word or gesture. And as the common people pay great honour to the nobles, so do the nobles themselves to Kings and rulers, and think themselves elevated in deferring to their sentence. And this appears to me rather to arise from a sense

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of honour than from fear of those who are above them, or apprehension of losing any of their dignity if they do otherwise. They are sparing and frugal in their eating, but not so with drink, for they indulge freely in wine expressed from rice ;\* for in these parts there is no other kind of wine. They abhor games of chance, and call gamblers thieves. If they ever swear, which is very seldom, they swear by the sun. Many of them can read ; which will greatly help them to understand our forms of solemn prayer, and the articles of our religion. They are not polygamists. There are few thieves among them, being deterred by the severity with which thieves are punished ; for all such are put to death. They therefore wondrously detest all kinds of theft. They are admirably honest in every respect, and have a great thirst for knowledge. They hear sermons concerning God and Divine things with great avidity, especially when they understand what is spoken. Of all nations that I have seen, Christian and barbarian, I never knew any so free from theft. They do not revere any gods under the form of animals ; but very many of them worship certain ancient men who once lived, as I understand, after the manner of the old philosophers. Many worship the sun, and some the moon. They readily give ear to anything that is consistent with

\* Vinum potant ex oryza expressum. (Epist., lib. iii., ep. 5.)

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nature and reason. And although they are not clear of criminal and flagitious actions, yet, if you show them that what they have done is contrary to reason, they readily assent, and yield to the empire of reason. I find profane men" (laity) "less impure, and more obedient to nature, than the Priests, whom they call Bonzes, and who make open acknowledgment of a nefarious kind of wickedness. Against this we frequently inveigh; but the Bonzes treat our reproofs with derision."

He then discloses the abominations of the Bonze fraternities and sisterhoods, closely resembling those of similar communities in Europe. And it is remarkable that those pagan Priests wear the tonsure, shaving their heads every third or fourth day.

"I have had frequent conversations with some who possess more learning than the generality of them, and especially with him whom all regard as first of the Bonzes, on account of his fame for learning, priestly rank, and advanced age, being now fourscore. He is a sort of Bishop among them, and is called *Ninxit*, which means, in Japanese, 'Heart of Truth.' Happy man, if he were like his name! In very many conversations that I have had with him I have found him hesitating, uncertain whether our soul is immortal, or whether it dies together with the body; for he is never consistent with himself, sometimes affirming, and again denying, it. I

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fear that all the other learned men are like him. It is incredible how fond he is of me, and both Bonzes and others take great delight in our company. It especially causes them to wonder, that we should have come from Portugal to Japan, which would be a voyage of more than six thousand leagues, for the single purpose of talking with them concerning Divine things, offering them the faith of Christ, and showing them the way of eternal salvation. And they say that this purpose of ours must have been divinely given."

The people of Japan could not, like the fishermen at Cape-Comorin, be converted by the easy method of singing Catechism and making signs; neither could the mandate of a Viceroy, or the establishment of a garrison, be employed to quicken the process of conversion. An established priesthood, notwithstanding first appearances of hospitality, stood ready to resist innovation; and it would not be possible, even to one who possessed their language, to address a sermon to a native congregation without permission of the King, who had all the power of an absolute Sovereign. In order to employ persuasion, it was necessary to learn the language; and this was not of easy acquisition. One language, indeed, prevailed over all the islands of Japan; but so very copious, and so divided into dialects, that the same object, or the same idea, was represented by many words, of which some were

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used by the higher classes, and others by the lower; the men expressed themselves in one way, and the women in another; familiar conversation had its dialect, differing from that admitted in writing; and the dialect of letters and minor compositions, while it had elegancies of its own, obeyed other laws than those acknowledged in the composition of a volume. Xavier had begun the study of this vast language before coming to the country, and had gathered some knowledge of the diversity of dialects, from Paulo and his two servants; but when he had been forty days at Cangoxima, although he had made some short translations by help of Paulo, he could only complain that he and his brother Priests walked about the town mute as images, and heard observations unfriendly to themselves and their religion, without being able to reply for self-defence. They had been little more than six weeks in Cangoxima, when they were admitted to an audience of the King, who had already heard from Paulo the fame of Xavier, and received them with all the honours due to distinguished foreigners. And His Majesty advised them to take the greatest possible care of the books of the Christian law; for, if they were true, the devil would break loose against them. And, a few days afterwards, he issued a permission to all of his subjects who chose, to embrace the Christian religion. No sooner had this licence been given, than two Bonzes attached

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themselves to Xavier ; and he resolved to send them to the college at Goa, preparing the way for their due reception there, by sending an injunction to the brethren of his Society to treat them with the utmost courtesy and kindness, because the Japanese were of such a temper, that "they would yield to nothing but humanity and benevolence."

By perseverance in study he rapidly acquired a sufficient knowledge of the language to make himself understood, and, in proportion to his progress in verbal communication, the Bonzes became louder in contradicting his discourses. His admirers confess that he was obliged to submit to the drudgery of learning Japanese, but endeavour to account for a suspension of the gift of tongues, which they suppose him to have had in India ; and, to cover that incontrovertible evidence of his mere humanity, they make parodies of the evangelical records of some of our Lord's miracles of raising the dead, which it is useless to repeat here. Enough of the kind has been already told ; and instead of adding, needlessly, to the list of fictions, I will transcribe a single sentence from Maffei, himself a Jesuit, and historian of the Indies, that should have the more weight, even with any Romanists who may be weak enough to believe the tales that have been republished but seven years ago, if not later, as he professes to believe much that is to us quite incredible. Speaking of his doings on the

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Fishing-Coast, Maffei writes: "He showed forth the truth of the Christian faith with no light signs and miracles. He drove away diseases, cast out devils, and is also reported to have raised the dead; but although afterwards entreated by men of high importance to acknowledge this himself, he could not be induced to do so."

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The inhabitants of Cangoxima gave the strangers a hospitable reception, and the King of Saxuma allowed them to do their best for the propagation of their faith, but not without hinting that they might have to encounter opposition. Their earlier efforts were, indeed, laborious; and the conduct of the Japanese towards them was excessively discouraging. Maffei says, that "scarcely were his companions recovered from the rolling of the ship, when Xavier applied himself to the promotion of Christianity. In the first place he began to learn the rudiments of the language of Japan, just as if he were a child, with extreme assiduity. Then, in translating the chief articles of Christian faith, although Paulo assisted with all his might, yet, what with the difficulty of the task itself, the depth of the mysteries, and their ignorance of the language, they toiled on heavily for many days together. At length, when that was reduced to writing, after some sort, Xavier began

to stammer it out to the people from the paper ; and his companions did the same. Large congregations immediately assembled to hear them ; and as the Japanese are shrewd and lively, some laughed at their ungrammatical sentences, and barbarous pronunciation ; others asked what could be aimed at in these lectures ; others stared at their foreign habit and manners ; others, also, began to cavil angrily and abusively at their ignorance of the manners and language of Japan ; and there were some, after all, who pitied the unoffending strangers, when they saw them covered with ridicule, and said, that men who had come from so remote a country, braving so much danger, only for the sake of teaching the people, and without any reward, ought not to be despised." They bore all without the slightest perturbation, or show of impatience, each day acquiring greater power over the language, and imperceptibly conciliating the admiration of the multitude. And while thus they exerted a moral influence over the city, Paulo was busy at the palace, answering the King's questions, and pointing out the advantages that would result from forming commercial relations with Portugal ; and from cultivating political relations also with the power that had suddenly startled the nations of the eastern hemisphere by a display of courage, enterprise, wealth, and warlike resources and skill which none of them had thought possible in a people from the dark regions of the west.



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Here was a cogent argument. By commercial reason His Majesty was convinced of the wisdom of religious liberty, and issued an edict permitting the new Bonzes to preach, and allowing his subjects to be converted. Under this authority, multitudes on whom the doctrine had wrought no practical effect began to hear them favourably. Several were baptized; and even two native Bonzes presented themselves for the grace of that sacrament. Xavier prudently withdrew them from the influence of their fraternity by sending them to Goa, where they might see his Church in her glory, and be imbued with her spirit, thence to return in due time and preach her dogma to their countrymen.

The Bonzes of Cangoxima held a general assembly, and appointed some of their most considerable members to present their complaint to the King. They appeared before him in the name of Xaca and Amida, the two great gods, and the other divinities of Japan, and, with more of menace than resignation, asked him into what part of the world the gods might flee; for they sought, said their Ministers, some other abode, and other temples, since he had shamefully driven them from his kingdom,—or rather from their own,—to receive a foreign divinity who usurped all rights, Divine and human, and was too proud to suffer superiors, or even equals. They added fiercely, that His Majesty was King, undoubtedly, but that a King was no more than

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a profane mortal, whom it became not to be an arbiter of religion and a judge of gods. They reminded him of the antiquity of their worship, and predicted the infamy that would cover his name in after-generations, if he persisted in overturning the altars of the gods from whom he held his crown, and in stripping them of their ancient honours. And, to oppose a yet weightier argument to the doctrine of the foreigners, they threatened their King with civil war, and with the interference of neighbouring Princes to eject him from his throne.

Their threats might not have had so great force, if the Jesuit could have enforced on the King of Saxuma the alliance of Portugal, with an army that would silence or extirpate the refractory and overbearing hierarchy; but far from having such a succour at hand, he saw the Portuguese merchantmen sail past the island, and go to Firando, in preference, for their cargoes, the King of Firando being an enemy of the ruler of Cangoxima. Thenceforth the royal patron of the Missioners turned away from them with disgust, gave ear to his own Bonzes, and promulgated another decree, which forbade his subjects to cast off the old religion of Japan, and embrace the new religion of the foreigners, under penalty of death.

No longer did crowds of hearers attend the sermons and catechisings of Xavier. He was deserted by all, except by a small band of adher-

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ents, captivated by his fervour, drawn by novelty, impelled by disaffection to their Government, or perhaps influenced by the prospect of relations with the victorious and wealthy sect whose fame resounded through those regions. Those few met with him secretly every day; and "after having read to them certain passages of the Scripture translated into Japanese, and adapted to the state of the rising church of Cangoxima,"\* he explained to them the mysteries of the life of our Lord. He also provided them with copies of his Catechism, an exposition of the Creed, and some spiritual instructions, with "the Life of our Lord, which he translated all entire," and afterwards printed in the native character. But there is no canonical book known by the title of "Life of our Lord." And here we must point distinctly to a practical and sacrilegious falsehood perpetrated in various forms throughout India and the East by the Jesuits, after this first example of their chief, in the publication of contemptible fictions called histories of Christ, and so adapted to the circumstances of the Heathen as to confound the Saviour, to their apprehension, with their own gods, and give them compositions, resembling their own sacred books, with a mingling of Romish histories and legends, instead of the Bible. Francisco Xavier,

\* " ——— certains passages de l'Écriture traduits en Japonaise, et conformes à l'état où était l'Église naissante de Cangoxima," etc. (Bouhours.)

## ENCOUNTERS MANY OBSTACLES.

in this instance, and his followers in like manner, endeavoured to veil the humiliation of our Saviour, to hide the scandal of His cross, to conceal His condemnation of their idolatry, and of hypocrisy and wickedness like their own, and to substitute for Christianity a Paganism suited to the notions prevalent in the particular country for which they wrote. And this is the *faith* which some blindly charitable Protestants attribute to a man of whom they know absolutely nothing, whose name they can scarcely articulate, whose real history they have never perused, but whose *larva* serves them, now and then, to enrich the imagery of an oration, and to stir up that sentimental wonder which swells into rapture in exact proportion to the simplicity of the entertainer and the entertained. The reader will please to forgive this digression, considering how difficult it is, in the prosecution of such a narrative as the present, to repress the grief, the indignation, and the shame which are aroused by the reflection that this same Saint Francis Xavier is often held up to admiration as if he were the Missionary whose virtues and faith we ought to emulate and follow.

Attended by two Portuguese, and carrying on his back the vessels necessary for the celebration of mass, Xavier left Cangoxima in the month of September, 1550, purposing to visit Firando, the petty kingdom that was at enmity with Saxuma, and therefore likely to afford a welcome

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to one whom the King of Saxuma had rejected. By the way they called at a fortress occupied by a Prince dependent on the King of Saxuma; and finding there some persons who had known him favourably at Cangoxima, but were not aware of his present disappointment, they obtained a hearing, baptized about a hundred persons, and Xavier left one of his companions to be their Priest. At Firando a salute from the Portuguese ships at anchor in the harbour opened the ears of the Pagans to his message; a visit of ceremony to the King, the more friendly to Xavier from his enmity to the Sovereign of Saxuma, procured reverence from the multitude; and in less than twenty days he baptized more persons in Firando than could be collected in twelve months in Cangoxima.

From Firando St. Francis went to Amanguchi, crossing land and sea. The meanness of his appearance and his poverty rendered him contemptible to the populace. His unintelligible addresses, delivered in the streets, provoked ridicule. The Bonzes pointed at him with scorn, crowds of children shouted after him, repeating the sacred name as it is pronounced by the Portuguese, *Deos, Deos*, a word which is said to sound like another in the language of Japan, that signifies *falsehood*. And not being provided with presents for the King, or silver for the poor, nor supported by military or naval force, he could make no converts at Amanguchi.

### IS MORE SUCCESSFUL.

Towards the end of December, taking with him the remaining Portuguese, and two Japanese converts, he set out for Meaco, the chief city of Japan. It was usually a journey of two weeks; but now the roads were scarcely passable in many parts, the mountain-country being covered with snow, and the lowlands flooded. And to them, who were not provided with necessaries for such a journey, the toil was excessive; and it was not until after a pilgrimage of two months on foot that they reached Meaco. There, too, his attempts to preach were met with derision; the Emperor and the Supreme Pontiff, if we may so call the *Cubo Sama* and the *Dayri*, chiefs of church and state, were inaccessible to the strangers, because unable to purchase audience by presents; no foreign influence was just then available, and Xavier, having spent fifteen days without making the slightest impression on any class of the inhabitants, resolved to give up the effort, and return to Firando, where he might obtain, through the Portuguese, necessary resources for prosecuting his mission on some other plan.

### IS MORE SUCCESSFUL.

After deducting adventures which seem only to have taken place in the imagination of those who canonised the traveller, and reports of disputations with Bonzes that have every appear-

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ance of mere invention, the little that bears evidence of reality may soon be told.

At Firando Xavier found a supply of money placed at his disposal by the Viceroy of India, together with a clock, and some other articles suitable for presents. Yielding to the force of reason, he also accepted decent apparel from the benevolence of the Portuguese, and, by presenting himself once more at the court of Amanguchi in a less repulsive garb, and with money in his hand, procured forbearance, if not attention. A handsome gift opened his way to the King, whom he could not approach when he came under the character of a beggar. Oxindono, delighted with the specimens of European workmanship, sent him a handsome sum of money in return; but he refused the gold, and called on His Majesty again with letters from the Viceroy and the Bishop of Goa. His independence, and the high patronage, won him royal favour, and, under the sanction of a public edict, he was enabled to preach to the people, and to carry on disputations with the Bonzes: in less than two months five hundred persons were baptized, and the number soon rose, if report be true, to three thousand.

We next find him in the dominions of the King of Bungo. Here he was welcomed by De Gama, Captain of a Portuguese ship, and honoured with a salute. The sound of the guns—four rounds were fired—alarmed the neighbourhood;

## IS MORE SUCCESSFUL.

a messenger from the King came in great haste to ascertain the cause, and returned full of wonder at the reverence paid to this famous Bonze, of whom they had only heard evil reports until that day. Moved by these honours, the King sent him a letter of invitation to the palace, and great preparation was made to introduce the representative of the religion of Portugal to the favourable attention of the Sovereign of Bungo.

No more poverty and rags. The gods of Japan hate the poor. The men of Japan despise mendicity, and refuse to accept a beggar for a hero. The vow of poverty avails not for a mission here, where wealth, power, and wisdom are needed to produce effect. Thirty Portuguese traders were therefore selected to escort Xavier to the palace in great state. They were clad in rich stuffs, with chains of gold, and jewellery. A train of servants and slaves were dressed suitably to the occasion. Father Francis was attired in a cassock of black camlet, with a snow-white surplice over it, and a green velvet scarf embroidered with gold. Boats richly carpeted, and gay with silk banners, conveyed the company on shore, with sound of trumpets, flutes, hautboys, and other instruments. A multitude of natives thronged the landing-place, and filled the streets. Duarte de Gama, Captain of the largest ship, walked before Xavier, having his head uncovered, and carrying a golden rod. The Father himself walked with a majestic yet



## XAVIER

modest air ; and five of the best-looking traders followed him, carrying respectively a book, (not the Bible,) a gold-headed staff, a pair of black velvet slippers, a portrait of the Virgin, and a grand umbrella. The others followed, more like lords than commoners ; and when the procession reached the palace, after traversing many streets, they found that the King of Bungo, a gay young man of five-and-twenty, had made as brilliant a display as possible for the reception of the marvellous Bonze of Portugal. Indeed the genuflexions and other marks of worship to Xavier were so profoundly reverential, that the court of Fucheo thought him to be a Bonze come down from heaven to confound all the Bonzes of their country ; and the King received him with honours exceeding any that had ever been shown to mortal man within that palace. The whole sacred fraternity was astounded, alarmed, infuriated. One by one they broke silence, as they saw multitudes profess, by baptism, the religion of the stranger. They challenged him to controversy, and arrayed their utmost force of ingenuity or sophistry ; but the King decided that Xavier had beaten them, and they retreated in silence. Then they laboured to stir up the pagan multitude, and might have prevailed, but for the hostile aspect of the Portuguese ; and the King allowed the secret motive of his conviction to appear in an embassy which he sent to India, asking, in return for his acceptance of Chris-

#### ATTEMPTS A MISSION TO CHINA.

tianity, the powerful alliance of Portugal to strengthen him against the neighbouring Princes.

But among the objections to Christianity the Bonzes made this,—that China, the chief seat of wisdom in the world, had not believed it. Xavier, too, had met many Chinese merchants in Japan, acquired some slight perception of the elements of their language, heard of the mysterious grandeur of the land that was closed against all barbarians, and already resolved to leave Japan to the teaching of inferior Priests, and to the care of European soldiers, and enter China, at whatever cost, there to establish an outpost of Rome. Success in that empire, he thought, would put all Heathendom to silence; and while yet his strength remained, (for although he was not yet forty-six years of age, his hair was grey, and his bodily strength failing, through excessive labours,) he resolved to try. On the 20th of December, 1551, he took leave of his royal friend, and embarked with De Gama, purposing to visit India, set in order the affairs of the Company, and thence go to China.

#### ATTEMPTS A MISSION TO CHINA.

In the beginning of February, 1552, Xavier was once again in Goa, where he found two letters patent, one from Ignacio Loyola, at Rome, bearing him the dignity of Provincial of the Indies and all the countries of the East, now constituted a province separate from Portugal,

and the other conveying a participation in the privileges communicated by the Supreme Pontiff to the head of the Company, and those on whom the head might please to bestow a portion of the virtue. He spent about ten weeks in setting the affairs of the Society in order, and on "Holy Thursday," 1552, embarked for China, as he trusted, on board his favourite ship, the "Santa Cruz," his friend Diogo Pereira being both owner and commander.

The scheme for obtaining access to "the Celestial Empire" is partly divulged in a letter that he addressed to John III. shortly before his departure, wherein he says, that within five days he shall set sail for Malacca, on his way to China, together with Diogo Pereira, Ambassador to the King of the Chinese. "We are taking many precious gifts for the King, which Diogo has bought, partly with royal money, partly with his own. We also carry him an excellent gift, such as no King, so far as I know, has ever sent to another King, within the memory of man,—the Gospel of Jesus Christ.....Three of us, members of the Society, are going to China with Pereira, with the intention of endeavouring to obtain the release of Portuguese captives, *persuading the King of the Chinese to enter into an alliance with Portugal*, and waging war with demons and their worshippers." He requests the King to send out more Jesuit Priests, at public expense, and writes to Simão

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Rodrigues, in order to revive the zeal of His Majesty on behalf of India, Arabia, Japan, and China; and says that, if a way is opened into China, he will spend three or four years there, and then return to India to take back a company of Missioners.

But the scheme could not be carried into execution. Whether in Malacca, or only in the books, I cannot undertake to determine; but as war, pestilence, tempest, and famine always present themselves to Saint Francis, who subdues them infallibly, he is represented as landing at Malacca in the midst of a terrible mortality. His charity shines again as he goes from street to street, picking up the sick from the ground, taking them to hospitals, waiting at their bedsides,—where there are beds,—and letting them die in his arms, that they may assuredly believe themselves to be passed safely into bliss eternal by his merits. It is remarkable, however, that although the Viceroy of India, D. Alfonso de Noronha, had made Pereira Ambassador to the Emperor of China, and Pereira had come supplied with splendid gifts, procured at great expense, and was at the entire cost of the embassy, to the exhaustion of his private fortune; and although the Governor of Malacca, D. Alvaro de Ataide, had approved of the project of a political mission to China, in order to the introduction of the Society of Jesus; Xavier did not mention the subject for some days, at least.

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Nor was the Ambassador Pereira visible; for, under some pretence of trade, he had crossed the Straits of Sunda. The ardour of Saint Francis, generally irrepressible, was kept in abeyance by some secret reason, until at length, Pereira having made his appearance in the harbour, he divulged to the Governor that this person was on his way to China in the character of Ambassador. M. Créteineau-Joly brings out the secret, however, when he says, that Ataide "had expected, perhaps the Apostle himself had given him to understand, that he should be charged with the great Chinese embassy." Instead of that honour, Xavier had brought him a lesser, in the shape of an appointment to be Captain-Major of the sea, or Port-Admiral, as I suppose. The Governor was disappointed and enraged. It was monstrous, he thought, that this Diogo Pereira, once a domestic servant of Dom Gonçalo Cotinho, should be named Ambassador of Portugal, and the son of the Count of Ataide be set aside. Xavier was alarmed. He wrote to Pereira requesting him to come on shore without a retinue, and in plain clothes; and he not only did so land, but concealed himself in a private house, and did not even venture to meet Xavier.

The Governor seized the ship, and, that she might not be put to sea, had the rudder taken off, and brought to him, pretending that he needed her for the defence of the port. Xavier

## ATTEMPTS A MISSION TO CHINA.

at first endeavoured to compound the matter, and offered him a large sum of money \* if he would withdraw his opposition, and allow the Ambassador to take his own ship and go; but Ataide would not relent. While he was Governor of Malacca, he said, and Captain of the sea, Pereira should not go to China, either as Ambassador or merchant; and as for Father Xavier, if he was so very zealous for the salvation of the Pagans, he might go to Brazil, or to Monomotapa.† The Grand Vicar, Xuares, with the principal persons of the city, went to the Governor, and produced the letters of John III. and of the Viceroy, empowering Xavier to spread the Gospel throughout all the East, and declaring that whosoever should hinder him, would be accounted criminal. But the Governor drove the Vicar from his presence.

The season for a voyage to China was passing away; and although Xavier prayed very publicly for the softening of the heart of Ataide, the Governor would not suffer his embassy to proceed; and he therefore determined to take decisive measures to overcome such obstinacy. To this end he exhibited the Bulls of Paul III. creating him Nuncio,—a power which, it seems, he had seldom used,—and sending him to convert the East; and declared that if Ataide did not give way, he would smite him with a curse.

\* Xavier had public funds at his disposal.

† A Portuguese settlement in Africa.

## XAVIER

Ataide laughed at the threat. Xavier commanded Xuares, as Vicar, to pronounce the anathema, which he did, and the inhabitants of Malacca saw their Governor excommunicated by the Church because he did not choose to allow an embassy to proceed to China. And our saint, not satisfied with endeavouring, although unsuccessfully, to overwhelm his antagonist by a popular revolt, and mortified at seeing him laugh at the priestly curse, openly predicted that all manner of plagues would fall upon his body, but loudly prayed that God would save his soul.

Seeing that Ataide set at nought his curse, Xavier had recourse to an expedient usual in such cases, of prohibiting, under peril of eternal vengeance, all persons from hindering, under his authority, the embassy to China. But notwithstanding his former influence in Malacca, the menace produced no effect. The population that had witnessed, if we may credit the Jesuit historians, his prophetic and wonder-working powers, and adored him as their deliverer, stood by with cold indifference, no one moving a step to compel the Governor to obey the Nuncio. And last of all, he publicly interdicted by name those "agents and satellites" who had in any way assisted in enforcing his commands. None of them could be permitted to approach the altar or mingle in the congregation; for he was to be shunned and hated as an excommunicated

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person. But the shafts fell harmless, and the Governor and his subalterns remained unmoved.

The mercantile Governor, using the "Santa Cruz" as his own vessel, manned her with a fresh crew, put her in charge of other officers, and sent her for a cargo to Sancian, a small island off the coast of Quang Tong, a province of China, where Chinese and traders from Portugal met to carry on an illicit traffic. Xavier determined to go thither, with a native Chinese and one or two other attendants. On the day of departure, he went into a church, and continued there alone, apparently at prayer, until nearly sunset. Xuares, seeing that the crew of the "Santa Cruz" were getting up her anchor, and perhaps not unwilling that so vigorous a representative of Papal power should be clear out of Malacca, hurried him from his devotions to the sea-side; but, as they went, the Vicar asked him whether he would not call on the Governor before going on board, lest the people should be scandalized at his appearing to be implacable. "What?" cried Xavier, "would you have me to pay court to a man that is severed and excluded from the communion of the faithful? I will never see him, nor shall he see me again in this world, nor even after death, except when I shall accuse him to Christ the Judge in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, for having dared to prevent the spread of Christianity through his thirst of mad ambition and cupid-



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ity. Neither do I care for the reports or censures of men, now that it is known to every one that he is interdicted from all sacred rites. Rather should it be feared, that any civility of mine towards a man that is to be execrated would be taken by others as an example to justify them in having any conversation or any dealings with him." He then stopped opposite a church on the sea-side, lifted up his eyes, "prayed in a loud voice for the salvation of the wretched Dom Alvaro," after the prayer prostrated himself in silence for a little, with his face on the ground, "and then, rising with a vehement action, that had in it something terrible, pulled off his shoes, struck them together, and violently beat them on a stone, saying, that he would not take away with him even the dust of a land so cursed." This was followed by a long enumeration of the plagues that would befall Alvaro; and thus he left the shore of Malacca, the crowd gazing after him in silence. It was not to be expected that his denunciations would be harmless, like his curse. The latter it did not please God to confirm by any immediate outbreak of judgment; but his friends in Lisbon were careful that the former should be honoured with fulfilment, and Orlandino is careful to record, that "no otherwise it happened. For a little afterwards Alvaro was covered with loathsome leprosy." (By whom the contagion was communicated he could not be expected to say.)

#### DIES AT SANCIAN.

“And as he had committed many other offences in the sight of all, and, with an audacity like that which had despised the authority of Xavier, disobeyed the commands of the Viceroy, he was suddenly arrested, as if he were contriving a defection from the King, loaded with chains, and in that condition carried to Goa, and thence to Lisbon, where the King dealt with him according to his deserts. There, God being avenger, he was deprived of all his property, branded with ignominy, consigned to eternal darkness,” (imprisonment in a dungeon for life,) “and, in addition to that foul leprosy, afflicted with an imposthume of intolerable stench, his friends forsook him, and he miserably perished.” So long as Xavier could write, and find means of transmission, he sent letters to Goa and to Lisbon, authoritatively requiring the enforcement of his interdict. But Pereira, the disappointed Ambassador to the Emperor of China, received large compensation of wealth and honours from King John of Portugal.

#### DIES AT SANCIAN.

They say that he wrought more miracles; that he recovered an infant from the ocean, that had been drowned, and left astern after many days' sail; that he supplied the crew and passengers with water, after many had perished with thirst, by filling the barrels with salt water, and making it fresh by waving a crucifix over it;

## XAVIER

that he sent away whole herds of tigers on an island, by sprinkling holy water in their faces ; and many other miracles they attribute to him on this voyage.

But the only true part of the tale is indeed sad. He landed at Sancian. Some Chinese flattered him with the notion, that if he did but land in China, and manage to reach the gates of Canton, the Emperor would gladly receive him, and read his Christian books. But his Chinese interpreter deserted him, and another could not be found. A Chinese bargained to land him in disguise, and assist him to reach Canton ; but the man disappeared. The Portuguese ships, having taken in their cargoes, all sailed away, and left him without provisions, after all the wonders which he is said to have wrought for them, especially on board the " Santa Cruz." And it is certain that, notwithstanding the honours rendered to him by his countrymen when he could perform a part among them, in alliance with secular authorities, they now left him to perish with hunger. The far-distant hills of Quang Tong were dimly visible over the horizon, and he used to walk to and fro on the beach of Sancian, and gaze on them wistfully ; but he was at last a forsaken and helpless man. After wearing so many honours fresh from the hands of Popes and Kings, after rejoicing in the applause, if not the adoration, of multitudes in many lands, after

## DIES AT SANCIAN.

commanding the obedience of all the Clergy of the East ; there was he, neglected, disappointed, abandoned, and, the place being deserted for a long season, all but starving. It was a sickly desolation. Fever laid hold on him, and he was carried on board a sort of floating hospital ; but the rolling of the hulk was insufferable, and he besought them to lay him on the open beach. They did so, and left him there to die. As he lay in a consuming fever, exposed to the burning sun, some poor, outcast Spaniard saw him struggling with death, and removed him to his hut, a wretched wigwam open to the weather on all sides. In that hut he passed a few hours, lost in delirium, raving, or chanting hymns, or preaching, but it was all about China, and then\* sank into the embrace of a sudden and mysterious death. The man buried him ; but his body was exhumed, and carried to Goa, where it is at this day worshipped. The right arm, said to have wrought so many miracles, is revered at Rome. His name is enrolled in the catalogue of Saints, and now they read his legends, recite prayers to him, sing hymns, and perform litanies as if he were a god ; a wild and wicked creature-worship is committed at his altars. Even in England, ignorance, false charity, and fatuity combine to laud him, because they know him not ; and what more shall I say ? While I

\* On December 2d, 1552, being not yet forty-six years of age.

## XAVIER

think of the sad conclusion of his life with pity, and regard his sufferings alone, I could almost wish that it were lawful to forget his worldliness, his obstinacy, and his pride, to imagine him a saint because he was a hero, and to join with the multitude in calling him "the holy Xavier." But it is not lawful to perpetuate a delusion. The course of Xavier was evil, because his policy was dishonest. His latter days were without honour, and his last hour was profoundly dark.

### PASSES FOR A SAINT.

Seeing that Xavier is canonised, a few paragraphs may be added concerning him in the character of Saint.

A letter from Ignacio reached India after he had left that part of the world on his attempted embassy to China, commanding him, under obedience, to return to Europe without delay. Whatever might have been really the occasion of that recall, whatever the motive that induced the General to withdraw so active and so successful a Missioner from the myriads of proselytes on the continent of India, Ceylon, the Malay peninsula, the Indian Archipelago, and Japan, an ostensible reason was, that he should promote missions to Abyssinia, Congo, and Brazil. His vocation then would be to choose fit men, and use his influence with King John for the multiplication and maintenance of those enterprises. And if a man of so great energy, ambition, and prompti-

## PASSES FOR A SAINT.

tude were at Lisbon, the head at Rome might hope the more easily to guide his purposes and control his actions. But before the mandate could reach him, he had passed away into another world, where, Orlandino affirms, "he rendered greater service to the Society."

The ship "Santa Cruz" that had conveyed Xavier to the smuggling-station of Sancian, left him there, and sailed back to Malacca, returned in the spring following, to take in another cargo. The Captain, being informed that his body lay buried in lime, for the quicker dissolution of the flesh,—an expedient for that end extensively employed in Popish countries, in cases where it is desirable to get the dead bodies quickly out of sight and scent,—thought that the bones might now be denuded, and proposed to take them back to India. It would not be reputable, as it seemed to him, to leave the remains of so great a man, buried in a land of barbarians and infidels. The Captain found the grave, and opened it. There lay the body in a coffin filled with lime, and clothed, as when alive. The sanctity that could not avail to save the living man from hunger, disease, and death, made the dead body incorrupt. No taint of putrefaction was in it. Not even had the nostrils sunk, nor had the paleness of death come over the countenance. The flesh was firm and full of moisture, as when the fluids were in living circulation. "And what is yet more

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wonderful, it emitted no unpleasant smell, but a sweet and refreshing fragrance." The Portuguese crowded round the exhumed Saint, found no language equal to the utterance of their wonder, and wept aloud with joy at the invention of the sacred body. For it is universally understood that an untainted and fragrant corpse is holy. The odour of sanctity is often more certainly shed forth by the dead Saint than by the living. With pious kisses, with pious looks, with heaps of rosaries, and with piles of wreathed flowers, they honoured it.

In solemn procession the coffin and its contents were transferred to the ship, and, rejoicing in an object far more precious than all the silks of China, the Captain hastened to get up the anchor, and away they sailed for Malacca. Never had the living Xavier enjoyed a voyage of any length without adverse winds, tempests, or drownings; terror and lamentations ever swept around him. But the dead Xavier could charm sky and ocean into peace. The demons of storm fled. A fair wind followed the good ship at each bending of her course, and the happy crew were exempted, through that most memorable voyage, from the ordinary toils of ocean-life.

The tall ship moved majestically to her anchorage in the harbour of Malacca, and a well-manned skiff, swiftly rowed to shore, carried intelligence of the marvellous arrival. The whole

## PASSES FOR A SAINT.

city turned out, striving to make amends for their former "contumacy" by receiving him with worship when dead, whom they had dismissed with contumely when living. Diogo Pereira still was there, and able to provide a splendid funeral at his own expense. The Vicar and all the Priests, carrying white tapers, went in procession to the landing-place, and received the body, fresh and fair. A sick man was provided, to touch it, and to be healed, that no evidence of sanctity might be wanting now to him, who so few months before had failed to give evidence of patience, meekness, or forgiveness. It was laid in state in the church of the Jesuits, which, however, the Fathers had vacated when they left Malacca at the command of Xavier, who would not suffer them to continue in a place that lay under his own interdict. There, say they, the body was laid in another coffin, but one that was too narrow, and, when squeezed in with greater force than reverence, the shoulder that had bled so often under self-inflicted flagellations, bled again, but the fresh blood was odoriferous, and its perfume filled the place. To complete this act of the drama, the Jesuits introduce a pestilence which disappeared as the sacred body entered the temple of their Company, "the wrath of God being placated by the merits of so great a man." At length it was resolved that the body that had been dead for nine months, but still was bleeding and still scented,



should be carried to Goa, the ecclesiastical metropolis of India.

I cannot find either time or inclination to investigate the amount of fact, if any, which may exist under this marvellous recital, and others that are necessarily noticed on the above pages. But I would suggest that some well-qualified person should examine this entire class of wonders, and give the result of his inquiries to the public. The title of his book might be, "THE CHEMISTRY OF ROMISH MIRACLES."

But when the time of departure came, there could be found but one ship in the port, and that one quite unfit for sea, for the timbers were almost gaping with old age. The supercargo dreaded to intrust his goods to such a barque, and was keeping them on shore; but when he heard that the sacred body would be put on board, he did not hesitate a moment, but had her loaded, almost to the water's edge. The poor ship was dressed out gaily, and in that fashion performed the voyage without any other accident than that of running aground once and knocking off the rudder; but on that occasion the body was uncovered, the saint, of course, heard prayer, and all was right again. But no sooner was the precious cargo landed at Goa, than old "Santa Cruz," as if instinct with reverence to the Apostle of the Indies, opened of her own accord, and, in smooth water and under a breathless heaven, devoutly subsided to the bottom. At Goa, the festivities

## PASSES FOR A SAINT.

and the miracles were so many and so grand, that, to recite them adequately, would require another sheet, for which my readers would scarcely like to pay. Suffice it, then, to say, that the wondrous body was carried to "the Temple of the Society" with the utmost pomp, the Viceroy Noronha leading the procession, that there it lay exposed to adoration, gave out much miracle-working energy, was afterwards placed in a sumptuous tomb or shrine, and the inhabitants of Goa, refusing to await canonical authority, anticipated the sentence of the Vatican by paying it their constant worship. Great was the fame of Goa thereupon. Even Sancian was held sacred from that time; and the Lusitanian smugglers in the sea of China, when they neared the island, felt religious, and honoured the soil that had received their patron into its bosom by firing a salute.

It is reported that Mohammedans, impressed with awe by his miracles, built a mosque in honour of him near Cape-Comorin, and that many Pagans, taking him to be a god, erected temples for his worship, and went on pilgrimage to Goa to see and smell his body. Sixty-seven years after his death, Pope Paul V. declared him *blessed* in a Brief of Beatification. Pope Gregory XV. made him *holy* by virtue of the forms and solemnities established. The ceremony of canonisation took place in Rome, March 12th, 1622; but the Bull which certified that

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Saint Francis Xavier might be lawfully worshipped by those who accept objects for devotion from the College of Cardinals, did not appear until August 6th, 1623, under the seal of Urban VIII. They now "venerate his glorious merits," and ask to be strengthened against all adversities by virtue of his intercession. The 3d of December is his day. In the year 1747, Benedict XIV. made him "Protector of the Indies." The Breviary, the Missal, and a separate "Office" recite the meanest of the puerilities that Boushours enumerates; and thus, with signs and lying wonders, the Church of Rome, under strong delusion, that she should believe a lie, gives proof to the world, in the year 1852, that the spirit of apostasy predicted by St. Paul is yet cherished within her bosom.





*Engraved by G. S. S. S.*

**A JESUIT WITHIN DOORS .**

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**A JESUIT DOCTOR.**

**JAMES LAYNEZ,**

**A LEADING THEOLOGIAN AND GENERAL OF  
THE COMPANY.**

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## A JESUIT DOCTOR.

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### LAYNEZ JOINS IGNACIO LOYOLA.

“DIEGO LAYNEZ, a Spaniard, born at Almazan, a town of Castile. He was a man in every respect perfect, of most exalted genius, most severe judgment, excellent memory, singular prudence, admirable for innocence and sanctity of life; more lovely than tongue can tell for modesty, affability, meekness, and gentleness of manners.”

Angel he must have been, rather than man, if these glowing sentences of Pedro Ribadeneira be descriptive of him. But we must look again before we can accept the eulogy without abatement, inasmuch as our standard of sanctity is very different from that of the Jesuits; and perhaps we shall find less to admire in the man who, more than any other, impressed its distinctive character on the Society of Jesus. Yet even in such a biography there is much, very much, material for instruction.

In the young University of Alcalá, where Ignacio Loyola, after his return from pilgrimage to Jerusalem had studied, shone with austere and erratic devotion, and undergone the ordeal of inquisition as to his faith, and investigation as to his morals, the memory of the devotee was recent.



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The students heard that after a sojourn in the University of Paris of five or six years, their countryman had acquired notoriety, not without promise of eminence. Proud of the man, they hung up his portrait in their apartments; and when leaving Alcalá to complete their studies abroad, as the fashion was, many of them chose Paris, because Ignacio was there. Laynez, having obtained the laurel of Doctor, and being possessed of means for the gratification of his desire, for his parents were wealthy, determined to reform and polish himself at that great University, by means of other preceptors and philosophers. He was then about twenty-two years of age; scorned mediocrity, as became a young man of energy and genius; and, throwing himself on the saddle, rode away cheerily from Alcalá towards Paris, accompanied by a fellow-student, Alfonso Salmeron. Scarcely had they alighted at the inn to which their friends recommended them, when Laynez saw for the first time the very man whose portrait he had so often gazed upon, and whose fame had attracted him to Paris. They embraced each other, and were friends from that moment. Ignacio very soon became first General of the Company. Laynez was the second in succession, but in talent by far the greater man of the two. As I do not know that any one has written a Life of Laynez for English readers, although he was, in reality, a complete, yet fair, impersonation of the

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system of Jesuitry, I will endeavour to fill up the deficiency, so far, at least, as the space to which I confine myself allows.\*

Ignacio had not yet formed the fraternity that afterwards became so eminent; but he had conceived a plan, and would seem to have been looking out for new comers, in order to include them within a circle already traced in his imagination. He paid Laynez those attentions which are most agreeable to strangers, put him on his guard against persons and things to be avoided, gave him advice concerning future pursuits, and found him ready to disclose his inmost thoughts with unbounded confidence. Before a week had passed away, he brought his fellow-traveller Salmeron to enjoy the benefit of so good a friend. Xavier, Le Fèvre, Bobadilla, and Rodrigues, were already under his influence; and as soon as the party were fully united, he recommended them all to

\* My authorities are, first of all, Orlandino and Sacchini, in their "*Historiæ Societatis Jesu partes prima et secunda*:" "*Vita P. Jacobi Laynis, Secundi Societatis Jesu Generalis, à P. Ribadeneira*:" and Pallavicino and Fra Paolo Sarpi, historians of the Council of Trent, who describe the part he took in that assembly. For an account of his proceedings at Poissy, Theodore Beze is consulted in his "*Histoire des Eglises Reformées du Royaume de France*." A very few incidents are gleaned from the "*Imago Primi Sæculi Societatis Jesu, à Provincia Flandro-Belgica ejusdem Societatis representata. Antwerpizæ, MDCXL*." And other sources of information will be acknowledged as they occur.

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enter on a course of spiritual exercises, and then set out together on a pilgrimage to Palestine. They were agreed to follow him any whither, and sealed the engagement with a vow at the altar ; but he prudently advised them, even then, to spend six months in preparation, and, during that period of reflection, to fast often, hold conferences, and help him to mature the plan. And as they vowed to sell their goods, and give the proceeds to the poor, that they might be perfect, and thenceforth to live by begging, it became necessary for Loyola, Xavier, and Laynez to go into Spain in order to disencumber themselves of their estates. Almost immediately after their return to Paris, war broke out between France and Spain ; and, not to be detained as prisoners, they hurried away from Paris on the 22d day of November, 1536. Fasting, sackcloth, and whippings, the best means, as they thought, for attaining to perfection, had worn down Laynez,\* and he was but just recovering from fever, when the hour of departure came ; but that circumstance made his renunciation of the world seem the more meritorious, and he joyfully flung away the last copper, and set out on foot in the garb of a pilgrim, towards Venice, where they all hoped to embark for the Holy Land. Yet war, every-

\* As well it might, if, as Ribadeneira says, he fasted for three days without intermission, and then subsisted on bread and water only for a fortnight, while first meditating on the proposal to go to Palestine.

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where beginning to rage, or to be apprehended, made it improbable that a passage would be practicable; and they agreed that, if prevented from visiting those holy places, they would go to Rome instead, and place themselves at the disposal of the Pope. On the way from Paris, through France, Germany, and Subalpine Italy, towards Venice, he displayed his good-nature by helping his fellow-travellers where they could not help themselves; fording rivers, for example, with less venturous brethren on his shoulders. And at Venice, his peculiar method of excelling in the practice of self-denial, and exemplification of humility when lodging in hospitals, was to select for himself, and occupy, "with very great delight of soul," the dirtiest of the beds.

As no pilgrim-ship could be found at Venice, after spending several months in those hospitals, waiting on the sick, and, if we may believe what is written, miraculously healing diseases and expelling demons, they walked away from the city of St. Mark, and persevered amidst the inclemency of winter until Rome came into their view. Laynez, elate with enthusiasm at beholding the holy city for the first time, pulled off his shoes, and entered barefoot. Led by Loyola, they gained admission to Pope Paul III., fell at his feet, obtained his blessing, and from that moment the Company, although as yet without Pontifical sanction, was pledged to the exaltation of the Roman See. An itinerary of those wandering

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Spaniards, as they traversed Italy, would, no doubt, present a picture highly illustrative of the state of society at that time. We should see Laynez, for example, making compensation for inability to speak in Italian by preaching in Latin. But the delivery of Latin sermons in the market-place of Vicenza would remind us, that the language of old Rome was not yet unintelligible to all the people. And to read that the Latin Preacher went afterwards, from door to door, begging food, but with so little success that he often suffered hunger, would bring us to the conclusion, that such performances neither awakened wonder nor benevolence, but that the Clergy and laity of Vicenza—and the same might be said of others—were sadly deficient in catholic charity, if not in common humanity.

A relic is wanted for the consecration of a church ; and, for a like reason, a vision must be solicited for the erection of an order. Of all places in the world, the most proper for a vision was Rome. Of all persons in heaven who might appear, the most to be desired was the Queen of Heaven, towards whom the founder of the Company had always professed a particular devotion. Of all names to shed glory on the Company, none could be so proper as that Name which is above every name, and to which every knee must bow. But how to obtain the vision, and how to make sure of the name, and how to establish the Society with sufficient marks of authority and

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eminence to make it permanent, were questions that the original aspirant knew not how to answer. He revolved it in his breast with laborious anxiety, and as he drew near to the city conferred thereupon with Xavier and Laynez. Lifting up his voice to "the Queen of Heaven," he asked her to tell him how, and under what conditions, he might be admitted as a servant into the family of Jesus Christ her Son. They approached the city. Into the first church Loyola entered alone, and knelt down. And then he saw,—of course his own testimony is all that could ever be produced,—he saw the majesty of God the Father, and the Son of God carrying His cross; and he heard the eternal Father commend himself and his companions, by name, in the most friendly manner (*amicissime*) to the protection of the Saviour. And then Jesus, "turning towards Ignacio with a placid countenance, said, 'I will be propitious to you at Rome.'" Here was Divine authority explicitly affirmed, in support of Jesuitism, for the comfort of all who could give credit to the tale. Such authority had Domingo de Guzman pretended to receive in vision, when he was devising the order of Preachers and Inquisitors; many others had pretended in like manner; and so did Ignacio Loyola pretend, when he was framing the Society that should provide a fellow-buttress to the Inquisition for the tottering fabric of the Papacy.

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But the cross ! No emblem could have been seen more opportunely. He knew that all founders of new orders, reformers of old ones, and other innovators, had to endure a severe ordeal at the first ; and he also knew that the Fathers of the Holy Office were watching him at every step. Therefore, to strengthen his recruits for the warfare that was to be expected, he interpreted the cross to mean all this ; and said to Le Fèvre and Laynez, " Whatever may befall us in Rome, whether it shall please God to lay us on the cross, or on the wheel, I have not yet clearly ascertained ; but of this I am assuredly persuaded, that Jesus will not forsake us in any event." He saw and heard this revelation, or he did not. That he did, no one can believe, who believes that God is the Father of lights, in whom is no darkness at all, and that He cannot be tempted of evil, neither tempteth any man. That he did not, is unquestionable ; and that he should have been so daring and so wicked as to fabricate the vision, without any fear of God, and prosecute the scheme in spite of the Inquisition, and in prospect of *the wheel*, demonstrates a recklessness and Satanic force of will that no subsequent exploit could exceed. Laynez, be it noted, was ever in his confidence ; but whether so clear-headed a man could credit a tale so obviously imitated for the occasion, is a doubt that I shall not ask any one to solve.

It was in the beginning of October, 1537, that

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they entered Rome, and were soon afterwards welcomed by Paul III. The Society had not yet a name, because to give a name to any association that the Pope had not sanctioned would have been worse than premature; but Ignatius, in purpose, fixed on the name of JESUS, as if it had really been appointed in heaven, although his immediate object was to find employment in the service of the supreme Pontiff, rather than of the Saviour, sure that, being once allowed an opportunity of making himself and his companions useful at court, everything else that he could wish would follow in due time. He told His Holiness that he only desired to render service to the Apostolic See, now assailed by heretics all over the world; and offered, for the better prosecution of that service, to renounce for ever, for himself and his companions, all ecclesiastical dignities, and even titles of honour. His vocation, he professed, was only to suffer and obey. The brethren whom he presented were said to be actuated by the same spirit, turning to the Father of the faithful for direction as the needle to the pole, and looking to him alone for approbation, as the sun-flower turns its face towards the sun. This was quite satisfactory to Paul, who carried the offer of unreserved allegiance in his breast, and at the first opportunity, which quickly came, he set his new volunteers to work. Ignatius was intended to be a model of piety, and so to help the Clergy



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to recover or to gain some good repute. Le Fèvre and Laynez were sent to teach in the Gymnasium of La Sapienza, and there undertake an effort for introducing a higher standard of learning, in order to compete with the Reformers, who had studied hard and acquired great influence by their erudition. Thus began Laynez; but for some time he quietly flowed onward in the current of events in common with his brethren, seldom emerging into view. We must, therefore, observe their common progress.

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Bent on opposing the nascent Reformation, they were earnest, and therefore eloquent. The Pope authorised them to preach against heresy, and several of the principal pulpits of Rome were placed at their disposal. Laynez took the church of S. Salvatore in Lauro, and received a full share of public attention. They each wore a linen garb of a peculiar fashion,—for they were not yet entitled to a regular habit,\*—and the Romans crowded to the churches no less to

\* The Jesuit habit generally resembles that of a secular Priest. But it is varied; and that the variety assumed in India and China amounted to a disguise, is notorious. The plates representing some of the varieties, both European and Oriental, that accompany these volumes, are copied from the great work of Hippolyte Helyot, known under the following title: "Histoire des Ordres Monastiques, Religieux et Militaires, et des Congregations Seculieres de l'un et de l'autre Sexe, etc. Paris, MDCCXIV."

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see than to hear. The chief men of the city came to hear, and the Preachers advanced in energy from sermon to sermon. Returning to their lodgings after the orations of a morning, and finding no dinner prepared, they often went, attired as in the pulpit, begging food from door to door, gaining, together with broken meats, no small augmentation of repute for humility and self-denial. Exercises of piety and works of charity, performed with the usual ostentation, raised their fame.

But they were also allied with the Inquisition to watch over the orthodoxy of Italian Preachers, both in Rome and other cities; and an occasion of controversy soon arose out of their diligence in this vocation. A Monk of the order of Hermits of St. Augustine, commonly known as Agostino di Piemonte, competed strongly with them in the career of popularity. He thundered against the vices of the Clergy, and, pursuing the theme, disclosed the corruptions of the Papacy, and even touched on the doctrinal errors of the Church. Laynez and Salmeron went to hear him preach, most easily fixed on propositions that savoured of heresy, and then from their own pulpits opened an attack on the disguised Lutheran, as they were pleased to call him. The virulence of their declamations aroused resentment, and some wealthy Spaniards, among whom were named Pedro de Castilla, Mudarra, and Barrera, undertook to

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investigate the life and doctrine of the new censors. They said that Ignacio and his associates had been notorious for heresy and immorality in Spain, France, and Venice; that they had eluded justice, and, cloaking their wickedness under a show of sanctity, had come to Rome for shelter. And not content with publishing this ill report, they laid accusations before Benedetto Conversino, Prefect of the city, and brought evidence to sustain the charges. Ignacio and his brethren ran to the Prefect, implored him to protect them from calumny, and objected to the chief witness on the ground of an old quarrel. As the Prefect seemed unwilling or unable to assure them of acquittal, they threw themselves on the friendship of Cardinals, and on the protection of the Pope, their supreme patron. This patronage was efficacious; and Ignacio, "lest the Society should be under a stain of perpetual infamy," asked for a solemn certification of innocence. At a former period it might have been impossible to obtain such a purgation; but now that he is in the service of the court, there can be no difficulty. Juan Figueroa, Vicar of the Archbishop of Toledo, who had made severe inquisition on him and his friends at Alcalá; Matthée Ori, Dominican Inquisitor, who had repeatedly exercised his function on Ignacio in Paris; and the Apostolic Legate, who had known him in Venice, were at Rome. They declared him and his companions innocent,

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and the Prefect issued a certificate accordingly, of which many copies were distributed over Europe; and thus the defendants came off with a good judicial character, and failed not to make the best of it.

The Holy Inquisition immediately received the zealots as its wards, and began to show the world how dreadful is the vengeance of a Jesuit. Mudarra, being accused of heresy, was thrown into prison, but made his escape, and they burnt his effigy in Rome. Pedro de Castilla was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, which he suffered; and a Jesuit stood by him when in the article of death, to perform a ceremonial reconciliation with the Church. Agostino himself left the Church of Rome and went to Geneva; but was overtaken by Jesuit and Inquisitorial vengeance, and burnt alive. All this did not take place immediately; but the action of the Inquisition began forthwith, and gave a new impulse to the hopes and efforts of the party.

A severe winter followed in the year 1538. The poor people in Rome, miserable as the poor always are in that metropolis of the Church, died by thousands. These new candidates for establishment and honour made themselves very busy, seemed to be angels in benevolence, begged with full persuasiveness of oratory, and rose many degrees higher in reputation and influence. Their praises were on every lip, and some one undertook to show, that S. Vicente

Ferrer, by prophetic inspiration, had foretold the advent to the world of these most saintly benefactors. Nothing but their own negligence could now hinder their advancement to the honours of an order, unless, as there was indeed reason to fear, the very popularity they had attained should hinder it. The Pope was employing them in special services, and they apprehended that, if they were thus to be scattered over the world, it might be impossible to re-unite them.

They agreed, therefore, to determine on some common way of living, in order to the formation of a "family" that should be perpetual, multiplying in proportion to its perseverance and successes. But, although they were so far agreed, their counsels were much divided whenever they met to deliberate concerning details. Each of them was earnest, and therefore each entertained some project of his own. At length, however, they agreed to prepare themselves by prayers, fastings, and "other afflictions of the body,"—as to their mind, prayer was but a form of penance, and indeed,

"weariness and pain  
To slothful flesh and blood,"—

for solemn deliberation on articles proposed for the government of the community, which were to be adopted by the majority, the minority afterwards consenting. And in order that their

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daily and visible work might not be interrupted, and their progress checked, consequently, by the workmen sitting together in debate, they wisely resolved to hold their meetings at night. Under the veil of darkness, unseen and untroubled by any of the existing fraternities, they exchanged those nocturnal counsels.

Unanimously, on the first night, they agreed that each one, whithersoever the Pope might send him, should consider himself not at liberty to act alone, but always proceed as in conjunction with the others. The Society-bond was to hold them together, however widely scattered over the face of the earth. On the second night they could not agree in the solution of the question whether, in addition to the two vows of poverty and chastity which they had taken at Venice, at the hands of the Apostolic Legate, they should also bind themselves by a third vow of obedience. To this obligation there were practical difficulties objected; but it was also remembered that if they, like other communities, could submit to it, their peculiar services of teaching, of pilgrimages, and of missions, and the surrender of themselves to the pleasure of the Pope, already made, would probably raise them above all other Societies that had ever arisen in the Church. They had already gained much ground, but not without great effort; and, unless there were a sufficient bond of union, the labour would all be lost, and that quickly. And

they admitted a maxim which, however they might misunderstand it, is too excellent to be written only in their books, but deserves to be transcribed in ours, for universal acceptance: "That without obedience, which leads to and originates other virtues, no one can attain to eminence in holiness." Yet, even this acknowledged, they could not easily reduce their principle to form. Should three or four of them be appointed to think for the rest, and go into some wilderness to perform a spiritual quarantine, and come back with announcement of a resolve? Not so. Already the Jesuits were more practical than Loyola at Manresa, and Xavier at Meliapore; and they perceived that such a retreat would expose them to inconvenient observation. But they chose the singular method of a temporary isolation. Each one was to go to mass daily, for an appointed time. Each one, during that time, was to meditate on obedience, but suppress all utterance of his thoughts on that subject, or of anything that would lead to it, in conversation with the others. In due time they met again to declare the result of their meditations; but night after night was wasted in debate without conclusion. Perhaps this anarchy of sentiment taught them the necessity of submitting to one directive mind; for at last they all came to one opinion, "that to the two former votes of chastity and poverty, a third of perpetual obedience

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ought to be added, and one of their number elected whose word the others would obey, and before whose decisions all wills would bend." And they rested, with evident satisfaction, in the hope of having a chief whose will would be supreme, and whose authority would impart unity and effectiveness to their future undertakings.

This point settled,—subject, however, to the final decision of the Pope,—they also agreed on the name to be given to their family; and Orlandino thus describes their decision: "As they had no other guide of life whom to follow, except Jesus; and as they did not unite for the sake of solitude and shade, but for sunshine and for battle, they all agreed that it should be called by a military title, 'Society of Jesus.' For soldiers in their cohorts, which they commonly call 'societies' or 'companies,' receive their name from the chief himself."\* And this

\* Laynez took a very active part in framing the "Constitutions," or Book of Discipline, for the government of the Society. The Jesuits boast, indeed, that Loyola was the sole author of the first draught of the Constitutions, aided by the Spirit of God, with no book but the Missal, and no library but prayer. That the Bible supplied nothing to the construction of that system, will be readily acknowledged; and, instead of imagining an inspiration of Divine Wisdom, it would be nearer the truth to say that Loyola received the suggestions of Laynez, whom he constantly consulted. The "Declarations," or gloss on the text of the Constitutions, are attributed to Laynez. The text is a naked



was in compliance with the request of Ignacio, who was wont to call it "the least Society of Jesus," that he might disarm the jealousy of other communities by an implied acknowledgment that they, too, belonged to Him whose name he had chosen, but that his own society was least of all. That season of humility soon passed away; and the Jesuits, never least nor last in contests for exaltation of the Papacy, fully justified the assumption of the military name, "Society."

Even in the year 1539, when the Church of enunciation of the laws of the Society, prepared with great care, and remarkable for that foresight of contingencies which is only to be acquired by intimate experience in the first essays of such a system. The gloss is remarkable for enlargement of discretionary power to the Superiors of the Company, producing a certain laxity in administration which, while it saves the Superiors from the unpleasant consequences of legal restraint, and often leaves them to be a law unto themselves, is, in practice, more favourable to the attainment of some ulterior object, than to the cultivation of morality. A full analysis of this document would be necessary to the completeness of a history of Jesuitism. A characteristic note of it is proper to a biography of Laynez. The copy that has been examined on the present occasion bears the following title: "*Constitutiones Societatis Jesu, cum earum Declarationibus. Romæ. In Collegio ejusdem Societatis, cum facultate Superiorum. Anno Domini MDLXXXIII.*" This edition, although twenty-five years later than the first, has historical value for our present purpose; but for an understanding of the actual discipline of Jesuitism, one of much later date must have been chosen.

#### ON HIS FIRST CRUSADE.

Rome and her allies put forth all their strength for the extinction of Gospel-truth by means of persecution, and while the dragoon and the Inquisitor went through all Europe on their sanguinary mission, that Church found it necessary to impress the popular mind by other means, and recall the waning attachment of the multitude by charms of oratory, processions, and religious exercises. Each member of the new Company took a full share of this work, and from all parts of Europe those Princes who called themselves Catholic besought the Pope to send some of them to their help.

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Layneze and Le Fèvre were appointed by the Pontiff to reside with the Cardinal of St. Angelo in his legation at Parma. There they began to counterwork the Reformation by the gentle, yet most effective, methods of catechetical instruction and expository discourses in the church. Being armed with pontifical authority, it was in their power to dogmatise where they could not explain; and a garniture of patristic learning might pass among the thousands instead of the true biblical science which dawned in Germany, but had scarcely shed a ray on Italy. After a course of this kind had brought the two "Fathers" to the knowledge of the inhabitants, they announced a course of sermons, which were heard with great applause by crowded audiences.

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Le Fèvre left after a few months, and the Spaniard remained there alone, labouring day and night as Catechist, Preacher, and Confessor. Of course Romanism revived in Parma.

Ignacio spared no effort, at Rome, to vanquish opposition, and obtain from Paul III. sanction for the Society. This obtained, and certified by a Bull\* which empowered the members to form constitutions for their future government, Loyola, Salmeron, and Codure announced the joyful event to their distant brethren, and invited them to hasten to Rome for the election of a General. Laynez, quitting Parma and the household of the Cardinal, now appeared in the great city under a new character, gave his suffrage, as did all the others, Bobadilla excepted,—who was absent, and sent no vote,—for Ignacio Loyola. And from this position he worked his way, by the incessant employment of his talent, to a station of great eminence and power. This constitution of the Society, by the election of a General, we may just note, took place on Easter Sunday, April 17th, 1541.

Death soon invaded the new family, the first to depart being Mark, a brother of Laynez, who had but lately joined them. When in Spain he heard that his brother James had joined a sect of heretics, who were travelling all over the world to propagate false doctrine, and make an

\* *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae.* Sept. 27th, 1540.

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end of everything sacred. Every day, for three years, poor Mark went to mass, said the Creed, and hoped that, by the merit of this performance, God would save his brother out of the gulf of heresy. To aid in the deliverance of James he came to Rome, found him in the heights of Roman orthodoxy, went through spiritual exercises, and became one of the Society. He caught fever in a hospital, and died.

Margaret of Austria, wife of the Duke of Parma, and daughter of the Emperor Charles V., being in Rome, in the summer of 1541, besought Laynez to become the "guide of herself and her family into the way of piety and salvation." Laynez undertook the charge, and soon afterwards accompanied the Duchess to Lucca, whither she went to meet her imperial father; and this introduced him into the circle of political influence, within which he moved, with extreme activity, to the end of his life. In the early part of the year following, leaving Margaret to the care of Loyola himself, he went to Venice, at the invitation of the Senate, and by command of the Pope.

For his mission to Venice there was a special reason. During twelve years past the Gospel had been taught in that republic. At first, in dread of the severe magistracy, good men had met together in secret; but their doctrine spread rapidly, not only in Venice, but in other cities. There were some reasons to hope that the

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Senate, some of whose members partook in the desire, would allow liberty of worship; and Melancthon had even ventured to address the Senate by letter, asking for the privilege. So manifest an advance of the Reformation in this emporium of wealth, such an invasion of a province that stood as a bulwark to the Papacy against the schism of Greece, and the forces of the Turk, aroused a sudden and strenuous resistance. The Doge, Pietro Landi, with his Council, applied to the Pope for help to stem the torrent of heresy, praying that Laynez, now the most eminent of the Jesuits for theological acuteness and eloquence, might be sent to preach down the Reformation, leaving those whom he could not convert to be dealt with in the old way, first by the Inquisitor, and then by the jailer and the executioner. Laynez hastened away, took up his lodgings in a hospital, presented himself in a coarse garment with ostentation of poverty and self-denial, and held conferences with Senators and merchants, who resorted to him to get solution of their doubts, or to lead the way for waverers who might choose to evade persecution by an apparently spontaneous reconciliation to the Church. From the hospital he transferred his industry to the churches. Every morning he preached in one of them, and "by bold images and striking thoughts delighted the rich imagination of the Venetian people." His cultivated and bold style of preaching was resist-

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less; and each morning, when the sun rose, crowds of people were seen waiting for the church-doors to be opened. Not content with awakening the zeal of the Romish populace for their own idolatry, he opened an attack on the doctrine of the Reformation, not by formal controversy so much as by the far more effective method of dogmatising, *in the form of biblical exposition*. Every afternoon, in the church of the Holy Saviour, he pursued a course of lectures on the Gospel according to St. John. Those lectures were heard with immense applause, and the most noble citizens, leaving the Senate and the merchandise, imagined, as he prosecuted his argument, that the heresy of Luther was to be crushed for ever. Some half-converts to the truth openly renounced the profession they had made. Some Romanists renounced the world,—as they speak,—and went into monasteries. Some others asked admission into the Society. And by a letter from Baltassare Altieri to Luther, dated November 26th in the same year, we learn that, by that time, evangelical preaching had utterly ceased, and that most of those who had been wont to assemble in Christian worship were in prison or in exile. For as months advanced the crusade grew hotter. Before the Carnival, two young men, who had openly derided the worship of saints, the power of the Church, and the indulgences of Popes, were induced to make a recantation in public; others brought Lutheran

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books and burnt them ; many Papists abstained from carnival diversions, and, during Lent, a large multitude were reconciled to the Church. If the historians of the Company were the only relaters, we might imagine that those recantations were the effect of conviction ; but contemporary evidence, with knowledge of the uniform custom of Inquisitors in all such cases, places it beyond all doubt that Laynez was merely a person of the drama, and that the "great multitude" that renounced the doctrine of the Gospel in Venice was impelled by terror. After the labours of Lent and Easter, many who had been shriven by the Jesuit brought him the accustomed offerings ; but he refused to accept them, declaring, from the pulpit, that the discipline of his Company forbade its members to accept gifts on such an account ; and, glorying in the reputation of poverty and voluntary mendicity, he remained until autumn in the hospital of St. John and St. Paul.

At Padua, as almost everywhere else, the leaven of the Reformation pervaded the masses of society, and especially the University. Thither Laynez repaired, not so much as an ascetic, but rather in the character of a Doctor, to establish a Jesuit college, and, by the introduction of the high ecclesiastical principle, to expel the evangelical. He therefore accepted the invitation of Andrea Lippomano, an affluent Prior, who threw open a mansion to Laynez and his associates, all

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of whom had sturdily refused to accept, at Venice, the hospitality of the Doge himself. But the same policy which drew him to a hospital, in the character of a mendicant, sent him to a palace in Padua. A coarse contempt of comforts became him where his appeal was to the multitude; but it was proper that he should display some refinement where the members of a University were to be won over. From that time Padua became a citadel of Jesuitry. In Brescia, next, he collected the common people to hear the first elements of doctrine; and stirred up the population, by preaching and confessing through the Lent of 1544. In conferences not a few learned heretics, if report be true, suffered themselves to be drawn into controversy, and to be put to shameful silence. Yet these reports are so palpably artificial, just made for the occasion, that we may reasonably doubt the learning of the perverts, and the fairness of the arguments that are said to have put them to silence. Nor must we forget that there were many martyrs and confessors of the truth at Venice. What the proximate issue of such debates may have been, it would now be idle even to conjecture, Jesuitical annalists being the only remaining witnesses. The ultimate effect, not so much of the debates, as of a combined assault with material and spiritual weapons, was the almost utter extinction of the Reformation in the Venetian republic.



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In Bassano Laynez delivered the Lent-sermons of 1545, and, aided by the usual apparatus for a quadragesimal revival, must have made a considerable, although brief, impression. From Bassano he came to Rome, summoned either by the Pope, or by the General, or by them both, to consult concerning the college at Padua, and preparing for a new exigency, to advance yet further towards the front of the battle with the Protestants.

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LayneZ had assuredly entered on a career of eminence. His persecution of heretics at Venice endeared him to the hierarchies of Popedom, who began to lavish honours on the head of their champion. In the neighbouring diocese of Laybach, in Illyria, Urban, the Bishop who had also signalised himself as a consummate hater of heretics,\* being laid aside by sickness, desired Laynez to be his coadjutor, in order that a well-nerved arm might wield the scourge which now became too heavy for himself to manage; and when he found himself on the threshold of eternity, prayed the supreme Pontiff that Laynez might be appointed his successor. But the Constitutions of the Society, ostensibly for the sake of shutting out ambition, but, really, to conserve the peculiar character and vocation of

\* Hæreticorum infensissimus hostis. Ughelli, Italia Sacra., tom. v., col. 1073.

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the members, required that every one, at his admission, should vow to God, and to their Lord the Pope, that he would not accept any prelacy, or if he knew that any one compassed his elevation to such a dignity, would give information of the fact, ever holding himself incapable thereof, excepting only if the Pope, with advice of the General, should see fit to compel him, and make it sinful to refuse.\* In this case the General did not advise, nor did the Pope determine, that Laynez should mount the chair at Laybach; but they both regarded the invitation of the dying zealot as good evidence of the fitness of their servant for the work of putting down heresy with a show of argument and learning, a new weapon, chosen with adaptation to the state of Europe at the time. After he had approved himself to Paul III. and to Ignatius, during long conference, and was found to be thoroughly imbued with the policy of the Roman Court, he received a command to proceed to Trent in the quality of theologian. The appointment, however, was not certified by a Bull, and his first introduction into the Council was rather surreptitious than direct. Inasmuch as Jesuit agents are not usually sent forth alone, but, at least, two by two, that each may watch over other, and no one be left without a guardian to restrain him from overstepping the narrow path of obedience, he and Alfonso Salmeron were associated

\* Constit. Soc. Jesu. Pars x., num. 6.

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for that mission. Theologians, be it noted, customarily wait on Cardinals, who are supposed rather to excel in politics than in divinity,—notwithstanding some rare and brilliant exceptions,—and the Cardinals empowered to be the Pope's Legates at the Council, and in whose train they went, were Giovanni Maria del Monte, Marcello Cervino, Italians, and Reginald Pole, the famous Englishman. About a hundred Italian Bishops followed, most of them pensioners of the court, whom it was necessary to provide with money, that they might keep up the state proper for their exalted rank.

At the time of their departure Laynez was only thirty-four years of age, and his companion scarcely thirty-one. Their General trembled lest among so many dissolute Prelates, in the society of Cardinals, Princes, Ambassadors, Bishops, and Abbots, who would be revelling in luxury, and plunged in the depths of political intrigue, and amidst the glare of courtly society, gathered from all parts of Europe, and the applause that a tolerably earnest discharge of their commission could not but draw upon them, these young Fathers should fall into some indiscretion. He gave them the best advice he could, and endeavoured to fortify them against the vanity and immorality incident to such a situation by prayers in the churches, and by many masses; and thus once more confessed what was already acknowledged, and what is, to this moment,

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generally understood, that if an Ecclesiastic be chaste and temperate, it must be by some extraordinary grace. He also wrote for their guidance a paper of instructions. This document is so complete a specimen of worldly wisdom for conducting the affairs of the Church, that I cannot refrain from translating it at length.

*“For the greater glory of God.*—As holding intercourse with many persons may be very profitable for salvation, and for the spiritual good of souls, if God favours ; so, on the contrary, unless we are very watchful, and God helps, it often does great harm, not only to ourselves, but to those with whom we deal. Yet because, by the nature of our institute, it is not lawful for us to abstain from this kind of intercourse, by so much the more prepared and forewarned we enter into it, and if guided by some rule, so much the more easy will be our progress in the Lord. I will, therefore, give you some advice that may be of use to you in the Lord, either adding to it, or diminishing from it, as the case may be.

“There are three things, generally speaking, that I wish you to observe in the discharge of this office :—

“First. In the Council itself, to aim at the greatest glory of God, and common good of the Church. Then, out of the Council, be careful to observe your ancient institute, which, indeed, is what we especially desire in this your journey.

And then at home, and amongst yourselves, let your private care and study be of your own souls, that you may not neglect yourselves, but, by assiduous care and diligence, render yourselves daily more and more fit to perform the duties that shall be laid upon you. And in the Council it will become you to be slow in speaking, very cautious, and kind in debating on what is passing, and on what is to be brought forward; attentive and sedate in hearing, and sagacious in perceiving the opinion, drift, and countenance of those who speak, in order that you may the more easily lay hold on it, either to reply, if necessary, or to support in silence. In the disputes that may take place, you must weigh the arguments on both sides, lest you seem wedded to an opinion of your own, constantly making it your utmost endeavour that no one goes away in ill-humour in consequence of any speech of yours. Do not appeal to a living author in support of anything that you affirm, especially if the subject concerns eminent and noble persons, unless the subject has been exhausted in long debate. Be fair towards all, and be offensive to none. If the matters in debate be of such a nature that you must necessarily speak on them, give your opinion in an exceedingly calm and modest temper, and manage to close your speech with such a sentence as, 'Saving a better judgment.' And you must always bear in mind, that what relates to doc-

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trines, whether those doctrines be the result of human study, or whether they be of Divine origin, can be most effectually treated if you discourse slowly, calmly, and leisurely, not in haste and heat; and that it will be right to consider the convenience and the rank of him with whom you are acting, rather than your own, that whither the Divine will draws he may be led.

“And when you are out of the Council, omit no occasion of deserving well of your neighbours. For there will be opportunities of hearing and forgiving sins, or of preaching to the people, or of exciting men to heavenly things by retirement for salutary contemplation, or for teaching children the law of Christ, or of going to visit and assist the sick in hospitals; for the power of the Divine Spirit will descend on the whole body of the Council so much the more abundantly as it shall be called forth with the greater fervour by works of humility and charity. In your sermons you must not touch on any points whereon Protestants and the orthodox are not agreed, but let all your discourse be persuasive to reformation of manners and obedience to the Catholic Church. And in your last sermons, especially, and in your catechetical assemblies, let there be frequent mention of the Council, for which you shall command the people to make supplication to God.

“In hearing confessions you must take it for

granted that whatever you speak in the ear of the penitent will be published on the house-tops ; and, therefore, you must always go to the confessional under the persuasion that every word of yours will be repeated among the people ; and to those who have confessed their sins, instead of penance, appoint a few prayers for the successful termination of the Council. In explaining the spiritual exercises, also, and in every private conversation, be governed by the same calculation, that all your words will be repeated in public. And in expounding those exercises be careful not to give any one more of them for meditation than what is contained in the first week, unless it be to a very few who may desire to deliberate in view of choosing this manner of life. But even those you must not in any case permit to bind themselves by any vows, nor admit them, at first, to any more intimate communication. And, indeed, the laws and precepts of the spiritual exercise may be mitigated for the time, and that especially when all the arguments of the meditations shall have been prescribed.

“ When you are instructing children you must adapt your method of teaching to the weakness of their tender age, in order to instil, gradually, the elements of Christian law, and to explain them in a manner suited to the capacity of your hearers. And this explanation, too, must finish with a very brief exhortation to placate God with prayers for the holy Synod.

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“You must visit the public hospitals in turn, every Wednesday, at hours not inconvenient to the patients, whose sins you shall duly absolve, and comfort them in their sufferings, not only by help of prayer, but by giving them such little presents as you may have at your disposal. And you shall then admonish them to be mindful in their prayers of the Council that is assembled.

“In all meetings, and in every conversation, opportunity shall be taken to exhort men to penitence, and to participation of the sacred mysteries, setting before their eyes not only the benefit of each private person, but also of the whole Christian world during the holding of the Council. And then, that questions may be settled, well-considered and sparing speech will be useful, as has been said, while prolonged discourses, full of benevolence and earnestness, are to be commended for arousing people’s minds to piety.

“There is a third point which you should keep in view in order to a dignified discharge of your office, which we have already said to consist in taking good heed to yourselves. For although you cannot be ignorant of what is proper to your profession, this must be remembered above all, that there be the most perfect agreement of feeling between yourselves, and a mutual participation of all counsels and opinions, and that no one of you should have too much



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confidence in his own judgment and prudence. And as Claude Le Jay, whom the Cardinal of Augsberg sends as his proxy to this Council, will soon be with you, you will devote an hour every night to report to each other what you have done during the day, and to confer together as to what should be done the day following; and you will hold private deliberations, either by vocal suffrage, or by any other means. And then, demeaning yourselves with the greatest possible humility and mutual charity, each one in turn shall every night pray his brethren to correct him, and, when necessary, to chastise him with great freedom; nor shall he defend himself under those reproofs, unless desired and commanded so to do. Every morning you shall deliberate together concerning your manner of proceeding through the day; and in the course of the day each one shall give account of himself to his brethren whenever they require: and all this you shall begin to put in practice on the fifth day after you reach Trent."

Here is the policy that was to govern Laynez as a public man; consummate art, covered under an exterior of piety, and moving with an air of wisdom and meekness. We must not be surprised if the veil of piety be sometimes insufficient, or if the wisdom sometimes fails.

The French historian whom I sometimes consult, but seldom quote, inasmuch as his work is not original, says that "Laynez was more of a

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man than Loyola." Notwithstanding the great services rendered to the Church of Rome by Laynez, the Cardinals have not yet presumed to enrol him among the saints, like Loyola and Xavier, his companions. For such a position he was not qualified by any high degree of sanctimony, nor, which is quite equivalent, by a first place in the ranks of persecutors. He was profoundly discreet, even an occasional indiscretion was well calculated, and therefore the appearance of wisdom became almost perfect. Beyond some feats of asceticism, not even the Jesuits can bring evidences of piety, but confess that *he was not a saint.*

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Layneze went not from Rome to Trent direct, but by a long round through Venice and Lombardy; for it was not desirable to make the first detachment from head-quarters too large. He therefore went back to Venice, Bassano, and the neighbouring places, where he spent some time preaching against heresy; while Inquisitors, magistrates, troops, and mobs were busy in the same service. D'Oppede, the French General, was in the Alpine valleys, slaughtering the Waldenses; and the other agencies, quickened by the urgency of Paul III., were spreading terror throughout Italy. Laynez and his companion passed rapidly over the field; and, just when four sessions of Council had been occupied in

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preliminaries, made their appearance in Trent, towards the latter end of May, 1546.

The Frenchman, Le Jay, was already there, acting in the name of the Pope, and receiving great honour. Laynez came very humbly, merely as a representative of the new Company of Jesus, clad in the plain habit of his order, a black cassock and mantle, much the worse for three years' wear. The Apostolic Legates received him heartily, and would have lodged him in their own apartments; but, preferring a cell, he went to a monastery, and began operations in the usual manner among the patients in the hospital. He also gathered congregations of children, to whom he delivered the "Christian doctrine." Attracted by the wealth of Prelates and Princes, immense crowds of paupers were pouring into the city, whom it became necessary to send into the outskirts. Thither went the Jesuit, carrying alms that he had begged for them. Popularity followed, of course. The Legates, pleased with so perfect a model of ecclesiastical poverty and perseverance, showed him great respect; but the Spaniards, ashamed to see their countryman walking about in rags,—and those rags not very clean,—and presenting himself in such plight before the most exalted personages, turned from him in disgust. The Cardinal del Monte, perceiving this, gave him a new habit; the Spanish sense of decorum was no longer offended; the most stately Castilian could now give him his

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embrace; the treasures of erudition and prudence that had lain hidden under the sordid garb of a poor Jesuit were now acknowledged; and, instead of making daily rounds among beggars in the suburbs, it behoved him to stay at home in the monastery of St. Elizabeth, and receive the visits of Bishops and other dignitaries. These, pressed by intellectual indigence, came for instruction on points of theology that they had never studied; or prayed him to help in providing manuscripts of orations that they intended to deliver in the sacred Synod; or he prepared himself for active service when it should become necessary for him to stand by the Legates for the defence of Roman discipline or doctrine. Yet these labours did not prevent him from preaching frequently, and exemplifying the diligence which must be acknowledged as one of the great sources of success in that Society.

To exalt their order, as well as to defend the Papacy, was, of course, the constant effort of the Jesuits; and although the special devotion of Loyola and his brethren towards the Virgin Mary may not have been mingled with any ulterior prospect of popularity, the circumstance of their advocating the fable of her immaculate conception openly is alone sufficient to indicate that it was become a popular persuasion. The Dominicans, indeed, who had great power, and were, as Inquisitors, the chosen guardians of the

faith of Rome, hotly opposed it ; but the Jesuits felt that they ran no hazard by opposing the Dominicans in this particular,—the Court of Rome, and the majority of the Clergy, especially the Franciscans, and the common people, being on their side. Laynez came forward boldly in its defence. The “Image of the first Century of the Society of Jesus” thus magniloquently describes the part taken by our Doctor in this controversy, at Trent :—

“When it was there disputed concerning the primeval sin of our origin, and the immunity of the most holy Mother, Father James Laynez, being called on for his opinion by the Council, having first excused himself on account of ill-health,—for he was then suffering severely of quartan ague,—and professed himself unable to speak as he would desire, and as the dignity of the argument demanded ; nevertheless, for the love that he bare toward the Mother of God, ascended the pulpit. Then, the Virgin imparting sufficient strength to his feeble body, he spoke for three hours, to prove the immaculate conception of the Virgin, and produced so many testimonies of the holy Fathers, so great a weight of exquisite reasons, with such copiousness and gravity of sentences, that that most august company of sacred nobles, drinking in with thirsty ears the golden flood of eloquence that flowed like a torrent from that mouth of commanding utterance, thought that it was not

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a man who spoke those words from the pulpit, but a prophet from heaven descended, pouring forth oracles from a tripod, declaring mysteries, pronouncing decrees. Wherefore by weight of most weighty reasons he so moved, convinced, and enkindled that most holy Synod, that it added to the decree of the fifth session concerning original sin a declaration in so many words, that it was not their intention to include in that decree the blessed and immaculate Mother of God, but that the constitutions of Sixtus IX. were to be observed. O well-calculated eloquence,—shall I say?—or wisdom derived from heaven! wisdom that from the unspotted Virgin, or from the virginity,—should I not rather say?—washed out the stain that had been cast on it in the opinion of many, or certainly—the benefit is equal—prevented it from being branded in. Thus the God-bearing Virgin has hitherto continued—the Society guarding, and that most august senate of the Christian world determining—in possession of her undefiled integrity, of which she was almost deprived by the votes of some; while all the Society has defended her as not only not the parent of any sin, (which no Catholic denies,) but (which some assert) never the heir of any. For from that time, as if a public signal had been given from that pulpit, all the companions of Ignatius ran to arms, with pens at home, with tongue out of doors, with prayers in the temple, with arguments in the

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school, with sermons in the desk, to fight against all who in open combat assail her integrity, or in secret chambers attack it privily; and in all posterity through all ages they will most constantly defend the intact and unstained conception of the immaculate Virgin."

A Council has not since been holden; but the reigning Pope, Pius IX., ever in accord with the Jesuits, who have risen again into power, has endeavoured to obtain the honour of immaculate conception for the object of his devotion and theirs. He addressed a circular letter, three or four years ago, to his Bishops, soliciting their judgment on this unsettled point, and hoping for a suffrage that might be equivalent with a conciliar decision; but the point, it seems, is not yet gained.

The next great question of doctrine that called forth the powers of Laynez was that of justification. In the congregations appointed to prepare a report, or decision, for the sanction of the Council, there was great variety of opinion, with long and sharp controversy. Each order had its peculiar view, and each leading schoolman his partisans. The three Jesuits, however, received a special monition from their General, instructing them "not to put forth any new opinion, not even if it might be supported by firm reasons, that would seem to countenance the notions of the heretics, or to favour the views of those who caught at novelties." Their vow of

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obedience required them to suspend any judgment of their own, and to maintain the authoritative sentence, whatever that might be. To ascertain this, the Legates required Laynez and Salmeron to collect sentences from the Acts of Councils, Papal Bulls, the Fathers and the Doctors, and compare them with propositions collected from the writings of the Lutherans and other heretics. This was a long and laborious work; but they undertook it, and came armed to the teeth with pontifical and patristic weapons. When the Congregation proceeded to discuss the doctrine, Laynez, whose seniority entitled him to speak first, requested that his colleague, Salmeron, might have precedence; and "this glorious humility, as was afterwards acknowledged, was not inopportune for the Council." Salmeron opened the debates with a carefully-prepared Latin oration. Laynez took notes, and thus prepared himself to demonstrate the confusion of opinion that prevailed. He closed the disputation in an address of three hours, thrice the time allowed to any other speaker being accorded to him by special favour. His commentary—for it is rather a commentary than a sentence, says Pallavicini—settled all dispute, and was transferred, in substance, to the Acts of the Council. The chapters and canons on justification are very diffuse, yet not less explicit. They condemn many errors, and they also contradict all the truth, as



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we find it written in holy Scripture. They are often quoted in controversy with Romanists, and in expositions of Romish heterodoxy. Their origin, however, was not so much in the Council, where there was no common doctrine on the subject, as in the pontifical authorities, prepared always with the practical intention of upholding Romish worship and customs. The exponents of those authorities were Laynez and Salmeron ; but the final preparation of that famous document was by Laynez himself.

In the month of March, 1547, there were some cases of fever in Trent. One Bishop died. Fracastore, the physician of the Council, pronounced the disease to be contagious. All the "Fathers" attended at the funeral with great pomp ; and the Italian Legates and Bishops felt, or pretended to feel, extreme terror. The physicians of the city declared that the disease was not contagious, and refused to sign a certificate of their medical brother, which affirmed that the lives of the Fathers were in danger so long as they remained in Trent. The Imperialists and the Spaniards laughed at the terror of the Italians. The Italians implored permission to retreat from the scene of pestilence. Seeing that there, in presence of the facts, the doctors could not agree as to the existence or non-existence of contagion, I am not very anxious to arrive at a solution of their question, and merely note that the Italians, under guidance of the Legates, and by an order of the

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Pope, brought to the Legates by a secret courier, made up a majority in Council, to declare that the disease was pestilential, and resolved to transfer their sessions to Bologna. The minority refused to fear or to obey, and stayed in Trent. One thing, however, is incontrovertible, that the Italian majority, just when the minority was gathering strength, and threatening to be unmanageable in clamour for a reformation of the Clergy, declared their lives to be in peril, and removed to Bologna, a city of the Pontifical States, where Paul III. was King. At this juncture the Jesuits were not agreed; for the retreat was precipitate, and they were taken by surprise. But Laynez clung to the Legates Apostolic, and went to Bologna. His colleagues reluctantly and slowly followed. His decision, added to other merits, gained him entire confidence at Rome. The Council, however, could not venture to act at Bologna; and he was therefore free to prosecute his humbler vocation as a Regular of the Company, leaving theology and canon-law for use at a future time.

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At Bologna, the theatre of action for Laynez was the church of S. Petronio. There he poured forth streams of eloquence that wrought powerfully on congregations of impressible Italians, and won for him some penitential triumphs. Several prostitutes and "flagitious

women" at his voice professed repentance ; and he, in turn, full of zeal for "the Redeemer and the rulers of that city,"—the guardian saints,—placed them in safe custody (*tutam custodiam*) in a convent. Conciliar cares, it would seem, restrained him from the humbler occupations of tending patients in hospital, catechising children, and collecting alms for beggars. The sermons ended, he left the seat of the adjourned Council, and went to Florence, accompanied by Peter Canisius, a German.

Florence, the scene of the martyrdom of Savonarola ; the cradle—beyond Rome itself—of reviving literature ; the arena where civil liberty long struggled hard against the stealthy tyranny of the Medici ; Florence, as well as most other cities of Italy, was visited with a few rays of Gospel truth. This influence on one side, and the utterly opposite Paganism that prevailed there in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, had nearly emptied the churches, and the priesthood were alarmed. Two Jesuits already strove to rekindle the expiring flame ; but one of them, Otello, was so insignificant a Preacher, with a stridulous voice and unsightly action, that the scanty congregation whom he could assemble had more than once or twice burst into laughter at his ludicrous antics and intonations. Pedro de Toledo, the Spanish Viceroy of Naples, and father-in-law of the Duke, was then at Florence, and, confident that his

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countryman had sufficient mastery of Italian to satisfy even the Tuscan ear, as well as a perseverance and power of adaptation to circumstances that would leave no means untried to move the population, advised the Signori to invite him for the feast of St. John the Baptist, patron of the city.

At their invitation he came, and ascended the very pulpit in the Duomo where his martyred predecessor used to exert a more than human power over weeping multitudes. He came in the guise of a humble Clerk-Regular, one who refused lodging in a palace, and spent his nights watching at the bed-sides of the sick in the hospital of S. Paolo, and whose food came from the charitable hand of the Duchess Leonor. He began a course of sermons. His fame sufficed to attract a thin congregation at first; but having gained a hearing once, he could not fail to attract the Florentines. On eight successive days they heard him with rapture. The Signori and the Canons then besought him to deliver a second course, and proposed that he should go to the church of S. Lorenzo. After professing great reluctance, as usual,\* he commanded the building to be prepared for the accommodation of the poor,—displaying a wisdom which, with higher motive, some of us have yet to learn more

\* "*Oblatum operæ de more pretium, pertinaciter, ut semper consueverat, recusavit.*" (Orlandini Hist. Soc. Jesu., lib. vii., num. 27.)

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perfectly,—and resumed his labour. And as the Italians had begun to regard the holy Scriptures as the standard of Christianity, he expounded “the canonical \* Epistle of St. John.” On these occasions, it would seem, he was approaching his height of oratorical power, and addressed congregations of three thousand persons. And besides this he visited the convents, exhorted the Nuns, who needed reformation no less than others, and sat long in confessionals, to “expiate,” as they said, the sins of the penitents.

It seems to have been the policy of Loyola to remove his agents just when they were in the midst of success, before the charm of popularity could fade. Accordingly Laynez unexpectedly received a command to remove to Perugia, and, after having promised the heads of the city and the diocese to preach the next Lent Sermons, he obeyed, and went. The people were dispersed over the vineyards, it being the time of vintage, and he could only busy himself with the sick and the poor, and deliver a few lectures, at which the Legate, † who advised this course, constantly attended. After vintage he preached to numerous congregations, and followed up the ser-

\* Orlandino and Ribadeneira mean the *general* Epistle; but they confound the terms “catholic” and “canonical,” perhaps fancying that what is catholic must be canonical.

† A Governor in the Papal State bears this title.

mons, as usual, with hearing confessions. The Bishop of Perugia, then absent at Milan, wrote him two letters of thanks, and expressed a wish that the Jesuits would establish themselves in his diocese,—a wish that was quickly gratified. By permission of his General, our Preacher prepared to fulfil his engagement with the Florentines, visiting Gubbio and Monte Pulciano on the way back to Florence. At the former place he bestowed his chief care on the Monks and Nuns, who greatly needed admonition. In the latter place he solemnised a *triduum*,\* with a sermon on each of the days, followed by great applause; and on returning to Florence, answered the prayer of the Montepulciani, and executed the pleasure of Loyola, by sending a brother to effect a settlement of the Society there.

And now his operations at Florence were triumphant. On high days he saw congregations of five thousand waiting for him, when he mounted the pulpit in the Duomo. The citizens, impulsive as ever, ran to the altars and to the confessionals, and threw alms into the plates for the poor. “And, best of all, there was castigation on account of past life, not only among the population in general, but in the monasteries and nunneries,” showing that past life spent out of the world, within those “religious houses,” had been no better than past life in the regions of

\* Public prayers for three days.

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worldly licentiousness. Indeed castigation, or flogging, ordinarily signifies that the penitent or patient has been wallowing in the mire of impurity. A Spanish garrison, then in Florence, also drew his attention, and, throwing aside Italian, his adopted language, he preached in his own unsurpassed vernacular to the troops, and brought many officers and men to the confessional. Persons of all sorts came to his lodgings, from day to day, asking counsel as to their personal affairs, and received his advice as if it were an oracle. The wealthy put gold into his hand, by way of acknowledgment; but he told them that it was against the rule of his order to possess gold. It probably served him for charitable uses. His learning, knowledge of the world, and zeal, awakened a strong desire in the Signori to have a college in their city, where the discipline that had produced such a man might be cultivated, and offered him a site, or buildings, for its establishment. Six or seven offers were made in succession; but Florence was to understand that the entrance of the Jesuits would be a boon conferred on the duchy, and not a favour granted to the Society. He therefore rejected each as ineligible, and four years elapsed before a college was erected in Florence on such a scale as corresponded to the wishes of Loyola.

Thus passed the year 1547. After a little excursion to Siena, we find him at Florence again in the Lent of 1548, surrounded by great con-

gregations of eight or nine thousand persons. The most remarkable fruit of his labour was an ingathering to conventual society of eight or nine female penitents. Prostitutes being, in Italy, a recognised class of society, the Clergy graciously allow them, once in the year, the benefit of admonition from the pulpits. On the Thursday between Passion-Sunday and Palm-Sunday, when the Gospel for the day contains the narrative of "the woman that was a sinner" in the house of Simon, women of the same class go to church and hear oratory adapted to their case. On that occasion Laynez preached with so great pathos, that this company of penitents threw themselves at his feet. The Duchess, than whom Laynez had not a more ardent admirer, then sent for him to labour in Pisa, where she and the Duke resided, to prosecute similar labours, and to employ her bounty, under the very constrained and cool sanction of her husband, for the erection of a college in that city.

Scarcely had he reached Pisa when an order from his General sent him and Le Jay to Venice, to secure possession of the priory of the Holy Trinity at Padua, which the Prior Andrea Lippomano, with authority of the Pope, had transferred to the Society. But his brother, a Venetian Senator, who had set his eye on that priorate for his own son, disputed the validity of the transfer; and so great was his influence in the Senate, and so strong the repugnance of the Venetians to



alienations of property to the foreign and intensely Papal order of Jesuits, that they found the Prior in despair of being able to carry his benevolence into effect. The Senator opposed the grant with all his might, and baffled the Jesuits at every step. During a long delay, Le Jay went on a mission to Ferrara, and Salmeron came from Bologna in exchange. At length the cause was laid before the Senate, and there stood Laynez and the Senator face to face. The Jesuit pleaded at great length for the validity of the grant, and, not confining himself to the rigid argument of *right*, launched out into that of *merit*.

Jesuitism, he affirmed, was the cause of God. The members of that new Society, already distributed over many lands, toiling for the good of souls in Italy, Germany, Belgium, France, Spain, Portugal, and even in the remote Indies, were gathering much fruit for Christ, and, by a singular effect of Divine care, they were come to Venice also. Even at the very first, when the founders of the order withdrew from Paris, their feet were guided thither; and there in the Hospital of Incurables, and among the paupers of St. John and St. Paul, they pursued their self-renouncing labours with the approbation of all the citizens. When there were only ten associates, seven of the ten were consecrated in Venice to the holy priesthood, and revived the custom of earnest preaching in the most renowned cities of that Republic. The Republic

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itself, through Antonio Venerio, its orator at Rome, had prayed the supreme Pontiff to send Priests of the Society; and when, because of the smallness of their number, one only could be sent, that one, God helping, had won universal approbation for diligence and zeal, in Venice, Padua, Brescia, and Bassano; others followed him, with equal fame and gratulation of the citizens in the same cities, besides Brescia, Vicenza, Trevigi, and Verona. And in Padua itself the good conduct of the students during six years witnessed openly in their behalf. And had not the Jesuits, he asked, made themselves poor for the sake of Christ, ministering succour to the souls of men, performing works of piety—which he recounted at length—both for soul and body? The Senators heard him in profound silence, rose when he had finished, bowed with courtesy, but made no reply, and referred the cause to the Council of *Pregadi*.\* Yet there was no prospect of obtaining possession of the priory; and while the cause was pending, Laynez wrote to Loyola, suggesting that *masses* should be employed, as a last resort, to expedite a favourable decision. *Masses* were solemnised at Rome, accordingly; the Court of Rome thereby showed religious sympathy with their own choicest emissaries, and as religion at Rome is neither more nor less than another name for politics, the Papal Court

\* The second council of the Senate, who decided on questions of peace and war, treaties and alliances.

and the Republican Senate were openly drawn into the question. The latter would not raise the litigation for possession of a priory into an affair of state. They turned aside the rising storm by the sacrifice of a domestic interest; and the Pregadi, to the amazement of every one, confirmed the cession of the estate by a unanimous vote. Loyola, satisfied with victory, wisely silenced the remonstrant Senator by giving his nephew the solace of an annual pension of five hundred crowns of gold; and exulted that, without one dissentient voice, his men, although but poor and humble foreigners, had overcome the hundred and forty-five Senators of proud Venice. The Senators were themselves amazed at their own weakness; and after the vote was taken, Vincenzo Ricci, the President, turning to Laynez and his companion with ill grace, said, "Fathers, I owe you neither love nor obligation, but it seems that God so determines, and we have agreed to postpone other considerations to the justice of the case."

The Republic had not seen, nor, as yet, had the nations of Europe time to learn what they afterwards fully understood, and what England seems to have forgotten,—that the first and smallest concessions to a Jesuit invasion are converted into arguments justificatory of every succeeding act of insolence. As for Laynez, his reputation was at once established with the Company; and this incident opened the way

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for advancement to the highest dignity that the Company could afford.

## ON A MISSION TO SICILY.

The Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, and Vega, Spanish Viceroy of Sicily, had employment for Laynez in Sicily. The former desired him to make an ecclesiastical visitation, as his representative of the archbishopric of Monreale: the latter invited him to evangelise the island.

On his way to Sicily he spent about six weeks at Naples, lodging, for the sake of quiet, in the Benedictine monastery of S. Severino, where Maria Santa Severina, wife of the Count of Nola, provided him with every comfort. The Viceroy gave him an honourable reception, and heard him preach. So famous had he grown, that none of the churches could contain the crowds who came to hear him; and, to satisfy the popular demand, he sometimes preached twice, or even thrice, on the same day. In the church of the Benedictines he delivered a course of expository lectures, a circumstance which shows that he felt himself to be in the neighbourhood of the Calabrian Waldenses, and in a city where the Inquisition was impracticable. It became him, in such a place, notwithstanding the profligacy of the bulk of the population, to show some reverence to the inspired volume. But he also pursued a preconcerted plan for the establishment of a Jesuit college, and other brethren were fur-

nished with instructions to follow up that plan to its completion. The Abbot of S. Severino and his fraternity accompanied their illustrious guest in state to the place of embarkation, and professed themselves to be grieved beyond measure at his departure.

The 16th day of January, 1549, was the date of his landing at Palermo; but preparations for this event had for some time been in progress. A Jesuit colony repaired the machinery of Romish devotions, led on by two vehement Preachers and indefatigable Confessors. The populace of Messina seemed to be religious. Loyola sent them from Rome two skulls, relics of two of the eleven thousand virgins, packed in a costly box, and brought on shore with grand solemnity. All the Monks within travelling distance turned out on the occasion. The secular Clergy were all assembled. The Jesuits, although strangers in Sicily, led them in procession round the city, carrying flaming torches, while dignitaries ecclesiastical bore the skulls; and, following in reverential subordination, the nobility and magistrates prolonged the train. *Ætna*, unconscious of the part he bore in behalf of the Society, shook the island; and a thunder-storm also alarmed the inhabitants. Messina, crouching in guilty terror under those threatenings of earth and heaven, groaned for absolution; but sacramental pardons could not assuage the dread. Certain "religious women," unsatisfied with such religion as they

had, implored the donor of the skulls to allow them instruction in "piety," and obtained permission to learn the spiritual exercises of the first week. The Fathers imparted this favour, not only to Nuns, but, going from house to house, to noble matrons, whom they taught the rudiments of Jesuitical devotion. The Fathers were at call in every exigency. A lady in child-birth, imagining that no help could equal theirs, demanded the presence of one of them in the hour of sorrow; and all Messina attributed her delivery, after long suffering, to his presence and absolution. A rush of women in penitential enthusiasm to the convent of St. Nicholas, was the consequence. A demon that had possessed a girl yielded, after long contention, to the exorcism of a Jesuit; and the Sicilians wondered nothing less at the achievement, when they saw that the exorcist was a Dutchman. Certain spirits of purgatory had chosen a house wherein to assemble at night, and condoled with one another audibly, to the horror of the inmates, the city, and the whole island; and the Jesuits demonstrated the superior power of masses performed by themselves, by putting to silence the lamentations of those unquiet ghosts.

During these wrestlings with earthquakes, lightnings, the curse of nature, the fiends of hell, and the spirits of the deep, the Fathers were carrying on a plain matter of business with a composure and steadfastness proper to the

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occasion, in order to the establishment of a Gymnasium, or University, for the creation of theologians, grammarians, lawyers, and physicians. The class of persons first concerned in this procedure revolted against the notion of placing the learned professions at the feet of Clerks-Regular and strangers; but the Jesuits, quite satisfied with the proprietorship and general government of the University, and enjoyment of its endowments, put all murmurings to silence by barring out active opposition with a proposal that a Rector and *Præpositus* from without should superintend the classes of law and medicine. This generous proposal turned the tide at once; and Sicily called the man who made it a "lover of the city, and friend of the state." Thus were the Sicilians managed, both high and low, when Laynez landed on the island,—a dependency, be it observed, of the crown of Spain.

Juan de Vega, Viceroy, and the chief nobility of Sicily, most honourably received the representative of Cardinal Farnese, Prince of the Church, and Archbishop of Monreale; and the great church, not far from the viceregal palace, was assigned him for the delivery of sermons during the coming Lent. Meanwhile, he lost no time in proceeding to visit the arch-diocese, and creditably sustained the new character and authority of a high Prelate. While thus occupied, between Septuagesima and Lent, he often came to Palermo, and delivered sermons to

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numerous audiences, with Viceroy and nobles in the midst. But the excessive labour incurred by efforts to excel as vicegerent of an Archbishop, and as manager of the Company at the same time, was more than he could bear; and one day, just as he had set foot on the pulpit-stairs,—no moment could have been more favourable for effect,—he found himself so sick as to be unable to proceed. The Viceroy requested another Father, Girolamo Domenecco, to take his place, and Laynez was carried back to the palace at Monreale.

The fever soon passed off, and he returned to Palermo for the Lent campaign. His eloquence roused the people, who came in masses. Their applause excited him, and thus the Preacher and the hearers encouraged each other until the end. Conversions being no less needful than miracles to sustain the honour of the Church, sixteen immodest women were collected to grace his ministrations by a profession of repentance; and Doña Leonor signalled her charity by receiving them into her palace, engaging “good men” to become husbands of some of them for the sake of a small dowry, and sending others to a conservatory, to stay until husbands could be found. “But those that were delivered into the custody of religious women, since they were carried thither most unwillingly, frequently showed their temper. They chatted and laughed indecently during the psalms and common chants, not



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having yet learned the fear of God. However, one of them was seriously converted by seeing a light in a dark chamber, when the servants of God were going into it to flog themselves." Others were converted by her example, and the Nuns, rejoicing, took off their own habits, and therewith dressed, at once, "the new spouses of Christ;" and, after singing a hymn, cut off the poor women's hair, and sent the locks to Doña Leonor, as evidence demonstrative that her pensioners had, at length, despised the world. If the second conversion was no more effectual than the first to bring them to the fear of God, it is certain that Laynez could not show very lovely fruits of his ministry. But can there be conversion without Christ? We say, "No."

After Easter, Laynez applied himself to reform the convents. "The sacred virgins," we read, "were everywhere now too lax;" and, aided by the solicitation of the Viceroy, Laynez obtained Letters Apostolic, empowering him to set them in order. No means were left untried to effect the reformation of the sacred virgins; and it is related that when the sisterhood of a nunnery in Monreale were assembled for the election of an Abbess, they were all convinced of the holiness of Laynez, who performed mass on that occasion, by seeing a dove descend upon him as he knelt before the altar. It is not likely that they understood their Latin lectionaries well enough to perceive that the contrivance of letting down

a dove upon the Jesuit was a vile imitation of a passage in the evangelic history.

But the zealous visitation, the sermons, the labour to mend monastic discipline, the ostentation of charity to the poor,—which was very great in that season,—all was made subservient to the establishment of Jesuit colleges. And as Don Juan de Vega had gratified his masters, Charles V. and the Pope, by patronising the college at Messina, already mentioned, so Doña Leonor added to the gratification by aiding the erection of a college at Palermo. Don Luis Sanz, a wealthy Spaniard, being near his end at this time,—so opportune a decease reminds one of the *Aqua di Tofania*,—bequeathed all his estates to Doña Leonor, as trustee for the colleges and other good works. “To avoid suspicion,” Laynez and Domeneco did not go near him until he had executed his will; and, this being done, they waited at his bed-side until the moment of decease. The Jesuit House at Rome was very poor, and Leonor relieved it from the inconvenience of poverty by assigning to it a portion of the endowment. It mattered little to the Viceroy or the Jesuits that this transaction was contrary to an established principle of Sicilian law which prohibited mortmain.\* Vega also applied to Charles V. for a reversion to the Jesuits of the first abbacy that might fall

\* I state this on the authority of Campomanes, “*Tra-  
tado de la Regalía de Amortizacion*,” cap. xi.

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vacant. The Emperor hesitated to bestow a benefice on a Society of which he knew nothing ; but a copy of the Letters Apostolic that confirmed it, together with the favourable testimony of Ferdinand, King of the Romans, persuaded him to grant the request ; and in a few years the revenue of Saint Mary of the Crypt was transferred to the college of Palermo. The very next year after the establishment of this college, Novices were admitted there, and also at Messina ; and thus were institutions, that at first appeared to be intended only for the advancement of learning and piety, made recruiting-stations for the Company. They began with schoolboys, —they found Novitiates,—professed Fathers followed.

### GOES TO AFRICA.

As if to display more fully the versatility of his genius, Laynez next assumed the character of naval, or military, Chaplain. To keep in check those Algerine pirates that, even within memory of the present generation, infested the Mediterranean, and, if possible, to conquer Dracut, their Captain, who had for some time sustained a war with his Admiral, Charles V. commanded Juan de Vega to cross over to the African coast. The Pope also furnished a few galleys, as did the Duke of Florence, and the Grand Master of Malta. As an expedition against Mohammedans partook of the character of a crusade, the Viceroy

desired the presence of Laynez to fan up the courage of his men. On the 21st of June, 1550, Vega set sail from Palermo; and on St. John's Day the combined fleet was at anchor at Favignana, a small island on the west of Sicily. Here the troops were landed; and, at the request of the Viceroy, our Chaplain gave them a stirring oration, founded, in some sort, on the directions given by the Baptist to the soldiers at the river Jordan. A favourable wind wafted them across; and at the end of the fourth day the forces were disembarked, and sat down before the strongly-fortified city of Africa, or Mehediah; and the construction of a temporary hospital was entirely confided to Laynez, with its management during the siege.

For nearly three months, in the heat of a north-African summer, the Jesuit saw to the administration of medicines to the sick and wounded,—there was a fearful multitude of both,—and gave unction to the dying, and burial to the dead. The mortality by sickness and war was so great, that the bodies were buried in heaps of two hundred, and even four hundred, at once. Some Capuchin Monks sickened amidst the pestilential exhalations, and either died or were sent home as invalids, leaving him and one associate to pursue their vocation in the camp. And not only had he to act as Chaplain, Preacher, Confessor, and Physician, but, when the Viceroy and the commanders of the several divisions of army

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and fleet quarrelled, he had to interpose and reconcile them, and turn the overflowings of their enmity into one common stream against the Moslem. Rejoicings in the proclamation of a jubilee from Pope Julius III., in reward for the merit of going to war with infidels, diversified the camp-scene, and amused the discordant chiefs. On the 10th day of September, Africa was taken by storm. On the 14th, the day of the Holy Cross, that emblem was elevated with great solemnity by him in the chief mosque, now purified by lustration, and dedicated to St. John the Baptist. From the pulpit, where the Mohammedan had formerly discoursed, he preached to the Christian troops on the method of conducting military life; and then, leaving the imperial flag hoisted upon the battlements, he gladly embarked with his friend Vega, saw the victorious prows turned toward Sicily, and felt himself a partaker, in no small degree, in the glories of the conquest,—an acquisition to be turned to the advancement of his order and of himself.

### AT TRENT AGAIN.

The Duchess of Florence had invited Laynez to Pisa, in order to superintend the establishment of a college there, which her husband, Cosimo, seconded, being oppressed by Spanish influence, but so reluctantly, and interposing so many difficulties, that the project, at that time, fell to the ground. Laynez was there, using his

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utmost diligence in preaching, catechising, and almsgiving, when Pope Julius III., following the choice of his predecessor, appointed him, with Salmeron, to be pontifical theologian at the Council: "That your learning," said he, "which has been excellently employed in teaching Christ's poor, may appear; and because the Supreme Pontiff thinks you able to do more than teach the Lord's prayer to those hearers whom you get together by paying them to come" (— *quos mercede conquiras*). His trophies in Pisa were, indeed, a hundred beggars, or thereabouts, whom he had induced to go to confession by giving them small money whenever they made their appearance; for the coldness of the Duke in regard to his objects was communicated to the public.

Towards the end of July, our Doctor, with Salmeron, once more presented himself at Trent: not, as at first, a tattered mendicant, but a dignitary received by the Legates with marks of high consideration. When the first day of session came, it pleased the Legates to appoint each theologian present to deliver his sentence in order corresponding to the dignity of the Prince or Sovereign whom he represented. The Pope being Lord of the Kings of the earth, his theologians were the most honourable of all; and Laynez, as senior, had the precedence of Salmeron. He, therefore, took the lead.

After a modest introduction, to show the rea-

son why, notwithstanding great unworthiness, he should speak the first, he made a declaration that astounded the assembly. "Inasmuch as in those matters which related to the orthodox faith, and were to be debated in the Council, no reliance could be placed on human judgment, which often fails, but the Divine mind was to be followed,—that mind which is most openly revealed in the sacred Scriptures, as the holy Fathers, divinely enlightened, interpret them to us,—he would not quote any Father or Doctor in support of his own sentence whom he had not himself examined from beginning to end, and collected the very numerous passages that touched the controversy, in order that his judgment might be plainly and thoroughly established according to the meaning of that Doctor." How a man scarcely forty years of age could have so perused the Fathers and ecclesiastical writers, of fifteen centuries, down to Alfonso Tostato, whose works alone fill twenty-seven folio volumes, is incomprehensible. In our day, *reference* may be made to an extent almost beyond the conception of persons unused to such occupation, with the advantage of good indexes, and a well practised eye, but such an eye as is only formed by long and constant exercise. But the early editions that would be consulted by a student in and before the year 1551, were not well indexed: the latest editions, indeed, were generally so provided: those less recent had very partial and

very confused indexes; all the others had only scanty tables of general contents, with no indication of principal passages. How, therefore, Laynez, always moving from place to place, and in each place living in publicity, almost without respite, and actively engaged, withal, in schemes for the promotion of his order, could so prepare himself for a minute and universal textual citation in the Council, is inconceivable. The only diminution of the difficulty is derived from the supposition that collections had been made for the use of the Pope's theologians, and that, instructed by the collectors, he ventured on a boast that subsequent dexterity might almost seem to justify. But, even erudite and laborious as he was, Laynez must have gone far beyond *the truth*. And the historian who says that "he had devoured the whole, and made a summary of them for himself, by an admirable contraction," must go much further in the same fatal direction.

His eloquence, self-possession, and array of learning, commanded silent and admiring audience. The Legates, proud of so effective a champion, would not convene the Fathers unless he could be present; and when excessive labour and anxiety had overwhelmed him, they suspended the sittings of Council or of Congregation, until the senior pontifical theologian was recovered, and able to attend. But of the vast labours attributed to him,—and it would seem that he was indeed indefatigable,—scarcely



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a vestige is to be found in the extant records of the Council; but the General, rejoicing in the efficiency of his servant, and the consequent benefit that could not but accrue to his order at the Court of Rome, and calculating on the value of like services in time to come, took the first occasion to assign him at once a reward for the past, and a position wherein he could render great service in the future.

### MADE PROVINCIAL OF ITALY.

After a period of brisk debate, and hard struggling of hostile interests, the Council suspended its proceedings,\* and Laynez, glad of respite, and not quite recovered from an attack of quartan ague, went to Padua, by order of his chief. The affairs of the Company in France requiring a special agent, Pasquier Brouet, Provincial of Italy, being a native of Picardy, was transferred to that country, and Ignatius commanded Laynez to take charge of the Italian province. Certainly not through humility, nor from any want of self-reliance, but perhaps imagining that custom, if not decorum, required some show of hesitation, he asked to be excused, alleging that he had not yet learned perfect obedience. But this avowal only invited the absolute General to use authority, and enforce obedience. The command was reiterated, and Laynez was constrained to suffer the burden of

\* By decree of April 28th, 1552.

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this new dignity, and, in meek submission, be invested with the honour of occupying the second seat that the Company afforded.\* Loyola insisted, of course. Laynez bowed, of course, said that he could not resist God, and entered on the duties of his prelature.

“The Blessed Father,” assured of the ability of his new Provincial to indoctrinate the members according to the spirit of the order, sent a large number of them from all parts of Italy to Rome. Laynez again made an excessive profession of humility, as if blushing to see himself surrounded by so great a mass of homage, and presumed to remonstrate with his own Superior, and complain that the Italian houses were injured by the abstraction of so many of their inmates. The remonstrance received no answer, but Jesuit after Jesuit still came up to Rome, and threw himself at the feet of the Provincial. Again he complained; but Loyola resolved that, although Laynez had been a chief helper in the

\* It can scarcely be necessary to remind the reader, that each monastic or clerical order in the Church of Rome extends, or may extend, over all the Popedom, is subject to a *General* who lives in Rome, and is divided into provinces, or countries,—each country being, in the Roman theory, a province of the Church,—and that at the head of each province there is a *Provincial*. At this time the provinces were twelve: Italy, Sicily, Lower Germany, Upper Germany, France, Castile, South of Spain, Aragon, Portugal, Abyssinia, East Indies, and Brazil. Others followed.

foundation and organization of the Society, and was, beyond comparison, the most accomplished emissary and the most skilful governor, he should not be suffered to have a mind of his own in presence of the supreme despot; and answered sternly, that he was sorry to find him so thinking and so writing, especially as he has been already instructed to renounce all private opinion for the public good. He therefore bade him reflect on his conduct, and, after due reflection, let him know whether he was conscious of having been guilty of insubordination, and, if so, to say what penance he would be willing to undergo. Laynez laid the reproof to heart, and during a visitatorial journey in Tuscany, as it would appear, he determined to make submission with good grace, and wrote Loyola a letter from Florence, to say that he had read his letter many times over, and found much cause of shame, and also much reason for praising the Divine mercy, and of redoubling, again and again, his love and reverence towards his General. He therefore most humbly prayed Loyola to lay injunctions on him to the utmost of his pleasure, since no burden of reproach and penance could outweigh the gravity of the offence. Of this, sorely as the occasion grieved him, he would acknowledge the grace, and by God's help would take it gladly; and then he recounted, one by one, the sins of disobedience, of which he now confessed himself to have been

guilty. The superior judgment of Ignatius, he said, and the Divine light that always guided him, demanded absolute obedience; and for a man of his inferior understanding to dispute the perfection of that light, was to hinder the providence of God, obscure the Divine glory, and give a bad example to man. Thenceforth he would not presume to approach the helm, which none but the supreme commander could hold steadily, and steer the ship with certainty, leaving the inferior officer to attend only to his own business.

As for penance, he said that, but a few days before, he had been reflecting that nearly twenty years had elapsed since he resolved to serve God; but he had done so little, and the end of his days was apparently so near, that he earnestly longed to die to himself utterly, and live to God alone; and he desired to be reputed vile and mean by those that were without, as indeed he was. "Therefore, my Father, when the epistle of your Reverence was put into my hands, after I had prayed to God with many tears,—which, with me, is very rare,—I chose, and now again I choose, with weeping, that in order to avenge these my sins, and to pluck out the roots from which they spring, your Reverence—to whom I commit all my conscience in this matter, ready to perform most willingly whatever you may command—will for the love of our Lord remove me from the government of others, and from preaching sermons, and from

all literary occupation, only allowing me a Priest's Breviary, and will command me to go to Rome, and there to beg from door to door, and to be employed in the kitchen, or the dining-room, or, if I am fit for so much, to teach in the lowest class of grammar, and so continue until death, never more looking on me, nor regarding me as anything better than the filth and offscouring of the earth. This is the penance that I most desire and request."

Humiliation so excessive is ridiculous to our apprehension, and the confusion of ideas that could regard the mere exercise of private judgment as equal with sins against God is lamentable; but the submission was absolute, and Ignatius condescended to say that it was enough.

Anxious to avoid even the shadow of disobedience, or, in other words, to suppress the utterance of any thought, and the least manifestation of any will of his own, he obeyed most passively the commands of his General, and, no doubt, exacted an equally absolute submission to his own. His duty was, chiefly, to visit the houses and colleges of the province, and see that the Constitutions were enforced with the rigour or the discretion that might be most conducive to the attainment of their first intention, which no one understood better than himself; for his own hand, as there is reason to believe, afterwards traced the gloss, under the title of "Declarations."

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The most important event in which he took part was the establishment of two Jesuit colleges in Genoa and the neighbourhood, whither the General, at the petition of some Genoese, commanded him to proceed. His preaching was popular, as usual, and the success of his mission complete.

And seeing that there was not yet an authorised compendium of doctrine in the Church of Rome, (for the Creed of Pius IV. and the Catechism for Parish Priests were not yet made,) Loyola bade him write a summary of doctrine. This he did, and thus furnished the Society with a standard that was wanting to the Church, and gave the one an element of perpetuity which the other did not yet possess; for unity, even in error, is a means of permanence, so long, at least, as error may by possibility continue. To leave him leisure for the composition of this work, Loyola assigned him two Commissaries to visit the province in his stead, but under his direction;—a clear evidence that leisure was necessary, even to Laynez, for the successful prosecution of learned labour; and this further justifies our incredulity as to the boast of Laynez at Trent, that, in preparation for his duty as theologian in that assembly, he had, without any retreat from an exceedingly active life, read, studied, and made extracts from all the Fathers, and all the Doctors. Say what they will, it is clear that Laynez could not work miracles.

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His mission into Germany, in the year 1555, with Cardinal Morone, to assist His Eminence in disputation with the Lutherans, is a mere incident that it is enough to mention. He did nothing, and almost immediately returned. And his reception of the dignity of theologian to the Pope, at Rome, from Marcellus II., it is also sufficient to note in passing. Paul IV. much wished to make him Cardinal; but his master pleaded a rule of the Society which excluded its members from such honours, unless the Pope chose to set that rule aside by an act of pure authority, which, in this instance, Paul was not advised to exercise. But he endeavoured to retain Laynez to the Court by employing him to reform the Datary,\* and giving him apartments in the Vatican for the more convenient performance of the work. For a short time he devoted himself to the study of this department of Roman government, learned the routine of business, saw the frauds and the confusion of that complicated court, tried to apply remedies to its manifold corruption, was baffled, and withdrew. On this occasion the usual dramatic arrangement was not forgotten. Loyola expected, of course, that Laynez, overwhelmed with horror at the

\* The *Datary* is the tribunal charged, at Rome, with all that pertains to the collation of ecclesiastical benefices, and to matrimonial dispensations. On this court, and on the Chancery, depend all questions of revenue and of indulgence.

#### MADE VICAR OVER THE SOCIETY.

prospect of Cardinalitian dignity, would betake himself to flight, in order to avoid it. Therefore, on his going into the Vatican, he commanded him, under the sacred obligation of obedience, not to go outside the walls of Rome. The Father strictly obeyed that injunction. He did not quit the city, but in due humility, after having endured the honours of office for a very few days, he slipped out of the Vatican, and declared himself unable to return. Rome rewarded his abnegation with applause, and all this bespoke an approaching elevation to the head of his order.

#### MADE VICAR OVER THE SOCIETY.

On the last day of July, 1556, Ignacio Loyola died, and the future government of the Society was to be determined by the Professed. "The Professed Society," it must be noted, "besides the three vows, (of poverty, chastity, and obedience,) made an express vow to the Supreme Pontiff, as Vicar, for the time being, of Christ our Lord, to go forth, without excuse, and without asking for any salary, into whatsoever country His Holiness might command, either among believers or infidels, to render whatever service might be required for Divine worship, and the good of the Christian religion."\* So say the Constitutions. It had been the policy of Loyola to keep this number low, only admitting

\* Constitut. Soc. Jesu. Examen Generale, i., 5.



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well-trying men, so that besides five original members, there were only about thirty-five dispersed over all the twelve provinces. At Rome, besides Laynez, who lay sick, there were only three; and they, considering his talent and seniority, after waiting three days in hope that he might be able to join them, elected him Vicar of the Society, to act instead of General until, by a Congregation of all the Professed that were in Europe, a General could be elected.

The former Secretary of Loyola, Giovanni Polanco, announced his election to all the Provincials, and convoked a Congregation to be holden at Rome in the November following, for the election of a General, and for a final revision of the Constitutions. But jealousies and disputations instantly sprang up, and retarded the assembling of the Congregation.

When Laynez waited on the Pope, to place himself and the Company at his disposal, he found him disposed to insist on former favours in order to bind the Jesuits the more closely to the Papal chair; for, in truth, he foresaw that the Society, although bound to obey the Pope in the matter of Missions, was also sworn to render blind obedience to its General, who had an absolute power of internal government. Being exempted from the usual obligations of religious communities, they might, under this bond of separate obedience, and by means of those exemptions, turn its power against Rome. He even

hinted that, if they were not careful, he might be obliged to change their laws. "Go," said he, "and comfort our children. Tell them that, if *they obey me*, they will find me a good father."

Paul IV. and Philip II. of Spain were at war,—for men may hate Rome, and wage war with Popes, like Philip II. and Henry VIII., and yet be no nearer the kingdom of heaven,—and the King refused to allow the Spanish Fathers to go to Rome. Considering that most of the original Jesuits were Spaniards, and the Vicar himself a Spaniard, he conceived the scheme of making a city of Spain the seat of government for the Society, instead of Rome; in which case the machinery of Jesuitism, like that of the Inquisition, would be entirely at his disposal for state purposes. John III. of Portugal had expressed a similar desire. Some of the Jesuits at Rome, finding that a jealousy of jurisdiction had already arisen between the Pope and themselves, strongly inclined to accept Philip's proposal; but when Paul heard that they talked of migrating into the territory of his enemy, he grew furious, and Laynez had great difficulty in persuading him to believe that no such an emigration was intended.

Within the Society, too, Bobadilla disturbed their peace, through jealousy of Laynez, whose power to act on Constitutions that had not received the sanction of a General Congregation he disputed; and wished the members to fall back on the position in which they were before

the election of Loyola, and organize their community anew. And while Bobadilla and a few partisans were perplexing their affairs, the Italian members received letters from the Spanish brethren, objecting, for their part, to the convocation of a General Congregation at Rome.

LayneZ prudently refrained from any active measures. His first aim was to placate the Pope, and retain the confidence of the Roman Clergy and people. He preached through the Lent following (A.D. 1557) to large congregations, with Cardinals, Princes, and Bishops in the audience. But members came from all parts of the world, except Spain, asked again where the Congregation should assemble; and, not being well at ease in Rome, nor yet willing to take up their abode in any inferior city, the Society knew not at what conclusion to arrive, except that, at all events, good terms should be kept with the Pope, and his jealousy appeased. Laynez and his companions laid their case before him, and prayed him to decide whether they should remain at Rome or depart for Spain.

Both private passions and jealousies of state had embittered this dispute; and the Jesuit cohort, although self-destined to the battle-field, found itself brought upon the ground too soon, one party being separated from the rest, the main body discontented, and even some of its members in revolt against their chief. The Pope did not know that his chosen regiment, while seeming to

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be disaffected, and likely to become unmanageable, was in reality undergoing a preparatory discipline, like that which has fitted certain mercenaries for the irregular and desperate service that veteran troops have not hardihood enough to undertake. These Cossacks ecclesiastical were prepared by early skirmishing for the grand campaign with the civil and religious liberties of Europe. But as I am not describing Jesuitism in general, I must confine myself to what concerns Diego Laynez in particular.

One Gogodarno, a man of three vows, that is to say, not a Jesuit of the first class, not one who might vote for the election of a General, for a time spoiled all the endeavours of Laynez and his party to soothe the Pope, by sending a letter to His Holiness, with information that the Vicar, and several other of the Fathers, were intent on getting permission to go to Spain, that there they might choose a General after their own heart, and so remodel the regulations of their institute as to withdraw themselves from the judgment and immediate jurisdiction of the Apostolic See. Paul IV., who hated the very name of Spain, flew into an unbounded rage at this communication, and resolved to take measures that would effectually prevent the Fathers from accomplishing their purpose. As he was brooding over the matter, Laynez, who knew nothing of the doings of the false brother, walked into the Vatican, to ask an audience that

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he might receive the Pope's decision concerning the projected removal into Spain.

Paul, just risen from dinner, and passing to his closet, saw the Jesuit make his appearance, and turned off with a scowl; and in an instant the door shut him out of sight. After long expectation Laynez presumed to ask a Cardinal to remind His Beatitude that he was waiting without, and to solicit the favour of admission. The same Cardinal, and another, speedily returned with the answer of the Most Holy Father, that the time was not convenient to give him a hearing, and with a command to produce, within three days, the Papal diplomas granted to his Company, the Constitutions and Rules, and whatever other documents concerned their discipline and government, whether old or new, and submit them to those two Cardinals for examination. A list of names of all the members of the Society then in Rome was immediately to be produced, and not one of them might dare to quit the city without permission.

The Vicar, profoundly alarmed, ventured not to breathe so much as a syllable of remonstrance, but left the Vatican trembling, hurried home, and called his friends together. He told them of the Pope's portentous frowns, the contemptuous treatment, the stern Cardinals, and the command they brought. The Fathers, like men thunder-stricken, listened in silence, until the silence was broken by lamentation. Some cried,

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that it was all over with their Society; and others declaimed against the folly of Bobadilla, and the treachery of Gogodarno. Their only hope lay in absolute submission. The documents were sent, with a letter explaining that the Constitutions were as yet unfinished, but would be completed in the first General Congregation; and the list of the members contained a note, unasked, of the birth-place of each. The disaffected ones seized the occasion to add accusations—whether true or false we know not—to their complaints against the Vicar. The Vicar, still supported by a majority, called a meeting of the Fathers to determine what should be done to save the Society, if possible. Their first resolution was to recite litanies daily in the house of the Professed, and in the college; to fast every day in turn; thrice every day to flog each other, the whole number of members of all degrees being divided into classes for the more orderly administration of that penance; the laymembers to receive the host once every week; the Priests to say many masses for the deliverance of the Society; Laynez to preside over the flagellation in the house, and Natale (a leading brother) to oversee its performance in the college. As for direct application to Almighty God by prayer, there is no trace of it. Their only notion of approach to God was by litany, mass, and scourging. Private prayer, if ever offered, was addressed to the Virgin Mary, or to some chosen

saint. However, the antiphones rang, and the whips resounded. They also wrote letters to distant parts of the world, exhorting the scattered members to unite in time of common danger; Laynez went about Rome, visiting the affrighted, and reasoning with the disaffected; and every one of his friends was on the alert to watch and report the movements, and intercept, or by other means get possession of, the correspondence of their antagonists; for in that war, any method was accounted lawful that might help to victory. An unprincipled man does not scruple to break a seal, or to peruse a letter, that is not his own.

Bobadilla did his utmost to overthrow Laynez, and even accused him before the Cardinal of Carpi of offences that, if proved, would have unfitted him for the vicariate. The Cardinal acquitted the Vicar; but advised that his power should be moderated by constituting all the Professed his assessors. Against this arbitration the malcontents remonstrated, because it left the Vicar in his place; and the Fathers disliked it as tending to enervate the pure monarchy of their system. The Jesuits therefore prayed their Vicar to solicit a hearing from the Pope. After many failures and long waiting, Laynez once more gained access to the pontifical closet, and with profound humility threw himself "at the feet of apostolic sanctity." So well did he plead, that the suspicion of Paul gave way, and he bade the plaintiff choose another Cardinal to

#### ESTABLISHED IN THE VICARIATE.

examine the affairs of the Society, and to report his judgment to himself. With admirable self-possession, and yet more admirable prudence, Laynez besought "the Vicar of Christ his Lord" to name the Cardinal that would be most grateful to His Blessedness. He appointed the Cardinal Alessandrino, one of the staunchest defenders of the Papal throne, which the same Cardinal afterwards occupied under the name of Pius V. Alessandrino instantly imposed silence on Bobadilla and Gogodarno, forbidding them to speak of those affairs to any one except himself, examined the sources of their dissension, found employment for both of them in the Pope's service in distant situations, where they could not easily give trouble, and confirmed Laynez in his authority; thus attaching the Society, more closely than ever, to the interests of his master.

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The storms passed away, and everything combined to raise Jesuitism into the position of influence which it thenceforth occupied. The Cardinals employed to examine the Constitutions gave the document their unreserved approbation. Peace was ratified with Spain, and free communication restored to the members on both sides the Alps. Paul desired the General Congregation to be convened in Rome, where its proceedings might be conducted under near and immediate observa-



tion. The refractory brethren relinquished their opposition, and signalised themselves by devotedness to the common cause. And towards the end of the year 1557, Laynez again convened a Congregation, appointing it to be holden at Rome in the May following, by which time travellers might prosecute their journeys without suffering from exposure to the inclemencies of winter. The inconvenience of an interregnum had been felt, and the election of a General became the object of universal and anxious expectation.

From Spain, Portugal, France, and Germany, the Fathers made their way, some few excepted, whom advanced age or sickness had prevented from attempting the journey; for in those days few could enjoy the luxury of carriages, and even if a wheeled conveyance could be found, roads whereon to draw it were wanting. Some attracted extraordinary attention. Peter Canisius, for example, was received at Dillingen by the Cardinal of Augsburg, with excessive reverence; for that Prince of the Church even insisted on washing the Jesuit's feet. "He remembered," Sacchini writes, "the words of the Lord when He sent His disciples into all nations: 'He who receiveth you receiveth Me.' He remembered how blessed were the feet of them that brought glad tidings of peace, and he desired a Prophet's reward for receiving his most attached friend in the name of a Prophet. And Canisius, although

his bashfulness, not obstinate, though modest, had resisted earnestly, yielded at last, like his namesake, the Prince of the Apostles, that he might not hinder the work of the Lord; and when requested, afterwards, to let his humility be known, he kept silence, lest he should seem to commend himself. But others, conscious of his great virtue, judged that it ought not to be shrouded in silence."

Layne, as Vicar, drew up instructions, twelve in number, for the government of the Fathers in their meeting. Natale objected that a Vicar had no right to make laws; but all the others, considering that some one must necessarily regulate the first Congregation, for which act of authority no such provision had been made, readily received the rules.

On the 19th day of June, 1558, they met for the first time, and agreed to send Layne and Salmeron to pray for the Pope's blessing, which was readily obtained on the day following. Paul, pleased with their devotion to the Roman See, told them with great fervour, that he had always delighted in "that blessed Society;" and, after discoursing in praise of St. Mary Magdalene, desired them to gratify him by appointing a choir for the express purposes of rendering her daily honour. He then gave permission to proceed to business. During seven days they deliberated on the regulations that were to be followed in the election of a General,

which regulations Laynez laid before the Pope, and obtained his approbation. On the 28th of June the Vicar, by virtue of his office, preached a sermon to the electors, who had been preparing themselves already by special works of piety. From day to day, they who were to take part in the election had shown extreme diligence in prayers, masses, voluntary scourgings, fastings, "and other pious vexations of the body," striving, all the while, to ascertain who might be thought best fitted for the exalted station. A *quatriduum*, or period of four days, was devoted, by the whole of the Society throughout Italy, to various kinds of studies, inflictions, and prayers. It was enjoined on all that were not Priests to recite the Lord's Prayer and the Hail Mary *three, four, and then five* times daily for the sake of the *five* wounds of Christ; and they were to ask of the holy *Trinity* the *seven* gifts (remembering that three and four make seven) of the Holy Spirit for the General to be chosen.

These preparations being ended, the Cardinals and the Professed agreed on various formalities and cautions; and at length Laynez, as Vicar, led them in solemn procession, with the Cardinal Paceco, to the chamber where the blessed Father Ignatius had expired, that, in presence of those very walls whereupon he gazed, they might make their election, and that God might in that same room raise up a successor like him. Canisius addressed them on the subject in hand. The

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Cardinal and they then shut themselves up in conclave, and, with a ceremony resembling that observed in the election of a Pope, they wrote their suffrages. Twenty of them were congregated. Pasquier Brouet, Lannou, and Borgia, had each one vote; Natale received four, and Laynez thirteen. Pasquier, as the eldest, announced the result.

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“Seeing that in full and lawful Congregation, the number of suffrages being counted, a majority of more than half has named and elected the reverend Father Diego Laynez, I, Pasquier Brouet, by the authority of the Apostolic See, and of the whole Society, elect the aforesaid reverend Father Diego Laynez to be the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; at Rome, in the house of the Society of Jesus, on the day of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin, in the year of the Lord 1558, the most illustrious and most reverend Lord Cardinal Paceco, Bishop of Albano, being present, and presiding, on part of our most holy Lord, Paul IV., Pope.” Having read these words, Pasquier subscribed them in the name of the rest; the Secretary did the same, and affixed the seal of the Society, and, this done, the nineteen knelt, and kissed his hand.

A large crowd of Jesuits and others, waiting

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outside to hear the issue of the election, received the intelligence with cheers, while the electing Fathers joined within in singing the *Te Deum*, and then walked in procession to the church, the pupils of the Roman College going first, with a cross at their head, and singing the song of Zacharias. At church the hymn of Ambrose and Augustine \* was chanted with great solemnity, and, after the hymn, some prayers composed for the occasion. The Fathers manifested gladness; but Laynez, seated in severe and stately gravity, already seemed to be groaning under a load of care, Within the church no one approached him; but, on return to the house, all the Jesuits in Rome were permitted to kiss his hand. Cardinal Paceco, having prepared a dinner for the Fathers, left them to eat it in comfort, while he went to tell the Pope on whom the Generalship had fallen. His Holiness welcomed the appointment; every one thought that a fitter Governor could not have been chosen; Ribadeneira said that Loyola had foretold it; and Sebastiano Romeo, Rector of the college, revealed a vision that he had seen a few nights before of Laynez in paradise, reclining in the bosom of Loyola. The Cardinals paid him visits of ceremony, offering abundant congratulation, moderated with a flattering regret that the cares of the Generalate would rob them of the pleasure of hearing him

\* The *Te Deum*, said to have been composed by Ambrose for the baptism of Augustine.

preach, as formerly. But he let them understand, that as he could preach freely with little preparation, he did not intend to withdraw himself altogether from the pulpit. To the Cardinal of Carpi, patron of the order, he wrote a letter to solicit his good offices; and to all the Catholic Princes, as they were wont to call them, he caused letters to be sent announcing his election.

Instead of entertaining the populace with spectacles, such as were usually given by Cardinals on their election, the General of the Jesuits, from poverty or prudence, or perhaps both, chose to give an entirely new character to the office by celebrating his accession in a manner more suited to the habits and intention of the order. By permission of the Pope, the Pantheon was placed at his disposal, no building yet in possession of the Jesuits being sufficiently capacious to receive the expected concourse. The most eloquent of the Fathers delivered gratulatory harangues, and the theologians held brilliant disputations. Some declaimed in Latin, others recited Greek, others pronounced Hebrew. Poets, also, repeated their compositions; and scenes like those of classic times, to spectators who could not perceive the lack of classic purity, might seem to have returned within that circle of mythologic memory. The General, the Professed, a host of Bishops, and eight Cardinals, gave splendour to the exhibition, and the f

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of the Company shone bright and fair without a cloud.

After these festivities, the Pope gave them a reception. The twenty Professed, including Laynez, and five Provincials, went in a body to the Vatican. The Holy Father beckoned them into his presence, where they all fell on their knees, and heard, as if listening to the voice of a god, a precomposed Latin oration from his lips. He expressed his joy at the pious, canonical, and holy creation of a General, and his belief that it was done in concord, and under the direction of the Holy Spirit. He applauded the Constitution and purpose of the Society; and, addressing Laynez first, exhorted him to imitate the Lord Jesus Christ, John the Baptist, St. Peter, St. Stephen, and other confessors and martyrs, predicting that they would suffer much persecution. "For it is a most troublous time in which the Lord has called this blessed Society. Not only do aliens from the faith, barbarians, and those in new islands as enemies persecute the Christian name, and assail the spouse of Christ; but even they who glory with us in the common name of Christians, *who are born again in the same fount of baptism*, and use, with us, communion of the same sacraments, are, more than any others, it is certain, *athirst for our blood*.\* You must, therefore, watch closely,

\* Miserably regenerated must they have been, to thirst, more than savages, for blood! But the intention of this

and never be off your guard. Cast away all fear, and all respect of men, confessing the name of the Lord with a free and undaunted mind, and bearing it through all the world, that you be unmoved by fear, and uncorrupted by blandishments. Let no grace, no favours, prevent you from showing yourselves to be true and perfect servants of God. *Lay yourselves out altogether for the holy Church*, that you may be, at last, a sacrifice to God in a sweet-smelling savour, persevering even to the end, that you may deserve to hear that joyful word from heaven, 'Come, ye blessed of My Father.' He then confirmed the election of General, the Constitution of the blessed Society, and all spiritual and temporal benefits and privileges that his predecessors and himself had ever granted. And, finally, he gave the "apostolic benediction," to be imparted to every member of the Society in all parts of the world.

When the speech was ended, a Cardinal approached, and, by withdrawing the Pope's robes, uncovered his feet, to which the twenty-five

speech was, doubtless, to conciliate wavering Protestants by acknowledging the validity of their sacraments, on the one hand, and, on the other, to throw odium on all true Protestants, by accusing them of sanguinary persecution. This perpetual allegation raises a great question which history must answer. And never was an honest and thorough appeal to history more necessary than at the present day.



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Jesuits crawled, and gave the kiss. He made one figuration of the Cross, in the air, over each adorer; and placed the Company in charge of three Cardinals, ostensibly to protect, but really to oversee, and to preserve their operations in harmony with the wishes of the Court of Rome. And the Company, with equal sagacity, appointed a Monitor bearing official authority to give plain advice to their General, and also some Assistants to observe the necessities and the conduct, to minister to the comfort, and to promote the diligence, of the General, prompting the Monitor to the performance of his peculiar duty whenever occasion might occur.

### DISTRUSTED BY THE POPE.

Notwithstanding the smiles and benedictions of the Pope, the new General had scarcely entered on his office, when he found that nothing could be more precarious, nothing more manifestly delusive, than the favour of the Infallible. Old suspicions, lulled only for a time, woke up again; and the world, as if instinctively dreading future troublers, made efforts to choke Jesuitism in its infancy, having failed to smother it in its birth. Paul gave ear to surmises that floated in the atmosphere of the Vatican; and sent the Cardinal Trani to inform Laynez that his Company must surrender the privilege of exemption from service in the choir,

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and, like regulars of other orders, be content to live monastically, and not roam over the world with a license that might be made ill use of. And, to break the power of the General, whose absolute authority ill consisted with the auto-cracy of a Pope regnant, he bade him prepare to be unmade at the expiration of a term that should be fixed,—three years at the longest.

The Fathers could not have told whether their terror or amazement was the greater. They ran together to ask each other what could be said or done, and spent two whole days in deliberation on methods to be tried for conjuring away the wrath, or envy, or fear, or whatever else might have caused the sudden reversal of his blessing by the Pope. But it was their fixed resolve never to relinquish the object in pursuit; yet, with perfect persistence, never to display obstinacy in presence of one stronger than themselves. They prepared a letter of remonstrance, which Laynez, if he could gain admission, was to present to Paul IV.

Carrying the letter in his bosom, the General went to the apostolic palace, on the day appointed, accompanied by his trusty friend, Salmeron. There sat the angry Pontiff on the same throne, and in the same company as before, but quite another man, frowning and muttering while the Fathers ventured to approach. At first he struggled to maintain the gravity that became one who should seem to be superior to

human passions, if he would sustain more than human pretensions; but the fire could not be pent in. Speaking loud and hot, he commanded them to go to their prayers and to their hymns, called them refractory, pestiferous, and insufferable. He was determined to bear no longer with such a nuisance; and bad would it be for them if they did not instantly submit. They collected youth, he said, for no good purpose, from all nations. And as for study, *that* served them as a pretence for neglecting prayer. What good could come of so much study? The General, and a few others who had much to do, might be well excused from prayer; but not so the inmates of their houses. And he appealed to the Cardinal of Naples, who stood by, and was, as he said, exactly of the same opinion with himself. His breath being exhausted, he stopped, and Laynez began, gentle as a little child, but firm.

“Most blessed Father! As for this Generalship, I did not seek or wish for it; and so far as I am concerned, not only have I not the least objection to resign it at the end of three years, but I should think it a kindness if Your Holiness would ease me of the burden this very day; for it is a burden that I have neither the power nor the wish to bear. But Your Blessedness knows that this office was thus created by the Fathers, in the understanding that it was the wish of Your Holiness that it should be perpetual. For

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Cardinal Paceco told us both, *first*, that Your Holiness wished the General to have his residence at Rome ; and, *also*, that you thought his office ought to be perpetual : to which opinion the Fathers, on their part, were inclined. And when the creation had been thus completed, we came to Your Holiness, who approved of what had been done, and gave it confirmation. But let there now be no delay : I will obey, as I have said, most gladly."

"No," interposed Paul, "not so. You must not run away from the office to escape the trouble. And besides, it may be renewed three years hence."

Then Laynez :—

"But as to the choir, Your Holiness will remember that from the first you declared your pleasure on this point ; and where there is precept, let it not be said that there is contumacy. And as for heretics, we are not for them, but act against them ; and this facts declare. Although not in the choir, we never neglect worship ; and even in choir sing vespers, and always teach and preach quite the contrary to what we are accused of. Indeed, they hate us on this very account, and persecute us, and call us Papists ; and therefore Your Holiness ought to embrace us, and show us fatherly tenderness, and cherish the hope that God would be propitious to us. Then as to adding members to the Society : we employ great caution, and yet greater still in pro-

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moting to profession. A proof of this is, that the sentence which Your Holiness issued against deserters from convents has not touched one of our Society."

In this manner Laynez went on pleading until the blessed Father recovered his equanimity, declared himself satisfied, and even invited him to ask some favour in token of apostolic reconciliation. Laynez caught the softer moment, and went back to the Fathers with intelligence, that besides the consolation of deliverance, he had brought them from the Vicar of Christ a supply of crowns precatory, impregnated with grace of indulgences for their possessors, and waxen lambs to be also distributed by the Fathers on returning to their provinces. And Paul commanded the Cardinal of Naples to refer the matter to the consideration of the Fathers in congregation, but not to take any step without consulting Laynez first.

Yet the affair was not settled ; for the General was not the last person that gained access to the apostolic ear.

Down came the Cardinal of Naples, after a few days, with a peremptory order from the Pope to sing in choir, like Monks, and to vacate the office of General in three years. Laynez answered calmly that he would obey. He sent an edict into the provinces accordingly ; and the Fathers, with himself, at the same time prepared to justify the Papal mandate, by secretly satis-

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fyng themselves that for certain canonical reasons the adverse order was no more than a simple mandate, and had no force of law. A learned Canonist, Cardinal Jacobus Puteus, "brought some comfort" by whispering to them that as the Pope's Brief did not recite the Bulls of his predecessors in favour of the Jesuits, they need not regard it as of more than temporary force. Laynez, therefore, resolved to be quiet, trusting that death would soon impose silence on the aged Pontiff.

On the 10th of September, 1558, the first General Congregation of the Society of Jesus broke up, and left Laynez to enter on the field of government. Exercising a prerogative of his office, he created new provinces, thus multiplying the number of Provincials to rally round him in time of need; and abstaining from every occasion of disagreement with the suspicious Pope, he strove to make the best of his personal influence at Rome. And the effect of his diligence may be told by saying that the splendour of Romish worship, and the attendance of Princes and people at sermons and masses, rapidly revived there; and the Society so greatly multiplied, and was enriched by the accession of so many members of rank and wealth, that they thought it wise to make known their prosperity by a public thanksgiving in all their settlements.

Towards the Holy Inquisition—another of those dreadful sanctities that made the rising

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Company quake in their seats—LayneZ saw it also necessary to be submissive. An anecdote may here illustrate the dominancy of the Inquisition in those times. A grandee of Spain, Francisco de Borja, Duke of Gandia, had joined the Company, adding much to their fame and to his own. Before this event he had written two small books, "Mirror of a Christian Man," and "Spiritual Eye-Salve." Perhaps because they contained something good, or perhaps because they were books treating on religious subjects in Spanish, and proceeded from the pen of a layman, and of a layman, too, who had narrowly escaped imprisonment in the Inquisition, the "Holy Inquisitors" put them in their new Index of prohibited Books, much to the discomfort of the Duke and the mortification of the Jesuits. One of these went so far as to threaten the censors that they would appeal to a higher power, if such there were, against them. Laynez lost not a moment in hushing the disquiet. To the Jesuit Duke he wrote: "Having prayed this of God, I now also entreat of thee that thou wouldest receive this occurrence with peace and tranquillity, both inward and outward; and conduct thyself with becoming modesty and reverence towards the chiefs of the Holy Office, especially in these times when Satan is so busy in sowing tares in the field of the Catholic religion." To Araoz, the brother whose resignation was insufficient to brook the interference of Don Fernando Valdés:

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“Above all things beware of attempting any litigation with the Holy Office; but preserve towards it all veneration and charity, both internally and externally. Kindly, too, and submissively, and without any judicial form, since it is now evident, and the bookseller has confessed, that those works were *not* written by Borja, endeavour to have the form of proscription so drawn, that it may appear they were not written by the Duke, but inscribed with the title of the Duke. And as for what Father Francis himself did write, as he not only wrote when a tiro in such matters, and before the Society began, but when there was no suspicion of heresy in the provinces, you may be prepared to make a declaration accordingly, if needful.” But it was not needful. The Duke of Borgia was transformed into Father Francis, a Jesuit, and had a brother at Seville, a Cardinal, so that the Inquisitors were soon made content to sacrifice the poor bookseller, and accept Father Francis as a fellow-labourer for the suppression of heresy. Laynez, with characteristic cunning, framed the plot.

While this went on in Spain, Paul IV. died at Rome, to the delight of the Jesuits, whose descendants boast that a Cardinal sent for Laynez into the Conclave, to beg his advice as to the choice of a successor, and that when the Cardinals saw him there, they almost agreed to place the tiara on his head, no fewer than



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twelve of them actually inscribing his name on schedules in the usual form.

### AGAIN IN FAVOUR.

When Pius IV. ascended the vacant throne, several of these friendly Cardinals hastened to bespeak his favour towards the Society, and spoke of Laynez with unbounded commendation, as of a man capable of rendering invaluable service to the Apostolic See. And without loss of time Laynez presented himself before the chair of Peter.\* After the solemn kissing of the foot, the General arose and addressed the Pontiff in such terms as these:—

“The Society of Jesus, least of religious families, over which the Fathers have placed me, although unworthy, is bounden, not only by the obligation of honour and obedience that is common to all Christian people, but by a special vow. And it renders proof of this obedience to the Apostolic See, and strictly maintains its piety, by this peculiar service, that into what-

\* “The better to attain the end of our profession and promise, when a new Vicar of Christ shall have been seated in the apostolic chair, the General, either by himself or by another, within a year from his creation and coronation, is bound to declare to His Holiness an express profession and promise of the obedience wherein the Society is bound to him, for the glory of God, by a peculiar vow concerning missions,”—to go to any part of the world, without excuse, at the Pope’s command. (Constit. Soc. Jesu, pars vii., cap. i., 1, 8.)

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soever land, however barbarous, and among what aliens from the faith soever, it may please the Vicar of Christ to send us, for the sake of religion, thither we shall go, without the least delay or hesitation, or even mention of provision for the journey. And this I am bound by our Constitutions to signify to thee, most Blessed Father, that thou mayest know how much, and in how many ways, the services of this Society may be expected." After this formal statement of the relation subsisting between the Pope and himself, Laynez descanted, at some length, on the benefits to what he called the cause of Christianity that might be rendered forthwith. For the glory of God, he asked the Holy Father to vouchsafe his patronage to their establishments in the holy city. In the college, he said, there was a large number of chosen youth,—not fewer than a hundred and fifty,—gathered from all parts of Christendom, excellently instructed, and in the vigour of their life, burning with zeal to excel in learning and in piety, and to go forth into the whole world for the restoration and extension of Christianity. In all Italy, in Sicily, in France, Belgium, and various provinces of Germany, similar colleges had arisen. Thence had gone forth Missioners into India and the far-distant East; and, aided by the wealth of Spain and Portugal, they were planting the Cross in recently-discovered lands.

And then he stated that those noble youths

who devoted themselves to study in the college were suffering hunger, and had not clothes to cover them. They were a host going to the holy warfare on their own charges; and it might be suggested to the Pope's fatherly benevolence, whether a particle of the bounty lavished on other portions of his great family would be wasted, if bestowed on them, or not rather well employed. To protect the Jesuits would be a work worthy of Roman piety, and would awaken the praises of thankful generations to the Prince of all realms, the guardian of all peoples, the refuge and the defence of every race.

Pius, bending on his throne, bestowed a smile of complacent benignity on the well-spoken commander of the legion raised to do battle with heretics and infidels. He was not ignorant of the labours of the Society, even in distant lands. He knew the service it had rendered to the Church. He would freely reward that service with his favour, and not only endow it with the Divine benefits that were placed at his disposal, but also with temporal succours, and would be specially mindful of the Roman college. Four Cardinals, patrons of the Company, undertook to fulfil the pleasure of the Holy Father; and the college, no longer lodged within borrowed walls, was quickly established in a certain habitation. The palace of Camillo Ursino, Marquis of la Guardia, had fallen into possession of his widow Tolfia. Tolfia came into possession of the

Church. Her person was transferred to a convent; her palace was given to sacred virgins. Whether from the insecurity of the gates, or from some other cause, we need not stay to ask, the sacred virgins were not safe, and the Pope found it convenient to be scandalized. He commanded them to be distributed among several convents, and gave the palace to the Society of Jesus. The Fathers, it is noteworthy, were the first persons who perceived that the "amplitude of space, and salubrity of situation," were just what their college needed. They admonished and stirred up their patrons; and one of these, Cardinal Morone, informed the Pope. Most joyfully did Pius IV. command the estate to be given to them; and, in order to sustain the college with correspondent dignity, directed a rich endowment to be settled on it from the Papal revenue. This endowment, by the way, was none other than the rental of estates belonging to the Marchioness, who, as a prudent woman, yielded, after many struggles, to the will of the Pontiff; and, seeing that she had no refuge but her cell, allowed herself to thank His Blessedness for having turned a few daughters out of her former palace, and given both palace and domain for the comfort and support of many sons. And the Jesuits were quite satisfied that this robbery was *for the greater glory of God*. The Fathers and the students were thenceforth well fed and well clothed, and made

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more vigorous for mischief, just as in later times an endowment from the Consolidated Fund of Great Britain raised the College of Maynooth, and gave its governors and pupils nerve and spirit for the same service. The stolen estate being insufficient for the maintenance of the college on a much enlarged scale, a yearly grant was made from the Papal treasury, although encumbered with liabilities that could not be met, and an increase of taxation in consequence became necessary. And besides this prodigal patronage in Rome, the Pope and Cardinals managed to have wealth lavished on the Company in Spain and Portugal, in spite of every remonstrance, overpowering much resistance in both those countries.

One day, soon after the impropration of the estate at Rome, Laynes being invited to dine with the Pope, he thanked His Holiness, after dinner, for this great munificence. "You need not thank me," replied Pius; "for I shall support the Society, *even unto blood.*" The Cardinal Morone and the Duke of Ferrara were sitting at the table, and circulated the oracle\* throughout Christendom. And when the Emperor and the King of Spain, by their Ambassadors, asked the Pope to favour the Jesuits in their dominions, he told them that they needed not to ask him any favour for the Society, as it

\* An oral sentence, given by the Pope in determination of a question, is called an *oracle*.

rather became himself to commend the Jesuits to them. The cordial understanding between the Papacy and its chief supporters was now complete. And occasional disagreements have always been made up again; verifying the adage which affirms that the quarrels of lovers are the renewing of love.

Layneze was quickly called on to make a suitable return. The Cardinal-Vicar sent for him, and, after large profession of benevolence, proposed that he, the General of the order, should undertake a new and weighty charge. "Because," as Sacchini states the proposal, "the right instruction and improvement of the people depends on well-qualified Priests, he had considered and determined within himself that no one should be ordained to the priesthood, until approved of by our men. Therefore he should choose two Jesuits of distinguished piety, prudence, and learning, who might make trial of the learning and ability of the candidates, and whose judgment might be final." Layneze saw that this charge would be invidious; but it brought power, and could not be evaded. The next race of Roman Priests were thus to be Jesuitised perforce. He chose the men, prepared, with them, a form for the examination of candidates for the priesthood, showed it to the Cardinal-Vicar, who was pleased with it, the Fathers took their station at the entrance to the altar, and administered the test to every appli-

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cant for ordination. The Roman example was imitated in many provinces. The Jesuits were also employed to visit the churches, and to inspect the nunneries, of the city. And among a multitude of services in which our General was directly employed, was that of mending the Expurgatory Index, which had been published by Paul IV. That Index was the work of the Inquisitors alone, and therefore regarded even by the Clergy as too severe. To remove this discredit, the Pope directed Laynez to revise it, in conjunction with some others. And Laynez, on his part, gave the Pope several hints for the suppression of immorality and violence in the holy city; which hints were gratefully accepted, and in form, if not in effect, they were enforced.

But while he gave his *pen* to soften down the harshness of the Inquisitorial Index, he gave *himself* to promote the sanguinary labour of the Inquisition. Lodovico Paschali, a Waldensian Minister, arrested in Calabria, and brought up to Rome, lay in the prison of the Holy Office. "It was hideous to see him, with his bare head, and his hands and arms lacerated with the small cords with which he was bound, like one about to be led to the gibbet."\* The dungeon was dark and horrid, and no entreaty could persuade the Captain of the place to mitigate his torment. Thither went Laynez, being requested by the Governor of the city, to whom the Inquisitors

\* M'Crie, Reformation in Italy, chap. v.

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had committed him for death. The Jesuit went readily, and found a large party assembled in the audience-chamber, consisting of some Cardinals, a few Bishops, many of the principal inhabitants of Rome, and certain relatives of the Pope, also invited by the Governor to worry the Minister into recantation, or to see and hear it done. Laynez began to question him, and in a few answers received a full declaration of his faith. They say that he was obstinate. The event shows that he was faithful. He witnessed a good confession, and died a martyr. They brought him out to the church of the Minerva, to hear his sentence read ; and on the day following he was burnt near the Castle of St. Angelo, in the presence of the Pope, the Cardinals, and a large company of Clergy and others, who came to enjoy the spectacle. While this went on at home, the General sent messengers to the chief seats of persecution in Europe, with instructions to promote the extirpation of heretics ; and while the Duke of Savoy was laying waste the Alpine Valleys, he sent a company of Jesuits thither, to establish themselves amidst the ruins, and aid the Inquisition in its future labours.

LayneZ sent two spies of his fraternity to Ireland. They were David Wolf and another, both Irishmen, " who might confirm the pious islanders, and lovers of the Catholic religion, then oppressed by the arms and tyranny of the Queen of Great Britain. They were also to



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ascertain the minds of the people, and find out what persons of that country might be created Bishops; and they were to bring back an account of everything to the Pope." This was in the year 1560, before which time Pasquier and Salmeron had also gone thither to sow sedition. Edmund Hay, William Creighton, and Nicholas Gandanus, were sent over to Scotland.

Omitting details which are of little interest to any besides members of the Society, we may briefly note that the restrictions imposed on them by the last Pope were all removed, and Laynez declared General for life. Some privileges of the Mendicant Friars, which had often prevented the Jesuits from building houses or colleges within a certain distance from their monasteries, were abolished. And, to complete the system of gratuitous education introduced by the Jesuits, they were empowered by a Bull to confer academical degrees, a privilege which threatened the very existence of many Universities, where fees were demanded. And most of this success was attributable to the consummate skill of Laynez himself.

### AT THE CONFERENCE OF POISSY.

To the amazement and mortification of the Romans, it was proposed by the Queen-mother of France, Catherine de' Medici,—who, godless as she was, inclined to think that much of the Reformed doctrine must be true,—and by the

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Cardinal of Lorraine, chief Prelate of the Gallican Church, who fancied himself to be very eloquent, very learned, and able to refute all the heretics in the world,—to hold a conference with the leading persons of the Reformed religion. The Cardinal, hoping to gather laurels in a public disputation, himself proposed it (May 11th, 1561) in a Council of State at Rheims; and Catherine presumed to write a letter to the Pope, telling him that a National Council would be holden, in order to reconcile, if possible, the Romanists and the Reformed. She suggested a very extensive amendment of her Church, at least in matters of discipline and worship, and spoke of the Reformed theologians and ministers in terms of commendation. The Pope dissembled his alarm, and asked Her Majesty to await the arrival of a Legate. Considering Laynez the person best able to frustrate the intention of those who desired reconciliation with the Protestants, and to prevent the assemblage of a National Council at a time when the sittings of the General Council were soon to be resumed, he chose him to accompany the Legate, Ippolito d'Este, Cardinal of Ferrara.

The affair was urgent; and, the time and place of the conference being fixed, there could be no delay. On the 1st day of July, therefore, although a season when the heat at Rome is generally extreme, and when no one travels who can avoid it, he left the city, and proceeded, as usual, by no very direct way, towards France.

At every chief town he stayed for a little and preached, with more or less pomp; but at Ferrara, overcome by fatigue, and perhaps anxiety, he fell sick, and was thus delayed so long, that, when he reached France, the conference had begun at Poissy, a town near St. Germain, seat of the Court. At the colloquy, celebrated with great magnificence in the refectory of a nunnery, a spacious apartment, Queen Catherine, and the young King, a child of twelve years, had attended, together with six French Cardinals, thirty-six Archbishops and Bishops, the Duke of Orleans, the Queen of Navarre, a brilliant party of Princes, Princesses, Lords, Knights, ladies and gentlemen, Doctors, Ecclesiastics of humbler degree, and deputies of Clergy. On part of the Reformed were no more than twelve Ministers, each attended by a lay-deputy. Peter Martyr, of Zurich, and Theodore Beza, of Geneva, were their spokesmen, on whom it devolved to conduct the Protestant side of the controversy. The Queen presided, and an array of royal guards gave additional splendour to the spectacle. But the eloquent argumentation of Beza and Peter Martyr told powerfully in defence of the Gospel; the Clergy shrank from the novel position of disputants with heretics, and that on unequal ground; the young King and the Duke of Orleans were withdrawn, and the conference was transferred, on a reduced scale, from the spacious refectory to the smaller chamber of the Prior.

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There the Legate and Laynez found them; and the latter, after hearing the dispute with shame and fear, until his patience was exhausted, closed it by a bold stroke of insolence towards Catherine herself.

He told her that, if the subject before them concerned France alone, he would be content to follow the advice of Plato, and sit silent without interfering in the affairs of others. But he saw that the religion and faith of his fathers and of the Roman Catholic Church, that common guardian of all nations, was in question; and it was his duty, as a grateful son, to come to the help of his afflicted mother. "Wherefore," said he, "I suppose that no one will find fault with me this day, although I am a stranger here, for undertaking manfully to defend the common cause of all Christians. With God there is no respect of persons, no distinction between Greek and Hebrew, Italian and Spaniard, Indian and European; and I have found, most serene Queen, by experience in public affairs, by the reading of various books, and especially of the holy Scriptures, that it is a perilous and most mischievous thing to speak with or listen to those who have withdrawn themselves from the bosom of our mother the Catholic Church, flung themselves voluntarily into the snares of depraved opinions, and fallen away as deserters from the religion of their fathers. And not without reason does the Holy Spirit, in the sacred writings, call them serpents, wolves,

foxes, and wild beasts: serpents, because even their glance is mortal, and they spit poison; ravening wolves, because they go about, in sheep's clothing, to scatter and destroy the flock of Christ; cunning foxes are they that spoil the Lord's vineyard; and brute beasts ferocious and cruel, who, partly by violence and partly by guile and wicked cunning, try to overturn the house of God. Hence the Scripture says, 'Who will have pity on the charmer, that is stung by the serpent, or on all such as come near the beasts?' (Ecclus. xii. 13.) It therefore occurs to my mind to propose publicly two remedies as likely to be helpful for the removal of these evils;—the one certain, and the other safe, at least: and, in recommending both, I would fain persuade Your Majesty that it is neither lawful for you, nor for the Princes of this world, to treat of matters of faith and controversies; for to do this is to transgress the limits of the power committed to you from God for the government of realms and provinces, by rendering to every one what is just and right.

“To Priests, indeed, and to Bishops, it pertains to discuss cases and controversies of the faith, and to interpret and administer the Divine law. And while the endeavour is arduous in itself, and it is most difficult and full of danger for Your Majesty to become a censor of religion and faith, the Supreme Pontiff, as head of the Church, has begun to assemble a General Council, such as was lately convened in Trent, where

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doubtful and controverted points concerning which there is dispute may be referred for decision, as is right, to the wisdom of all ages. And we hear that the Council of Basil was careful to ordain that, when a General Council is convoked, there shall not be any provincial or private Synods holden within six months of the time of its assembling. Therefore, if there be any in France, as I have seen with grief, who dare to sow the tares of corrupt opinions in the Lord's field, and to promulgate another gospel contrary to the word of God that we have received, contrary to the doctrine of the Apostles, contrary to the sense of the most holy men, and contrary to the sense and authority of right interpreters of Scripture, Your Majesty will do well to send them to Trent, to appear at the Council again assembled there, as at a legitimate tribunal. For thither goes the flower of the learned, thither go Bishops, theologians, and lawyers, from all parts of Europe, as to a festive assembly; and, which is best of all, there is the Holy Spirit, who is wont to be present at Councils, suggesting sound doctrine of truth to the assembled Fathers. The Pope—let no one doubt it—will grant them safe-conduct, and assure them of the public faith during their stay in Trent. There they may learn that of which they are ignorant, and thus error will be rooted out, unless they pertinaciously resist the truth, and shut their eyes against the light.

“The other remedy, and the safe one, will be,

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that, if they refuse to go to Trent, and so evade the trial, then, in order to pluck up the weed of heretics from the Lord's field, whenever Your Majesty, in pity, using indulgence and charity towards them if they are willing to amend, and be reconciled to the Church, wishes a disputation, you should send them to the Bishops of France, who, employing the most learned theologians, shall teach them what is the true faith of the Church, and what the authority of Scripture. But none must be admitted to that colloquy except Ecclesiastics, lest the unlearned multitude, while hearing the dispute, rather imbibe poison than medicine; for the cancer of those heretics ever spreads. Then Your Majesty and these illustrious Princes will be saved the trouble of listening to them; and, if they refuse to hear the Bishops, tell the Church (that is, the Council); and, if they will not hear the Church, let them be to thee as heathen men and publicans. If you take this advice,—and you ought to take it,—you will deliver yourself from great trouble, and will consult the welfare of the kingdom of France, which was once most flourishing, and will then be an example to Christian Kings.”\*

\* I translate almost entirely from Ribadeneira. Sacchini gives a substantially similar report of this oration, yet varying considerably. Cretineau-Joly produces another report, considerably softened, which he professes to have translated from the “primitive text in the archives of the Jesus at Rome.” He writes for the eye of Protest-

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Catherine heard this harangue with unutterable mortification. She had advocated conciliation, after persecution and war had both failed : he tells her that she is approaching beasts, and charming serpents, only to be stung, and that without pity. She presided at conferences with leading Protestants : he tells her that she has neither intelligence nor authority enough to presume to occupy such a position. She had presumed, in her own dominions, to treat one half of her subjects with some respect, and, for the time, with equity, seeing that the other half could not altogether butcher them : he threatens her that mischief will befall the kingdom, unless she compels them to submit to the Council of Trent or to the French Bishops, or punishes them as excommunicated persons, if they will not. I say, *threatens*, because admonitions and presages of the kind are always meant for threatenings.

Some few, the Cardinal of Ferrara included, said that their Jesuit had spoken under Divine inspiration ; but most of the company thought him insufferably insolent. After this minatory address to the Queen, he proceeded to argue for transubstantiation ; and then, growing excessively pathetic, intermingled sighs and groans with figures of rhetoric, while his friends also wept, sighed, and moaned, and the remainder of the company smiled, but were disgusted. After all

ants, and is therefore to be distrusted. Ribadeneira does not, and is therefore less artificial in the construction of his book.



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was over, the Queen withdrew to her palace, and there burst into tears. Two days afterwards, the Prince of Condé remonstrated with him on his severity to Her Majesty, telling him that she had wept bitterly under the indignity of that public and unsparing rebuke. Pleased to hear that his eloquence had wrought so powerfully on the royal mind, he answered with a sardonic smile : "I have long known Catherine de' Medici : she is a clever actress. But never mind, Prince : she will never deceive *me*." But Catherine knew that the theologian had exactly spoken the mind of Rome, and therefore she never again presumed to be present at a religious conference. Bent on recovering the favour she had lost, she ceased not to court the Papal See by atrocious persecution of her Reformed subjects ; until the massacre of St. Bartholomew, eleven years afterwards, assured Pius V. that she was a true daughter of the Church.

### AT THE FRENCH COURT.

Before setting out from Rome, Laynez had commanded all the Society to offer prayers, sacrifices, voluntary penances, and whatever else might avail to appease the wrath of God. And again he issued a mandate to all the Jesuit provinces of Europe, requiring them to stir up the people everywhere, to obtain the help of Confessors, Preachers, Magistrates, and others, not excepting the Regulars of other orders, in order to the same end. In private he toiled to

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influence the Queen and the Court; and, seeing that the Reformed not only preached in their churches, but also out of doors, and were heard with applause by great multitudes, including persons of the highest rank, he laboured in public also. He preached in Italian, in the church of the Augustinian monastery; and then, anxious to gain the ear of the Parisians, he applied himself to the acquisition of their language, and, by way of exercise, preached privately in a convent to the Nuns called "Daughters of God," until he had sufficiently mastered French to make himself intelligible in the pulpit. To the priesthood of Paris, to the members of the Sorbonne, to Monks and Nuns, as well as to the people, he addressed fervid admonitions, striving to revive the heat of zeal, and to rekindle the fires of persecution. To the less devoted Protestants he applied himself with winning plausibility; and to their chiefs he addressed importunate exhortations to go to Trent. Nor did he fail to court royal favour, endeavouring to heal the wounded vanity of Catherine, after he had fulfilled his mission by withdrawing her from the conference of Poissy, and from all such compromises for the future.

If the Court of St. Germain and the Parliament of Paris had been left to their own counsels, it is more than probable that liberty of worship would have been established in this year, 1561. But the Roman Legation spoiled all, and brought upon France a long suc-

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cession of miseries. The Reformed repeated a demand that they had often made for permission to worship God in churches of their own; and there was a strong disposition to allow them the privilege. But Laynez and his Secretary, Polanco, interfered, and presented an elaborate paper to the Queen, containing arguments, dissuasions, and threats, under the usual form of presage of civil and foreign war, of rebellion in the provinces, and of anathema from Rome, in the event of any such concession. A few sentences from this document will show that their doctrine was none other than that which guides the practice of the present day, wherever the priesthood is predominant.

“It is clearer than the light, that they who follow this new doctrine are not in the Catholic Church, nor have the Catholic faith, without which, as the Apostle says, it is impossible to please God. But the foundation of the faith being destroyed, all the rites and ceremonies of this new sect are hateful to God; and therefore temples to be polluted by such rites are by no means to be granted; for they would be receptacles of superstitious impiety, and shops of sacrilege. Rather should they be deprived of all means of outraging the Divine Majesty, and bringing down His anger on all this kingdom; and rather should the occasions of so great depravity be plucked up by the roots as quickly as possible. And to permit temples—what is it but openly and publicly to nourish and train up

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these abominations? Other heresies have died away of themselves, when the people have only heard Catholic exhorters, and seen Catholic rites: for we find by experience that those which have obtained public places and means of association have lasted longer; but that, these being taken away, the deceived have repented gradually. Therefore, if a certain habitation and—so to speak—a citadel be now allowed to these men, of whom not a few have been turned from their error, it will lead to the destruction of all those whose way of recovery to a sound mind is blocked up; and bulwarks of pertinacity and food for error will be provided.”

This argument would be equally valid for the denial of mass-houses to Romanists in Protestant countries, where such buildings are thought to be “receptacles of superstitious impiety,” and where the multiplication of them has invariably led to an increase of superstition and of crime; but as the Church of Rome persists in declaring, with Laynez, that we have no faith, and are without hope of heaven, albeit we know the contrary, we could only apply it by agreeing to an absolute intolerance on both sides. But here a General of the Jesuits and chosen theologian of the Pope, acting and speaking only as instructed by his master, employs another argument, which every Protestant government ought to accept and to enforce. “Those very heretics, in the places which they have invaded wrongfully, if any one observes Catholic wor-

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ship, treat him with severity;.....and shall we readily give a dwelling-place to impiety, while they allow no dwelling-place to piety, but obstinately expel it from the countries which they have invaded?" To this question we ought now to answer, that Protestant charity proceeds far otherwise; and as Roman piety or impiety, whichever it be, is tolerated where evangelical Protestantism prevails, we have a right to equal toleration where Popery has power.

The reasons of Laynez could not have had much force at a time when the Reformed were alive to a sense of injustice suffered for half a century by their fathers and themselves, and when so many sympathised with a people oppressed and martyred; but threats of Papal fury upon France determined the question. The cause of Rome was gained; and Laynez might now resign his mission to that country, and accept another.

### GOES TO TRENT AGAIN.

On occasion of the re-assembling of the Council, the Pope commanded him to resume his place as theologian. Having many things to regulate in the Netherlands and Germany, he went by a circuitous route, visited Brussels, Antwerp, Louvain, Mentz, Augsburg, Ingoldstadt, and Munich, was received with great honour by Romish authorities, both secular and ecclesiastical, and did much towards completing the foundation of the educational system that

undid so much of the German Reformation. Instead of tracing him from stage to stage, and enumerating the new colleges, I will transcribe a paragraph or two from Ranke,\* wherein the issue of the whole appears in an instructive summary.

“ In the year 1561, the Papal Nuncio affirms, that ‘ they gain over many souls, and render great service to the Holy See.’ This was the first counteracting impulse, the first anti-Protestant impression, that Germany received.

“ Above all, they laboured at the improvement of the Universities. They were ambitious of rivalling the fame of those of the Protestants. The education of that time, being a purely learned one, rested exclusively on the study of the languages of antiquity. These the Jesuits cultivated with great ardour, and in a short time they had among them teachers who might claim to be ranked with the restorers of classical learning. They likewise addicted themselves to the strict sciences: at Cologne, Franz Koster taught astronomy in a manner equally agreeable and instructive. Theological discipline, however, of course continued the principal object. The Jesuits lectured with the greatest diligence, even during the holidays; they re-introduced the practice of disputations, without which they said all instruction was dead. These were held

\* Ecclesiastical and Political History of the Popes of Rome, during the sixteenth and seventeenth Centuries, book v., sec. 3.

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in public, and were dignified, decorous, rich in matter, in short, the most brilliant that had ever been witnessed. In Ingoldstadt they soon persuaded themselves that they had attained an equality with any other University in Germany, at least in the faculty of theology. Ingoldstadt acquired (in the contrary spirit) an influence like that which Wittemberg and Geneva had possessed.

“The Jesuits devoted an equal degree of assiduity to the direction of the Latin schools. It was one of the principal maxims of Laynez, that the lower grammar-schools should be provided with good masters. He maintained that the character and conduct of the man were mainly determined by the first impressions he received. With accurate discrimination he chose men who, when they had once undertaken this subordinate branch of teaching, were willing to devote their whole lives to it; for it was only with time that so difficult a business could be learned, or the authority indispensable to a teacher be acquired. Here the Jesuits succeeded to admiration: it was found that their scholars learned more in one year than those of other masters in two; and even Protestants recalled their children from distant Gymnasia, and committed them to their care.”

But during the time spent in that visitation, the debates of Council ran high. Canisius, an accomplished Jesuit, was required to manage the affairs of the Society in Germany; and the Legates, anxious to strengthen their party,

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despatched couriers to hasten the arrival of Laynez. On the 13th or 14th of August, 1562, he came to Trent, received a ceremonious welcome from those of his order who were there, and the Legates hastened to introduce him to the Synod. Never before had a General of the Jesuits sat in Council, and therefore a place had to be made for him. The Legates directed their Master of Ceremonies to set him before all the Generals of monastic orders ; but when the new dignitary took precedence of them, they all rose from their seats, and protested against the indignity thrown upon their orders, by the assignation of superior honour to one that was but of yesterday. The presiding Legate declared, that as the order of Jesus consisted of Priests, and theirs were but corporations of Monks, he must necessarily, in honour to the priesthood, sit above them. They renewed the protest, were moving from their places, and threatened to leave the Council, when Laynez, not indeed yielding his claim, but anxious to avoid a schism of which the consequences could not but recoil upon his Company, offered to accept a seat beneath the other Generals. That position the Legates would not allow, but advised him to withdraw until the matter could be settled. He did so ; and after diligent negotiation, a seat was allotted him among the Bishops, by their consent ; and on the 21st day of the month, he took possession. The incident was not so trifling as it might seem. So much jealousy was



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awakened throughout Europe by this effort to put Jesuitism in the highest place, and that, as it turned out, by instruction of the Pope, that the Legates felt compelled to publish a paper in justification of themselves. But, wherever seated, Laynez undoubtedly represented the most influential portion of his Church.

Resolved to exalt the General and his Company, the Legates quickly raised him above all the Fathers. The subject before the Council was "the sacrifice of the mass." They called on him to speak thereon, in an afternoon sitting; but on intimating that he had not sufficient time, he was appointed to speak first on the day following, and to take all the morning for himself alone. Both Legates, all the orators, or Ambassadors of Princes, all the Bishops, and even all the Generals were present, to hear this prodigy of learning. He began to speak with an air of extreme diffidence. His voice was feeble. The Legates could not hear distinctly. They called him from his seat to stand by them; but then the Bishops could not hear. The Bishops forsook their stations, and clustered round the speaker. The whole Council followed; but even then their thirsting impatience could scarcely catch the sounds. His friends wondered, feared a failure, and were trembling for the event, when a pulpit was seen moving towards the spot. Laynez paused, and after a few moments' confusion, of which every murmur was, in effect, a plaudit for the Society of Jesus,

he mounted the pulpit, unbosomed his treasures, spoke out audibly enough, and the Council hung in breathless attention on his lips. It is needless to say how earnestly he contended for the folly of transubstantiation.

The historians of the Council, at this time, are full of the orations of Laynez, and of comments pronounced on them by adverse parties; but if there be one thing most worthy of note in them, it is the skill with which he put on an air of independence, while prosecuting but one object, the support of the Pope, for the sake of attaining another, the aggrandisement of his order. On the subject of marriage he strongly opposed the existing law of his own Church, and the common sense of all Churches, by arguing for the validity of clandestine marriages,—the secret agreement and cohabitation of the parties,—and thus opening the door for a new torrent of licentiousness. And while the Roman Doctors were wondering at their theologian, and fearing how far his notion might tend to the ruin of one sacrament of the seven, they were quickly refreshed by witnessing a bold display of zeal for the Pope, to the great offence of most of the secular Clergy, except the Italians, and to the mortification of the best friends that Laynez had made in France.

The subject of debate was, *The source of episcopal authority*: did it come directly from the Divine Head of the Church, or from the Pope? Laynez began his defence of the Papistical doc-

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trine by calling God to witness that he spoke according to his conscience,—that he had been thrice in that Council under Paul, Julius, and Pius, but had never uttered a single word with intent to flatter,—he had always used sincerity of language, and always would, having no motive of ambition, hope, or fear to induce the contrary. After much magniloquent discourse and sweeping generalities, he maintained, through two hours at least, that there were two powers: the first, of order, from God, and the second, of jurisdiction, from the Pope. The Pope, as Vicar of Christ, could alter the second, he said, and increase, or diminish, or vary it in the Bishops at his pleasure. This aroused much discussion in the Council and out of it; and still the question is debated, but with increasing advantage, as I believe, to the Papal side, where lies the power of possession. “Of all the discourses delivered in this Council, none was the subject of greater praise, or greater censure, according to the different dispositions of those who heard it. The Romans praised it as the wisest, the most decisive, and the most solid that had been pronounced. Others taxed it with flattery, and some condemned it as heretical. And not a few declared themselves exceedingly offended by the manner in which Laynez had treated their opinions, and said that they were resolved to lay bare his ignorance and rashness in future Congregations.”\* The Bishop of Paris hastened to

\* Fra Paolo, livre vii. Courayer.

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fulfil the threat, and left the Legates and the Jesuit smarting under his infliction.

Our Jesuit also deserved well of the Court of Rome by resisting those who would have granted the cup in the eucharist, which was demanded by the Emperor and King of Bavaria for many in Austria, Bavaria, Bohemia, and Hungary.

**SERVES WELL, AND IS REPAID.**

When jealousy of the Court of Rome was finding loud expression, and many Spaniards, Frenchmen, and Germans were causing great alarm by the freedom of their speeches, Laynez, with his accustomed boldness, offered himself as champion of that Court, against all who had spoken of it irreverently. He spoke at great length of dispensations, rebuking those who said that the power of dispensing was but interpretative, as under that notion the power of a clever Doctor would be more considerable than that of a great Prelate. To say that the Pope cannot discharge men from their obligations to God, would be equivalent with affirming that the authority of conscience is greater than that of the Church,—a perilous conclusion, inasmuch as conscience (said Laynez) is generally wrong, and the Church is always right; as it is undeniable that the Lord Jesus Christ can dispense with every law, and that the Pope has equal authority with Him, since the chief and his vicegerent make but one tribunal. Such, he said, was the privilege of the Roman Church, and to dispute

that privilege is heresy. Treating of a proposed reformation of the Church of Rome, he affirmed that as that Church is superior to every Church in particular, it must be superior to all the Churches put together, whose Bishops were at the Council ; and that as no one of them could reform the Church of Rome, for the plain reason that the disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord, it necessarily followed that the Council had no power to reform the Church. It was ridiculous, he thought, to speak of bringing back the Church to a state of apostolic purity, for times were changed ; and as for the luxury of the priesthood, it should be remembered, that if God had given wealth to His servants, it must be His pleasure that they should use it. And at great length he pleaded for tithes, annats, and first-fruits. But the discontented part of the Fathers were yet more deeply disgusted at hearing all this from a man whom the Legates had set above them all, who never spoke from his place, but harangued them all from a pulpit,—a piece of state which no one else enjoyed,—who spoke for two or three hours without interruption, and had often an entire session to himself ; while those who attempted to answer him were put to silence when they had proceeded for but a few minutes, and told that they were consuming too much time. They all knew that he was merely the spokesman of the Pope and Cardinals.

No extreme of doctrine seemed perilous to

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this Roman advocate, who never stooped to calculate the consequences of contradiction out of doors, or he would not have maintained what the Council durst not affirm,—although in their pulpits most of them would teach the same,—that blessed images are to be worshipped on account of an intrinsic virtue, and not only because of the persons whom they represent.

And, naturally enough, while pleading for the Court, he did not forget the Society. At the same time that the mendicant orders were required, by an act of the Council, to adhere rigidly to their vow of poverty,—and he meekly asked that his own order might be included in the obligation,—the very next day he came into the Congregation with an afterthought, and begged that his Company might be allowed a relaxation of the vow of poverty, and its members permitted to possess wealth, when such possession might be for the greater glory of God. He also obtained another exemption of the utmost practical importance, which enabled his men to cast aside their habit when it became inconvenient to wear it, even in countries where ecclesiastical habits are worn without any legal restriction. It was not thought expedient that a Jesuit should be always known.

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Layne and Salmeron remembered the peculiar interests of their Company. They assiduously cultivated the favour of the Legates, beyond

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all others; and the first Legate, Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, was so captivated with their conversation, and so persuaded of the subservience of Jesuitism to the ascendancy of the priesthood in Italy, that he resolved to have a college established in Mantua, of which city he was Bishop, and employed Laynez to assist him in the inspection of his diocese, as the Cardinal-Archbishop of Palermo had formerly employed him with so great success in Sicily. He therefore requested the Jesuit to go down to Mantua, when an interval in the business of the Council left him somewhat at liberty, to ascertain the state of the diocese, and to choose a site for the erection of a college.

Early in February, 1563, the General went to Mantua in the twofold capacity of Jesuit and Episcopal Commissary, presented letters credential from Gonzaga to his Vicar and others, was received with good official welcome, and forthwith made an inspection of affairs ecclesiastical and civil, in the city, with general acceptance of the people. The doors of the nunneries flew open at his presence; and, as if conscious of a special vocation for the reformation of such establishments, he penetrated into the cells, interrogated the religious ladies, heard their confessions, and chided them for such irregularities as came under observation. In one of those nunneries were two sisters of the Cardinal, and there the Visiter spent no small portion of his time, and delivered certain pious discourses.

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Lastly, he made sure of a site whereon a college might be advantageously erected, and, this object being accomplished, closed a sojourn of nine days, and returned to Trent.

The day after his return the Cardinal received a relation of the visit, and expressed most lively satisfaction in hearing of his labours, and in gathering intelligence of the state of Mantua, the place of his nativity, as well as the seat of his episcopal jurisdiction. But the very same evening—I would check, if I cannot suppress, an exclamation of surprise, on finding another instance of rapid and opportune decease, occurring just so soon as a great act of bounty to the Jesuits is performed—he was attacked with high fever, from which he could not recover, but died on the 2d day of May. When the article of death drew near, he asked Laynez to give him the host, the *viaticum* for the dreadful journey. From the same hand, also, he received the last anointing. Then it became known that, in his last hours, “Layneze and his companions being ignorant,” as they said, of that act of piety, he had added to his will a bequest of two thousand pieces of gold, for the purchase and repair of a spacious edifice in Mantua, to be occupied by the college, with the addition of other two thousand pieces for endowment, and an encumbrance on his personal estate of three hundred pieces more, yearly rent, to be paid by his heirs until revenue should be forthcoming, from other quarters, to the same amount. As was to be



expected, some years were spent in correspondence before the heirs fulfilled this testament, and, even then, by an act of politic generosity, as at Padua, the Jesuits found it good to make some donations that soothed the murmurs of the discontented, and assured them peaceable possession. They also bestowed alms very liberally on the poor, hoping to gather, in return, the good opinion of the multitude.

But the occupations of Laynez were not always so pleasurable. In this interval between the twenty-second and twenty-third sessions of the Council, a most untoward affair occupied his attention, and supplied an episode, not very creditable in the history of the order in Italy.\* We must retrace it from the beginning.

\* On first looking over some works composed for the purpose of exposing the misdoings of the Jesuits, it is not easy to resist the impression that their authors were too intent on scandal to confine themselves to truth. One feels, at least for a moment, as if there were a meed of justice remaining to be rendered, even to the guilty. And it is undeniable that a corrupt taste and a rage for vituperation have often exceeded the limit of truth in treating of the Jesuits. But, on the other hand, it has to be remembered that a concentration of misdeeds within the compass of any single publication inevitably presents an appearance unlike nature. The speciousness of real life is wanting. The disguise—also a reality in history—is gone; and the unsightly truths, thus thrown together, seem to lose their verity. But in justice to one of the most famous works of this kind,—*La Morale Pratique des Jesuites*, 1683—1716,—it is but right to observe, that in these eight volumes I have not found one of the discreditable facts

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In Monte Pulciano, a town of Tuscany, an episcopal see, with a population now estimated at three thousand, there was a settlement of Jesuits. The simple inhabitants, regarding them as holy men, at first received them with extreme reverence; and there were few who did not go to the church where they officiated, to confess, attend mass, or hear sermons. So attached were they to the saintly visitors, that "they said the very walls of the church breathed piety, and awakened it in the bosoms of the worshippers." Women, as usual, crowded into that church, besetting the confessionals, and thronging at the altars. "Many virgins hid themselves within the walls of the monastery, and devoted themselves," as they say, "to God. Other women in a most holy manner now cultivated modesty and fidelity towards their husbands." At best, the revelations disclosed by those women to the Jesuits must have been of such a sort as ought rather to have been made to God than men. And if those walls breathed anything at all, it was not likely to be "piety." The place was polluted. The public, with all their veneration for the Jesuits, did not imagine them to differ essentially from other Priests. At first, general

which I have related in these pages on the sole authority of the Jesuits Orlandino and Sacchini. If the compilers of that famous collection which once made so much noise all over Europe had been making the most of their case, it cannot be conceived that they would have overlooked these, and a multitude of others of the same kind.

allegations of indiscretion floated abroad, and then minutely circumstantial tales of criminality were circulated through the town. The Jesuits showed themselves indignant that "good and holy lambs of God" were made the subjects of so foul a slander. The Fathers blushed, and implored the Virgin-Mother, protectress of modesty, to protect them. Unfortunately, people were not convinced by protestations of innocence; and one witness after another came forward with disclosure of new facts. The Rector himself, Gambaro, allowed two sisters to visit him in private. All three were sublimely indifferent to the opinion of the world; but one of the sisters, not indifferent to a real or imagined preference of the other by Father Gambaro, and seized with furious jealousy, drew attention to facts that could no longer be explained away.

The church was now deserted by all ladies; and the Jesuits were shunned by every decent person. A Capuchin Preacher charitably undertook to preach on their behalf, and laud "the sanctimony of the Fathers;" but no flood of charity could extinguish the infamy of the scandal that blazed over the whole country; and the only effect of his interposition was the formation of one party for Gambaro, and of another against him, filling the streets of Monte Pulciano with confusion, and threatening violence, perhaps bloodshed. A brother of one of the ladies who had lost her good name by visits to

the Jesuits wrote to Laynez, begging that Gambaro might be removed to some other station. Gambaro, hoping to parry the blow, absconded secretly; and, having heard that Laynez was on his way to France, and would pass through Perugia, went thither in disguise, and concealed himself until his arrival.

Astounded at the sudden appearance of the fugitive Rector, Laynez rebuked him with great severity, and, assisted by Pasquier Brouet, questioned him closely, and read a bundle of love-letters that were forwarded from the scene of his delinquency, but after all declared that he was only to be blamed for an excessive simplicity, or foolish good-nature, that had betrayed him into some indiscretions which perverse and malevolent persons had exaggerated. And for that excessive kindness, which in one of his order and office was insufferable, but especially for breach of obedience, in quitting Monte Pulciano without leave from the Fathers at Rome, he gave him a sincere censure. Gambaro, in punishment for the scandal, was subjected to penance, and then separated from the Society. The college at Monte Pulciano became an object of general abhorrence: Laynez, however, would not consent to its removal, but exhorted them to patience. This took place in 1561.

Some of the most eloquent and austere Fathers were sent from Rome to this unfortunate place, charged to employ their best zeal for the renovation of the cause. They preached, prayed, fasted,

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visited, and gave alms to beggars ; but all in vain. The Montepulciani thought they knew as much of Jesuitism as it was desirable to know, and gave no heed to the new visitors. "It is no longer a college," said Natale pleasantly, "but a house of trial." Hostility from without, and hunger within, sorely tried the patience of those "religious men." The people gave no offerings, and bought no masses ; a stipend from the city was withdrawn ; and a yearly grant sent them by the Rector of the college at Padua, but by that appropriation diverted from the college at Rome, was almost their sole dependence. Laynez directed the Fathers to apply to the Magistrates of the city for relief, to represent to them the impossibility of existing without food, and to solicit that, once more, they might be allowed to occupy the public school for the purpose of conferring the benefits of education on the inhabitants, and making some return for the money which had been withheld, but which they trusted to receive again. The Magistrates answered the application by saying that the Town-Council had resolved to allow the Jesuits neither stipend nor accommodation. Laynez then sent Polanco, his Secretary, to look into the affair, and ascertain what might yet be done to save the college. The Secretary went, met the Fathers, and, after the usual ceremonies, which were taken to be "seeking light from God," heard what every man had to say, and took notes of all. A summary of their deliberation he sent to his General, adding

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his recommendation that, unless the Duke or the Cardinal would help, the college should be dissolved. But no help could be found; and Laynez, after anxiously weighing the matter, authorised the Rector, by letter dated April 22d, 1563, to depart from Monte Pulciano. The rejected Jesuits gave away the furniture with great solemnity. Their few adherents shed many tears. The Fathers went to Rome for further orders, and the Society watched for a more favourable conjuncture; and the event shows that they found it, and eventually took possession of the town.

On the 10th day of December, 1563, a week after the termination of the Council, Laynez, accompanied by Salmeron, Polanco, and Natale, turned his back on Trent. His attendants were soon distributed to their distant stations, while he made a visitation of several Italian cities. In Padua, Venice, Imola, Forlì, Ancona, and Camerino, he visited colleges, or attempted to engage his friends in establishing colleges, and everywhere he preached. About nine weeks were so spent, but without any remarkable occurrence, except that his mule, scared by a herd of wild oxen, somewhere on the mountainous country between Sinigaglia and Fano, became unmanageable, and threw him with great violence. He did not seem to have suffered any injury; but from that time his health failed, and he never took another journey. He entered Rome on Monday, February 13th, 1564, in time

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for the ceremonies of Lent, which began that week, and applied himself, with his usual diligence, to directing the affairs of the Society.

And then occurred another passage in his history, and in that of the Society, which marks the suspicion that, from the very first, darkened the reputation of the Jesuits, a universal distrust which rests on them to this day, and makes even their name a byword.

### IS IN DISGRACE.

The Cardinal of Carpi, patron of the Society, died in the month of May. By an established usage, every religious community had a Cardinal-patron, who *protected* it while the General *governed*. By this means the community was kept in allegiance to the Church, and made to serve the ends of the Court of Rome throughout the world. But the Jesuits, already exempted from most of the obligations laid on the monastic bodies, desired to be rid of this also, and determined that they would not ask for another patron. Laynez, who had just recovered from a severe sickness, was at Frascati, about eight miles from Rome, a place of resort for the high ecclesiastics and nobility in the summer months; and there also was the Pope, and his college of Cardinals.

LayneZ obtained an audience, four of their Eminences being present, and announced the decision of the Fathers. After briefly pointing out the difference that distinguished his Society

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from the monastic communities, and referring to its peculiar dependence on the Supreme Pontiff, he submitted to the consideration of His Holiness whether the entire college of Cardinals might not, collectively, be patron. The Pope, delighting to honour the Jesuits, not only caught at the proposal, but, either following some implied suggestion of Laynez, or some impulse of his own mind, advanced beyond it. "We," he replied, "We accept the patronage of your Society. We will ourselves be your protector." The Society exulted. The communities burned with jealousy.

And again the Jesuits climbed yet another dangerous height. Intent on imposing the decrees and canons of the Council on all his provinces, the Pope had dispersed a crowd of Bishops, who haunted Rome, as usual, and sent each man to his diocese to enforce those new decisions. Laynez, no friend of the episcopate when its rights were to be maintained, stayed there, using vast influence over the Papal counsels. Here was a new cause of jealousy. The Council had ordered that a seminary should be established in every diocese, or archdiocese, for teaching boys ecclesiastical customs, in order that good Priests might be made out of them. It became Rome to lead the way, and a congregation of ten Cardinals, with a minority of four Prelates, was appointed to carry the project into execution. This congregation resolved that the new seminary should be raised and managed exclusively by Jesuits, who were now empowered, not only to



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examine postulants for ordination, but to train up from childhood such as might present themselves for the service of the altar, mould them, and send them forth. The Cardinal-Vicar placed the Roman Church entirely in the power of Laynez and his men. Without their sanction there could be no orders, no preferment. They, not the Bishops, made a searching visitation of most of the churches in Rome. They, not the Abbots, pried into the monasteries. Their college, suddenly elevated by rich donations, and conducted with equal energy and exactness of discipline, eclipsed all other schools. The Jesuits say that all this excited universal discontent, and awakened remonstrances, or murmurings, at least, in all quarters; and we may believe them.

But none of this moved the Pope, until it became clear that the Fathers had environed him in his own house, and were stealing away the flower of his family. His nephew (son of his sister Margareta de' Medici) Carlo Borromeo, Cardinal, Archbishop of Milan, Grand Penitentiary, Legate of Bologna, Romagna, and the March of Ancona, Protector of many crowns, and of many religious orders, a young man but six-and-twenty years of age, recently come into possession of large estates by the premature death of an elder brother, seemed just about to turn Jesuit. One Juan Bautista Ribera, representative at Rome of the Spanish Jesuits, had long frequented the Cardinal's palace, under pretence of business, and acquired entire command over

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him. Laynez also paid his court to Borromeo ; but Ribera was there at all hours. Borromeo suddenly devoted himself to the spiritual exercises of the Jesuits, laid aside the elegancies and indulgencies usual to his rank, shut himself up for many days together, abstained from food, lavished alms, and was preparing to quit Rome and retire to Milan. Some attributed the change to madness, some to excess of piety ; but it was clear to all that the Jesuits were gaining possession of the Cardinal-nephew and his wealth. And the mysterious seclusion of a young man in the bloom of life, inaccessible to all except Ribera and Laynez, gave rise to rumours of abominable and nefarious immorality.

Pius IV., startled at the report, and mortified at seeing his nephew, his favourite, entangled, infatuated, and perhaps depraved, by the very champions of the Papacy, forbade Laynez and Ribera to approach young Borromeo without his express permission ; and poured a flood of indignation on the Company, whom every one expected to see driven from Rome, if not annihilated at a stroke. Just at this moment Laynez lay sick in bed, and on the intelligence was petrified with terror. But the snake was only scotched, not killed. He issued an order to all the Society, to spend a month in penance. Besides the accustomed "acts of piety," each one flogged himself five times every week, and fasted on Fridays. The Priests said mass ten times a week, and ten times the lay-brethren said extra prayers, and

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joined in a litany every evening. The month of July was to be spent in unremitted penance. Moved by their humiliation, Pius allowed himself to be persuaded that Laynez was innocent, and the Society blameless ; and that Ribera, declaring himself to be free from guilt, really wished to deny himself of worldly glory, and go to India. To make full peace with Laynez and the Fathers, His Holiness, with six Cardinals, performed a solemn visitation to the Jesuit College, where the natives of sixteen countries presented him verses written in their respective languages. Laynez kissed his apostolic feet, protested innocence, and received his blessing. The Pope then visited the other establishments of the Company, that the Romans might see Jesuitism again in favour. And to blot out, if possible, the scandal that had been divulged, he sent Briefs to the Emperor, and to the Archbishop of Mentz, bidding them put malignant slanderers to silence. The reader may regard this affair as altogether marvellous, more like romance than truth. He will wonder that such a report should have been hushed so easily, and that the perilous ambition of the Company was not checked. But the Briefs are before me as I write, and many authors, both Romish and Protestant, make mention of the matter.

Laynez, although rejoiced by this most splendid reconciliation, found no repose. To Great Britain and Ireland he sent several secret agents, whose presence there, if discovered, would

#### DIES.

openly involve his Company in the disgrace of treason, and whose practices, being traitorous, would confirm the scandal. In Austria, where the Pope had been induced to grant the cup to the laity, on petition of the Sovereign, Laynez forbade the publication of the licence in the Jesuit houses, and his Company was consequently threatened with expulsion from Germany. Distrust, jealousy, resistance, and infamy withal, perplexed him on every side.

#### DIES.

Worn out with toil of mind and body, after a life of vast labour, and yet more vast success, Diego Laynez died on the 19th day of January, 1564. In premature infirmity, with the usual symptoms of old age, his strength gradually declined. His death was lingering and very painful. Refusing to nominate a successor, he committed the Society to the care of the Pope. There was nothing to distinguish his death from the ceremonial departure of Roman Prelates in general. Priests, with tapers and litanies, filled the chamber. They gave him the viaticum and extreme unction, and knelt around him as he expired. When the Cardinal Alessandrino heard of his death, he exclaimed, that the Christian republic (the Papacy) had lost one of its most excellent defenders. Another Cardinal declared, that, although he had been fifty years in Rome, he had never seen the decease of any one honoured with so general an appearance of regret,

both among the Clergy and people, and in the Sacred College. The Pope himself did not refuse words of mourning. The Cardinal of Augsburg, who resided at Dillingen, caused a funeral service to be celebrated in the cathedral with great magnificence; and, to signify that the departure of so great and (as he thought) so good a man was cause of joy rather than sorrow, he caused the cenotaph to be covered with purple instead of black, and himself pronounced a panegyric on his departed friend. All that we are now able to contemplate in his history, is a man of extraordinary energy, who devoted himself to a single object, but without any manifestation of heart-renewing faith, or zeal for the conversion of sinners to the faith of Christ, notwithstanding a constant ostentation of piety. To serve the Papacy, and to exalt his own Company, was the single business of his life. In pursuing the details of this history, however, we find an exemplification of the early policy of this most worldly system; and, while guarding against exaggeration, the writer thinks that he has gained a more correct idea of that policy, from the authors whom he acknowledges on a preceding page, than any other kind of study would have afforded; and hopes that his readers may, in some degree, partake of the advantage.





*Engraved by T. Sadler*

**A JESUIT IN FULL DRESS.**

**A JESUIT REGICIDE.**

**HENRY GARNET,**

**PROVINCIAL IN ENGLAND AT THE TIME OF  
THE GUNPOWDER TREASON.**

**2 B**





## A JESUIT REGICIDE.

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HENRY GARNET.

I BORROW one name to avoid the enumeration of many. For while I would select illustrative examples, taking one of each kind, in order to present a tolerably complete family-picture of the great Society that follows a vocation so manifold, and can boast of such consummate ability in each of its departments, I am somewhat perplexed in endeavouring to choose a single representative of this class. It is not possible, I think, to find any single regicide that pursued his vocation openly, nor any that persevered in it long enough to become, on that account, the subject of a biography. The killing a King is but one crime, and it may be perpetrated in a moment. Only for that moment, only during the short time that he spent in preparation, can the criminal be described as a regicide. Yet he has performed an action of the highest value to his masters, and one that imprints a distinct character on the cohort wherein he is militant. To exclude the title he thus acquired from the list of titles attained in this campaign, would be an historical injustice.

Regicide, too, like other political crimes,

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requires combination. Unless it be by some desperate assassin, it is rarely perpetrated by one man. There are accomplices; but whether they be few or many, they hide themselves in obscurity. And in the instance before us the particular plot for the destruction of a King was only part of a long-prosecuted scheme for the ruin of a kingdom. To this end nearly half a century was diligently spent in England before it broke out in the catastrophe commonly called "the Gunpowder Treason." Henry Garnet was at that time Provincial of the English Jesuits,—their chief in the *province* of England,—and was executed for participation in the crime. I therefore use his name to head a brief, but careful, review of one of the most disastrous periods in English history,\* comprehending part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and the first three years of James I.

## OVERTURES FROM ROME.

In the summer of the year 1560, one Vincenzo Parpaglia, an Italian otherwise unknown to fame, made his appearance in London,† bringing a

\* This was a disastrous period of our history, notwithstanding the firmness of Elizabeth, because of the advances made by Popery towards bringing down upon England the calamities that followed in succeeding reigns, and the mischief that befalls us now.

† It has been said that Parpaglia was not allowed to land in England; but this is contrary to the general and

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letter from Pope Pius IV., whose name distinguishes a new creed, to our good Queen Elizabeth. From the accession of Her Majesty to the throne of England to the date of this missive, eighteen months had elapsed, and the more zealous members of the Court of Rome had been praying the Popes Paul and Pius to launch their thunders on the head of Elizabeth. Wiser ones advised forbearance. The times were critical, and Pius, a man of prudence, sent over a Nuncio to his "most dear daughter in Christ, Elizabeth, Queen of England," bearing "health and apostolic benediction." The Holy Father appealed to God, the Searcher of hearts, to witness his great desire for the salvation of her soul and the establishment of her kingdom. He exhorted and admonished her, his "dear daughter," to reject her counsellors, acknowledge the time of her visitation, show herself obedient to his "fatherly persuasions and wholesome counsels," and expect from him, in return, her own salvation, and *the confirming of her princely dignity*. He waited to receive his returning daughter to his bosom, with love, honour, and rejoicing; and promised that, in the event of her obedience and repentance, the Universal Church should resound with more probable statement that he came to London, and was even allowed to deliver the Pope's message, personally or indirectly, to the Queen. It was *after* this that such messengers were forbidden.

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gladness. Yea, heaven itself would be glad! "But, concerning this matter, the same Vincentius shall deal with you more largely, and shall declare our fatherly affection toward you: and we entreat Your Majesty to receive him lovingly, to hear him diligently, and to give the same credit to his speeches which you would to ourself."

Her Majesty received him, but coldly; she heard him indeed, and gave as much credit to his speeches as she would to those of his master, but no more. She refused correspondence with the Bishop of Rome.

Still nourishing hope, Pius despatched another messenger, one Martinengo, by way of Flanders, bearing a second Brief, and soliciting the mediation of Philip II. of Spain and his Viceroy, the Duke of Alva, for permission to come to England, and present himself to the Queen. But the application could not be entertained. The British Ambassador at Paris, on request of the Nuncio there, informed Her Majesty that Martinengo wished to execute his commission at her court, but received for answer that she had no business on which to treat with the Bishop of Rome, whose authority in England had been abolished by Act of Parliament.

## EMISSARIES FROM ROME.

During these deceptive overtures, the Roman Court, not relying on a forlorn hope of recon-

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ciliation, had begun to employ the usual methods for corrupting our country. So early, it is said, as the year 1560, the Pope "dispensed with several of the most active and learned Franciscans and Dominicans, and of the Society of Jesus, to preach among the Protestants in England wild doctrines, on purpose to sow divisions, and allowed some of them to marry; saying that the marriage established by the Queen and her Clergy was no marriage. And these so dispensed with were to give monthly intelligence hence, what progress they made in these practices." \* Laynez, General of the Jesuits, being at Trent, instructions were sent to the emissaries already in France by another, named Freake, directing them how to preach. "If Lutheranism were prevalent, then to preach Calvinism; if Calvinism, then Lutheranism. If they came into England, then either of these, or John Huss's opinions, Anabaptism, or any that were contrary to the Holy See of St. Peter, by which their function would not be suspected."

While Parpaglia came to England in the quality of Nuncio, David Wolf, an Irishman, and Jesuit at Rome, was sent by the Pope to Ireland, as the successor of two of the original members, Pasquier Brouet and Salmeron, and prosecuted a secret mission there for three

\* Strype, Annals of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth, chap. xix.

years, when he applied to Rome for a reinforcement.

For a time these emissaries wrought secretly, both in England and Ireland; some acting as Protestant Clergymen, and others disguised as tradesmen or artificers. Recusants also multiplied, and, rather than take oaths of allegiance, they fled the country, or hid themselves. To encourage and to unite the recusants, Priests travelled over the island in disguise, and Jesuits were sent from Rome to manage a scheme for the revival of Romanism by whatever means. Other emissaries went to Scotland, whither the Pope despatched as Nuncio an active Jesuit, Nicholas Gaudanus, attended by Edmund Hay and William Creighton, from Louvain, also Jesuits. Calculating on being supported by Mary Queen of Scots, they landed at Leith almost without disguise; but the appearance of Gaudanus, who was detected after a few interviews with Mary, aroused so vigorous an opposition that his life was in peril. Creighton in great haste dressed him as a private gentleman, all three effected an escape by sea, and the Society indemnified itself for the mishap by admitting into its bosom four young Scotchmen, fugitives, whom Hay and Creighton found in Belgium and conducted triumphantly to Rome, where they began their novitiate, and were prepared for future service in Great Britain; "hostages whom he delivered to the

Church, and who soon returned to their country to carry back the faith thither." \*

How far "fond and fantastical prophecies," now condemned by law, a mingling of the wildest fanaticism with the Protestant religion, was the effect of the Papal dispensation just mentioned, it is impossible to say; but that fire-brands of controversy were thrown in among us by the enemy, is undoubted. In October, 1561, it was discovered that the French and Spanish Ambassadors were aiding two gentlemen of the name of Pole, said to be brothers of Cardinal Pole, deceased, with five other persons, in a treasonable plot. The conspiracy was detected, the conspirators, including the French Ambassador, were examined, and it was ascertained that they had intended to collect a force in the Netherlands, land in Wales, proclaim Mary of Scotland Queen of England, and, in the event of success, depose Elizabeth. The Provost of Paris was also implicated and put under arrest. The culprits were imprisoned for a time, and the recall of the two Ambassadors demanded at their courts, but without success. From this time (February 26th, 1562) it became evident that the Governments of Spain and France were indeed hostile to England, and that Mary Queen of Scots was not unwilling to be associated with them in subversive projects.

These facts should be borne in mind by

\* Cretineau-Joly, chap. viii.



## GARNET.

declaimers against the intolerance of Queen Elizabeth. Some of her laws, it is true, were excessively severe, and would seem to be unjustifiable, if regarded in themselves alone; such, for example, as those which made Nonconformity a penal offence: but it cannot be denied that the Romanists—the principal Nonconformists of that time—were disaffected to the Sovereign, no less than to the Reformed religion, and that separation from the Established Church was, in most cases, but an expression of alienation from the state. Neither must it be forgotten that while those laws were stringent, as to the letter, they were seldom carried into extreme execution, and that the character of that Sovereign and her advisers is to be learned from the facts of history, rather than from statutes and proclamations alone.

### FURTHER CAUSES OF ALARM.

Fugitives from England, persons who quitted the country when as yet there had been no capital punishment for treason to terrify them, but who preferred to live under other Governments, became pensioners of Popish Princes, and were in treasonable correspondence with our enemies. A list of such persons was put into the hands of the Spanish Conde de Feria, Captain of the Spanish guard of Philip II., who had attended him in England in the reign of Mary, and was now busy at Rome urging the

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Pope to curse and to dethrone Elizabeth. An English traitor, Inglefield, was the person who thus placed them at his disposal; and we know of no service that they could render to Spain and Rome in return for money paid, except that which Feria, in particular, was most anxious to receive. Twenty-eight received yearly pensions, varying from £30 to £200 *per annum*. To four were pensions promised, and other ten were gone to Spain to sue for similar bounty. All these emigrants enjoyed the income of their estates at home, some of them were Peers of the realm, some were ladies, and one, at least, was a Priest.

Then the Queen and her Secretary began to employ spies abroad, following in this respect a custom prevalent all over Europe, but which it is unnecessary to justify. Under date of April 13th, 1564, at Venice, their "diligent man" sent information that Pope Pius had convened an assemblage of Italian Clergy to consult concerning the affairs of England, and that the first result of this consultation was the appointment of a special Congregation, consisting of three Cardinals, six Prelates, and six Jesuits, who met weekly. A detailed report of their first scheme for the reduction of England shows that they proposed to make some fair overtures of conciliation to Elizabeth, and even to confirm the English Liturgy, if she would accept it by dispensation from Rome. Dispensations would

then be granted to any of the Romish orders—but none so likely as the Jesuits—to conform to the Church of England, “and not to be either taxed, checked, or excommunicated for so doing. They were also to change their names, lest they might be discovered. And they were to keep a quaternal correspondence with some of the Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and others of the chief monasteries, abbeys,” &c. Others were to watch these counterfeit Protestants, lest they should become Protestants in reality. The perversion of Protestant Ministers was to be encouraged, whenever it occurred.

“A pardon was to be granted to any that would assault the Queen, or to any cook, brewer, baker, vintner, physician, grocer, chirurgion, or of any other calling whatsoever, that would make her away. And an absolute remission of sins to the heirs of that party’s family, and a perpetual annuity to them for ever, and to be of the Privy Council to whomsoever afterwards should reign.”

Among other devices was that of proposing a marriage of the maiden Queen with “one of the Catholic Princes.” Or, all this failing, “excommunication and a perpetual curse to light on the families and posterity of all those of the Mother-Church, that would not promote or assist, by means of money, or otherwise, Mary Queen of Scotland’s pretence to the crown of England.”

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The Romish laity in England were to be required to support Bishops and Priests privately sent over to them, which Bishops and Priests might, nevertheless, have dispensation to swear to heresies "with intention to promote or advance the Roman Catholic faith." \*

Now it is clear that, whatever misgivings the Queen of England may have had as to the morality of maintaining spies in foreign courts, she could not read this paper from the hand of E. Denum, her "diligent man," without great alarm. And, after all the deduction that might be made in such a case, there was enough of probability in the report to justify her fears. And already, suspected, but undiscovered, the Jesuits, Father William Good, and Father Edmund, with Archbishop Richard Creagh, were lurking in Ireland with Wolf; and "at the same time Father Thomas Ching" (another Jesuit) "received from the Court of Rome a secret mission for England." † Thus, while Queen Elizabeth had her *spies* in Italy, for self-defence, Pope Pius IV. sent his *secret agents*, not for aggression only, but for sedition, in England and Ireland. There is no ground for recrimination, therefore, to the prejudice of Elizabeth.

The effects produced by the Popish emissaries soon became apparent. In the University of Oxford, the English service was interrupted, and

\* Strype, chap. xxxvi.

† Cretineau-Joly, chap. v.

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so high did their influence rise, that "it was penal for any one to be a Protestant." Archbishop Parker suppressed the revolt by a solemn visitation, May 26th, 1563; but the University was corrupted, notwithstanding.\*

Using every method whereby disaffection might be propagated, emigrants in the Spanish territories, especially at Louvain and Antwerp, printed small books, and sent them to England for sale. In a royal proclamation (January 24th, 1565), we find them justly designated seditious and slanderous, spread abroad here, partly for private gain, but chiefly to move the ignorant people to disorder. The Bishop of London, assisted by such persons as he might nominate, and whom the High Treasurer would appoint, was directed to seize and confiscate all such books on their arrival in the port of London, and to cause persons knowingly concerned in their introduction and circulation to be punished as the laws of the realm would permit, "or otherwise in reason should be thought fit." Three centuries ago, such provisions were in perfect unison with European practice. And Ecclesiastics, appointed by the crown, keep watch at this moment at the sea-ports and frontier-towns of Popish states, even when there is no apprehension of sedition, nor any slander of the Sovereign, and at every pretext, according to the laws of those realms, *or as otherwise in*

\* Fuller, Church History, book ix., sect. i., no. 47, 48.

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the reason of those in power may be thought fit, defenceless foreigners are dealt with. Intolerance, therefore, must not be laid to the charge of Protestant England, when acting in self-defence against similar practices.

While authority silenced the Oxonian Romanists, and vigilance strove to guard the port of London, Yorkshire, the last province on this side the Tweed to admit the Reformation, still nurtured heresy. Meetings were daily held in several parts of that county for the celebration of the mass, and for the organization of a conspiracy against the person of the Archbishop of York, and of a rebellion against the crown. A servant of Sir Charles Danby, disgusted with those cabals, left the county, and revealed them to some friends of his in Grimsby, in Lincolnshire, who failed not to communicate the intelligence to a gentleman in Lincoln, who put the Archbishop on his guard; and the Queen, probably made aware of them through the same channel, raised a strong force in the north of England, ostensibly for the sake of defence on the Scottish boundary, but in reality to overawe the traitors.

The Jesuits were not the only instigators. Dr. Thomas Lacy, Thomas Tostal, a Franciscan Friar, (cousin of Bishop Tostal,) James Scot, (cousin of Bishop Scot, of Chester,) Faithful Cumin, a Dominican, and William Blgrave, of the same order, were among the most active;

and Blagrove, being suspected, was caught, stripped of his disguise, found to be in possession of treasonable papers, and, on that evidence, was hanged at York (May 10th, 1566). On the very day that this man mounted the scaffold, laughing at the Archbishop as he went up the ladder, Pius V., at Rome, set his hand to a Bull which anathematised all heretics, "and further willed and authorised the wise and learned of his ecclesiastics to labour, endeavour, and contrive all manner of devices, to abate, assuage, and confound those heretics: that thereby the heretics might either be reclaimed to confess their errors, and acknowledge the jurisdiction of the See of Rome, or that a total infamy might be brought upon them and their posterity by a perpetual discord and contention among themselves; by which means they might either speedily perish by God's wrath, or continue in eternal difference." Why Pius should busy himself so minutely in the interior of the Protestant camp, was explained by the Jesuit Freake, in Paris, who told one Friar Malone, an Irishman, that the Bull was equivalent with a dispensation for the devising of new tenets for propagation to the intent of dividing Protestants against each other, and for marrying also, which might be done if marriage would serve to veil a Priest from public observation, because "marriage as the heretics performed it *was no marriage, but a venial sin.*" The effect of this Bull was another

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swarm of emissaries, persons of diversified costume and various names.

A Nuncio Apostolic, named Rodolfo, came over to London under the assumed vocation of a merchant, in order to promote the operation of this Bull; and of him we shall hear more presently. One Vincent (Laurea, or) Lawry was sent to Scotland, invested with the same dignity, assisted by two Jesuits, Edmund Hay and Thomas Darbishire. Terrified, however, by the energy of the Scottish Protestants, this Nuncio stayed in Paris, and sent the Jesuits on to try the ground. Father Hay displayed great address, and, not being confined to Scotland, held important conferences in the capital of England. Gathering strength northward, they dared to assemble for mass in private houses with so great frequency, that in many parishes the churches were deserted and shut, and Popish Priests, who had been ejected, came back under so thin a veil of Protestantism, that their influence went, directly, to the re-establishment of their own sect. People bound themselves by oath not to enter the parish churches; and Priests, empowered by the Pope, secretly administered oaths of obedience to His Holiness. Sums of money were collected and sent over to Louvain for the promotion of the same cause. And, in the midst of all this, some Protestants, blind to the inevitable consequences of such folly, quarrelled about church-government and



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assailed "prelacy," grieving the Spirit of God, and weakening His cause by their disunion. The Nonconformists, while rejecting the Protestant Bishops, and contending for the establishment of a Genevan discipline, did not know that two Jesuit Bishops, Harding and Sanders, had got into the country, and were exercising an undisputed authority over the Romanists. The men were invisible, indeed, stealing privily from house to house; but either cloked under some vulgar garb, or covered by the shelter afforded by their people, they exercised a real power in every place, and were preparing a scourge wherewith to chastise all parties who, in a most perilous crisis, could not find a common ground of Christian union whereon to take their stand, and present one unbroken front to repel the hosts of Antichrist.

## REBELLION AND ANATHEMA.

Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, whose Countess enjoyed an annual pension of £200 from Philip of Spain, and Charles Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, also retained by a Spanish pension, undertook to raise England in rebellion. With a force not exceeding, on the highest estimate, 5,500 horse and foot, they proposed to deliver the Queen and the country from heretical counsellors, and release Mary, Queen of Scots, just fled from her own subjects, and replace her on the throne. They published a brave manifesto, to justify their pretended patriotism, and

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began the campaign with an effort of chivalry which they imagined would bring over the nation to their side. Their first achievement was to burn the Bible and Service-Book at Durham, and employ a Priest to consecrate some water. Their next advance consisted in the celebration of mass in sundry churches, with solemn procession of a crucifix. Their first deed of arms was to take Barnard Castle,—said castle being unable to stand a siege for want of provisions; and their second, last, and most brilliant movement, was to avoid the presence of the Earl of Sussex, who was bringing some force upon them from the south, and to effect a retreat of five thousand into Scotland, so as not to be disturbed by the garrisons of Carlisle or Berwick on either hand. Northumberland was taken, brought back a prisoner, and beheaded at York. Westmoreland, more wisely, made haste across the sea to Flanders. Many of the rebels suffered the penalty of justice. And if the rebellion could not be crowned with success, it gained them, at least, the honour of sincerity, and gave indubitable proof of the willingness of Romanists to exalt their master to absolute sovereignty over England. But the rebellion was not spontaneous. Father Dr. Sanders distinctly states that, in the year 1569, Pius V. sent over to England an Englishman, the reverend Presbyter Nicholas Morton, that, by apostolic authority, he might denounce Elizabeth, then reigning, to certain

illustrious men. He was instructed to declare her a heretic, and therefore incapable of exercising royal power; and that they might, with impunity, treat her as a Heathen, and be free to disobey her laws and mandates.\*

Pius V. had received letters from the rebels, and hastened to encourage them by his "apostolic benediction." The Brief addressed to his "beloved sons," the rebels, is extant, and contains plain sanction of the revolt. He tells them that the design (*mentem istam*) has been suggested to them by the Lord Jesus Christ, who has appointed them to be restorers of the union of the "Catholic Church" within this kingdom, and to bring both Church and kingdom back to subjection to the Roman See. On their pious and religious effort he bestows praises in the Lord, and promotes it, as he fancies,—for he does not know that they are already defeated,—by the benediction that they desired (*ea, quam petitis, benedictione nostra prosequentes*). He welcomes them to the shadow of his most holy throne, of which they acknowledge the authority and implore the protection, "exhorting them in the Lord, and with the utmost possible earnestness entreating them to persevere with constancy in their noble purpose, and laudable design." He is certain that they will receive the succour of Almighty God; and, seeing that they have begun a civil war in England, he assures them

\* Sanders, *De visibilis Ecclesiæ Monarchiâ*, p. 706.

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that if, in asserting the authority of his Holy See, they die, and cause others to shed their blood, it will be far better to be hurried into heaven by a glorious death, than to live wickedly and shamefully, and to the detriment of their souls, in the service of a weak woman. At considerable length he descants on the sufferings of the Prelates and the noblemen who have been imprisoned for treason; he fans their zeal by the example of St. Thomas of Canterbury; and he refers them to the merchant-Nuncio, Rodolfo, for more clear and copious communications, saying, however, that he will send them as much money as he can spare at present, to aid in the prosecution of the war. The seal of the Fisherman was appended to this missive on the 20th day of February, 1570.

Irritated, rather than discouraged, by the dispersion of the English rebels, which, by that time, he must have known, Pius launched his famous "condemnation and excommunication of Elizabeth, Queen of England, and her adherents," just five weeks later than his Brief to the rebels. This document is republished so extensively, that it is unnecessary to describe it here, or to produce more than the sentence itself, delivered in the words following:—

"4. And, moreover, we declare her to be deprived of her pretended title to the kingdom aforesaid, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever.

“5. And also the nobility, subjects, and people of the said kingdom, and all others who have in any manner sworn to her, to be for ever absolved from any such oath, and all kind of duty, fidelity, and obedience, as we by authority of these presents absolve them, and deprive the same Elizabeth of her pretended title to the kingdom, and all other things abovesaid. And we command and interdict all and every the noblemen, subjects, people, and others aforesaid, that they presume not to obey her, or her monitions, mandates, and laws; and those who shall do the contrary we involve in the same sentence of anathema.” \*

This outrageous assault on all royalty, and on all national right, could not be published formally in the cities of continental Europe without kindling a war with England, or provoking new schisms from Rome. In Paris, indeed, some one was found audacious enough to set up a copy of it at the Pont St. Etienne, where it was read by multitudes, until a servant of the British Ambassador boldly tore it down, and carried part of it to his master, who instantly took it to the King. The King was indignant, and promised that the offender should be punished, whoever he might be. In London, a young man named Felton affixed it to the gates of the Bishop of London's palace at St. Paul's. Glorifying in the

\* The Bull was written by Felice Peretti, ex-Inquisitor of Venice, and afterwards Pope Sixtus V.

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act, he did not endeavour to conceal himself, and was executed as a traitor, or, as they say at Rome, he died a martyr. "And this was the first action of any capital punishment inflicted for matter sent from Rome to move rebellion, which was after Her Majesty had reigned about the space of twelve years or more." \*

Satisfied with the success of her troops in putting down rebellion in the north, with some other lesser attempts of the same kind, and assured of the fidelity of her Protestant subjects, the Queen of England did no more than allow the imprisonment of Rodolfo and a few of his accomplices ; but even they were soon released, the Duke of Norfolk alone remaining in durance. After some reluctance, Her Majesty allowed the Bull itself to be printed, with a refutation of the calumnies it contained, and issued a proclamation to assure her subjects that whereas rumours were spread abroad that she had caused, or would hereafter cause, inquisition and examination to be had of men's consciences in matters of religion, she would have it known that such reports were utterly untrue. The conduct of some persons, who had contumaciously broken the laws relating to Divine worship for the space of ten years had made it necessary, in the present condition of affairs, to proceed against

\* "The Execution of Justice in England, not for Religion, but for Treason." By Direction of Secretary Burghley. A tract in Bishop Gibson's Preservative.

them, after so long forbearance. "Wherefore Her Majesty would have all her loving subjects to understand that, as long as they openly continued in the observation of her laws, and did not wilfully and manifestly break them by their open actions, Her Majesty's meaning was not to have any of them molested by any inquisition or examination of their consciences in causes of religion, but would accept and entreat them as her good and obedient subjects."

In Spain and Portugal, be it noted, when Jesuits were suspected of immoral or dangerous practices, the Inquisition never failed to employ its secret agents for the discovery and punishment of their crimes; but in England, where it was known that Jesuits were fomenting treason, and when their complicity with rebels at home and enemies abroad was notorious, no such tribunal was established to discover their operations. The mass of Romanists were placed in such a position, by the excommunication of their Sovereign, that rebellion became a religious obligation; but even then the Government of this country would not condescend to borrow so vile an instrument as the Inquisition, not even for the sake of self-preservation. They waited for each treasonable secret to betray itself by an overt act, rather than pry into it by the agency of Inquisitors pretending to religion.

We may pass over an interval of six years in silence. Most of the Jesuit soldiery prudently

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marched off the field, and sent in scouts and spies to corrupt our garrison, while they applied themselves diligently to the labours of sapping and mining. Search where you may, not one of them can be detected in England, so perfect is the concealment of the few that are yet lurking there. In Paris, however, one Darbshire, a nephew of Bishop Bonner, and member of their Society, is found by the British Ambassador, who ascertains that he is in communication with persons disaffected to his Queen, even in her own court, that he is in traitorous correspondence—indirect, perhaps—with the Queen of Scots, and is the centre of a circle of Englishmen in Paris who labour, by all means possible, to restore a Popish Government in London. And a surreptitious correspondence is carried on in the Popish courts of Europe, with the same intent.

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At length the effects of their diligence became apparent. A multitude of books, adapted to the occasion, had been circulated privately, and with admirable perseverance. False Protestants, in the pulpits and in the Universities, so preached and so taught as to leave an impression on the mind of their congregations and their pupils favourable to their common design of gradually restoring Romanism, on the strength of a general deterioration of doctrine.



A sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross, in the year 1571, pictures to the life the sort of persons who, consciously or unconsciously, subserved this purpose: "How many poisoned Protestants and maimed professors have we? I mean for opinions. For otherwise, who is whole and sound? You shall have a Gospeller, as he will be taken, a jolly fellow, to retain and maintain such patches of Popery and infection of Rome, that methinks I see the serpent's subtilty as plainly as by the claw you may judge the lion. One holdeth, faith justifieth; and yet works do no harm. Another saith, prayer for the dead is charity; and though it doth no good, yet it doth no hurt. What will you have me say, 'The devil go with them?'" For in such terms the Preacher brings in one of those men speaking, that are for praying for the deceased. "Another believeth verily that infants unbaptized, and dead, cannot but be damned. Another crosseth me his face, and nose, and breast, with thumb and fingers, and cannot pray but toward the east; and some have not forgot their *Ave Maria*, although their *Pater Noster* was forgot long ago. Some, and a large sum too, do superstitiously, and so sinfully, swear by saints, or every other creature, and think it small offence, or none at all." \*

Recusancy revived at Oxford, Cambridge, and many other places. A Louvainist, named Ithell, had secretly taught Popery at the latter Univer-

\* Strype's Elizabeth, book ii., chap. 8.

sity, and at Oxford Dr. Legg received young men whose parents desired them to be taught the Romish doctrine, and initiated into the ceremonial of Romish worship.

But although the Jesuits then in England concealed themselves effectually from the eye of justice, it is certain that one Father Thomas Steven, at least, was pursuing his vocation; and they now boast that this man even penetrated into the Tower of London, and admitted Thomas Pond, a prisoner of rank, into the Society of Jesus, after a correspondence and probation of three years. Mercurian, the General at Rome, announced to the convert that his vows were accepted (December 1st, 1578), and appealed to his enthusiasm and devotion in a brief sentence, written by his own hand: "Prepare to suffer, and, if necessary, to die upon the cross."\* An allusion which indicates the favourite Jesuit notion of imitating the Lord Jesus Christ by outward actions, and bodily sufferings; a notion that they have often carried to an absurd and blasphemous excess.

Very unlike Him whose name they desecrated, the Court of Rome had tried the force of curses and rebellion; but threatenings provoked resistance, and violence recoiled upon themselves. The Jesuits, therefore, their advanced sentinels, were left to recover England, if they could, by other means.

\* Cretineau-Joly, chap. v.

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Dr. William Allen was a native of Lancashire, of noble descent, and allied to many noble families. He was educated in Oriel College, Oxford, made Proctor of the University in the reign of Mary, and a Canon of York cathedral. On the death of Mary, when a multitude of those whose hands were imbrued in the blood of martyrs, fearing lest the vengeance they had provoked should fall upon themselves, fled, none pursuing, Dr. Allen also betook himself to flight, and rallied around himself a considerable number of the fugitives in Douai, a town in Flanders, but now included in the French department of the Nord. There he established a seminary (A.D. 1569), under the virtual management of the Jesuits, to educate English youth for service in their own country. All the recusants in England were solicited to acquire merit by contributions to its foundation. The King of Spain promised a yearly donation from his treasury; but the fulfilment of the promise was of the same kind as that experienced by all to whom Spain is debtor. Means were found to gather a yearly collection out of England; and the superstition yet remaining on this side the channel yielded a constant contribution of purchase-money to the Douai Priests for masses for the living and the dead. This college was afterwards removed to Rheims; but, after about twenty years, the students returned to Douai, where it still exists. And this indefatigable

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Doctor pursued the same scheme with the entire support of the Apostolic College, into which he was afterwards admitted, with the title of St. Martin of the Mountains, and the familiar designation of Cardinal of England. If he was not the founder, he was at least an active promoter of a similar college at Rome (A.D. 1579), where first six, then fourteen, then sixty, and eventually a much larger number of young Englishmen were indoctrinated for the perversion of their country. From a rich widow lady in Spain, Doña Luisa de Carvajal, he obtained the bequest of all her estate, which was very large, for the foundation of another English college in Valladolid (A.D. 1589). Sir Francis Inglefield, formerly Privy Councillor to Queen Mary, but also a fugitive, yet not a beggar,—so lenient was the Protestant Elizabeth,—made large benefactions to this college from the revenue spared to him in England. On the octaves of the feast of St. Thomas Becket, in the year 1593, Cardinal Allen saw another fruit of his perseverance in the founding of a similar college in Sevilla. The English Romanists in that city, suspected of heretical taint because they were English, notwithstanding the adulation which it pleases Popish writers to lavish on our angelic race,—*bene Angli, quasi Angeli*,—procured exemption from the searchings of the Inquisition by making liberal donations to the new seminary. While numerous merchant-fleets sailed

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out of the Gaudalquivir and the Bay of Cadiz, boxes were put in all the ships, to receive the devotions of those on board, who strove to conjure the demons of tempest by dropping their oblations through the lids, and saying *Pater Nosters* and *Ave Marias*, for the conversion of England. Several other colleges were founded for the same purpose, and maintained by similar contrivances; but those now mentioned were chiefly indebted for their being to "the Cardinal of England."

Allen passed as a secular Priest, and his college at Douai was to be under the rectorship of a secular Priest, not called a Jesuit; but his correspondence with the General Mercurian demonstrates that the Society of Jesus really managed that seminary. Under date of October 26th, 1578, Allen tells the General that the continual calamities of their long exile had made them debtors to all, in Jesus Christ; but that the benefits rendered by the Society of Jesus to his nation were more precious and more efficient than those of all other benefactors put together. He cherished a sweet remembrance of the multitude of his compatriots who had escaped eternal ruin, and found refuge in that order. "How many," he exclaims, "How many have been saved at Louvain, at Douai, and at Rome, chiefly by your counsels, your charity, and your comforting authority!" After God, the Holy Father Gregory, and his chief servants, England,

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he said, was indebted to General Mercurian for the remnant yet preserved in the Lord's vineyard there. "But after so many services which you have rendered, the greatest of all, and that which includes all others, is that you have lately given to be masters over our young people the men of your Company best adapted to this task. For my own part, so far as it is possible and convenient, secular Priest as I am, I have always endeavoured so to manage that our youth, for their studies, their discipline, and their manners, should be exclusively directed as the Company directs its pupils. We Britons, I know not how, except that this desire, if I mistake not, comes from God, have always shown ourselves anxious to frequent your schools, and have endeavoured to imitate your manners." \*

The manners and the spirit of Jesuitism, therefore, returned with Popery to England, and have descended by an unbroken and faithful tradition through the successive generations of English Romanists. They who are not Jesuits are Jesuitised; or, in other words, the original and proper spirit of Rome is perpetually kept alive by the Society.

I transcribe from Strype a form of oath said to have been taken by the scholars at Douai. "I, A. B., do acknowledge the ecclesiastical and political power of His Holiness, and the Mother-Church of Rome, as the chief head and matron,

\* Cretineau-Joly, chap. v.

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above all pretended Churches throughout the whole earth. And that my zeal shall be for St. Peter and his successors, as the founder of the true and ancient Catholic faith, against all heretical Kings, Princes, states, or powers, repugnant unto the same. And although I, A. B., may pretend, *in case of persecution, or otherwise*, to be heretically disposed, yet in soul and conscience I shall help, aid, and succour the Mother-Church," &c.

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The youthful fugitives who took refuge in the seminary at Rome, found, to their mortification, that the direction of that institution was in the hands of a Welsh Priest. Either from a foolish national pride, or from sectarian enmity, they refused submission; thirty-three of them left the house, and, availing themselves of the pious licence given to mendicity, went about the streets of Rome, begging food. A spectacle so scandalous aroused fear in the Sacred College. They dreaded the consequences of disgust in so large a number of English youth at a time when any Protestant state would have welcomed them back to the bosom of Protestantism. Gregory XIII. wisely overlooked their desertion of the seminary, commanded them to be brought into his presence, gave them kind words, and asked them to disclose the occasion of their grievance. This being heard, he gently bade them say to whom

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they thought the direction of the college ought to be confided. Instead of the Welsh Rector, who was a Priest, they requested to be governed by a Jesuit, and to be taught by masters of the same Society.

Father Robert Parsons, a native of Somersetshire, of humble extraction, rude and fierce, yet as well educated at Oxford as most of the graduates could be in those days of literary dearth, was Penitentiary in the church of St. Peter. Gladly did he and his brethren receive the new charge, and it devolved on him to devise measures for the restoration of the college, now forsaken by its discontented inmates. For the more felicitous execution of the task, the 23d day of April, 1579, a day sacred to St. George, the patron saint of England, was chosen. On that day fifty fine young Englishmen, of whom ten were already members of some religious orders, presented themselves within the walls. The building was devoted to the cause of Rome in England; and the students, without any care of their own, were to be maintained there comfortably by money drawn from the Papal treasury. They bound themselves by the three simple vows to the discipline of the place, while the Constitutions of the Society required them, as scholastics, also to promise that they would in due time enter the Society, if approved. And Father Parsons, the more closely to bind them to the work for which that particular institu-



tion had been founded, requested Dr. Allen to engage them by oath "to hold themselves ready to return into their own country whenever their superiors might command, and there to labour in the Lord for the help of souls, so far as possible." \* Cesare Spezziano, Bishop of Novara, just then in the height of his glory as a persecutor of the Bohemians, and scourge of heretics in general, received their oath, in quality of Protector of England; the Provincial of Rome and Father Bellarmino assisting.

Great was the rejoicing of all Popedom over this novel spectacle. Other colleges, says Pollini, were seminaries of philosophers, jurisconsults, theologians, and physicians; but this and other English colleges were seminaries of martyrs. And Cardinal Baronius, speaking of St. Thomas of Canterbury, congratulates himself that his happier age witnesses many Thomases. "Holy Priests and Lords crowned with a lovelier martyrdom, and honoured with a double title of glory, since they have fallen by heroic death, not only to defend the liberty of the Church, like St. Thomas of Canterbury, but also to sustain, re-establish, and increase the Catholic faith. He has seen within his holy fold those whom the holy Company of Jesus has fattened for martyrdom like innocent lambs, victims acceptable to God, those whom the colleges of Rome and

\* This may be read, with the original Constitution of the college, in the *Bullarium Romanum*, at the year 1579.

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Rheims, those sacred asylums, those towers reared to withstand the northern tempests, those mighty bulwarks of the Gospel, have sent forth to the triumph, and have conducted even to the crown. Courage, courage, young Englishmen! who have given your names to so illustrious a host, and have made a vow to shed your blood. Assuredly, you inflame me with a holy emulation, when I see you chosen for martyrdom, destined to wear that brilliant purple; and I think myself happy that I can say, 'Let my soul die the death of the righteous, and let my last moments resemble theirs.' \*

Doubtless the soul-stirring fervour of Italian eloquence kept alive the flame of enthusiasm enkindled by the ceremonial of that day. Long had Allen solicited Mercurian to command a troop of Jesuits to attack the citadel of Protestantism in England; but the cautious General feared to hazard a defeat. Allen professed to represent the desire, and to repeat the prayers, of the English Catholics for a mission of Jesuits to save England: but Mercurian objected, that if such a party were detected by the Ministers of Elizabeth, those Ministers would pour a terrible revenge on all the Papists in the land; and although he acknowledged that when once the Jesuits, if effectually disguised, should have entered England, they would win unbounded influence over the Catholics, he feared that that

\* Baronii Martyrologia, Dec. 29th.

very influence would awaken the jealousy, and provoke the hostility, of their own Priests, and give occasion to a contest that would spoil the whole. But Allen entreated him to sacrifice his fears, and let the Society suffer inconvenience, if, thereby, the Church might be succoured. The General yielded his consent.

Under Papal sanction and commission, the Jesuit mission to England was begun. The Fathers of the Society in all its European provinces heard of the scheme with exultation. Not a few of the most accomplished of them fell at the feet of their superiors, and, with tears in their eyes, prayed for permission to go and encounter the Protestants in their Universities, or for grace to die confessing, as they said, the faith of Christ. Aquaviva, who soon succeeded Mercurian in the dignity of General, was among the postulants for honour in the English mission. But Mercurian decided that for such a conflict as was to be expected, Englishmen were of all others the best adapted, and therefore declined accepting foreign volunteers. Fathers Edmund Campian and Robert Parsons were chosen to conduct the enterprise. Parsons I have described. Campian was a native of London, nearly forty years of age, and a man of mild and courteous manners, with a good education and winning eloquence. From being a student in St. John's, at Oxford, he became Proctor of the University, and, dissembling his Romanism, received Deacon's orders

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from the Bishop of Gloucester, with whom he was on terms of intimacy. Shortly after ordination he went to Ireland, but, hearing that he was under suspicion, embarked at Dublin, and by circuitous voyaging reached Flanders, and joined the fugitives at Douai. After the lapse of about four years, he began his novitiate in the House of Jesus at Rome; and thence his superiors had sent him on their service to Vienna and Prague, where the Society was toiling, both by force and fraud, to suppress the Reformation. It is said that when he received, at Prague, intelligence of his appointment to the English mission, he instantly set out on foot for the eternal city to receive the benediction of the Pope and the General.

These two Missionaries, with Emerson, a temporal coadjutor, Ralph Sherwin, Luke Kirby, and Edward (Rishton, or) Rushton, Priests of the English College, with four other Priests, and two young scholastics, were assembled and awaiting their instructions. Then it became evident that a barrier lay before them that would be insuperable, unless lowered by authority of the Pope. The Bull of Pius V. forbade the people of England to obey the Queen, and to submit to her laws; and the Romanists complained that by that prohibition they were placed in the hard alternative of being rebels in order to be "good Catholics," or of being heretics in order to deserve the name of English-

men. The impetuosity of the Pontiff did not accord with the policy of the most effective servants of the Roman Court, who would not have published so plainly the universal truth, that loyalty to the Sovereign of England is always incompatible with fidelity to the Pope of Rome; and therefore the Congregation of Jesus determined, not indeed to impugn the wisdom of Pius V., nor to ask his successor for any mitigation of the sentence, but only for a temporary dispensation and some customary favours to be conferred upon the Missioners.

To this end they prepared a petition wherein occurs the sentence following:—"An explanation of the Bull declaratory, issued by Pius V. against Elizabeth and her adherents, is prayed for from our Supreme Lord; which Bull the Catholics desire to be understood in this manner: that it may always bind her and the heretics, but may not be at all obligatory upon the Catholics *while matters continue in their present state, but as soon as ever the public execution of the said Bull can possibly take place.*"\* That is to say, the Jesuits asked permission to dissemble fidelity to the Queen,

\* "Petatur à summo Domino nostro explicatio Bullæ declaratorię per Pium Quintum contra Elizabetham et ei adhærentes, quam Catholici cupiunt intelligi hoc modo, ut obliget semper illam et hæreticos Catholicos, vero nullo modo obliget, rebus sic stantibus, sed tunc demum, quando publica ejusdem Bullæ executio fieri poterit." Execution of Justice, &c., by Direction of Secretary Burgley, *ut supra*.

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just as other emissaries had already dissembled Protestantism under Papal authority, and as Parsons himself had dissembled when he took Deacon's orders in the Church of England, and as he would have continued to dissemble had he not been suspected of treason and obliged to flee the country. Gregory had no objection to the prayer; and the following sentence written at the foot of the petition made it law:—"The aforesaid graces the Supreme Pontiff granted to Father Robert Parsons and Edmund Campian, who are going to England, on the 14th day of April, 1580. Present, Father Oliver Manark, assisting." It was not a formal rescript of the Pope, but apparently a verbal dispensation, which could not be quoted from under the Pope's own hand, nor that of any of his officers, but for all practical purposes was quite as good.

The direction of the mission was given to Parsons, although Campian was his junior, and had studied under him at Oxford. But Campian was too gentle to be trusted with the lead in this hazardous affair. Parsons, although far inferior in many respects, possessed a daring and sagacity that were thought to qualify him for command. The twelve knelt before Gregory, received his blessing, and set out from Rome. At Milan, Cardinal Borromeo gave them a cordial and respectful welcome. Geneva they entered in disguise; and some of them made trial of their skill by disputing with Beza, and

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measuring their subtle arguments with his "puissant dialectic." At Rheims they rested for a time, and no doubt collected as much information as possible from fugitives and correspondence, to help them in effecting an entrance into England. As they approached the ocean, they separated into small groups to avoid suspicion, and some embarked at Calais, others at other ports.

Parsons first, dressed as a naval officer, landed at Dover (June 19th, 1580), presented himself to the Governor, and requested him to give the necessary orders for despatching the business of a merchant by the name of Patrick, who would arrive in a few days, and would wish to hasten his journey to London on some affairs of state. This Patrick was none other than Edmund Campian; but the assurance of Parsons, who could counterfeit a rough sea-officer, and was not unacquainted with the formalities observed at sea-ports, put the Governor off his guard. He gave the directions wanted in order to execute their scheme. A letter from Parsons found him at St. Omer, and bade him follow. With the first fair wind, after invoking the protection of St. John the Baptist, Campian put to sea on the day dedicated to that saint, with Emerson, "his little man," in the assumed character of a merchant with his servant, and next day arrived at Dover. Parsons, and some young gentlemen from London, met the counterfeit merchant on the quay; but he

had not instructed him perfectly of the part that was to be played, and the scene was hardly got up well enough, and some slight embarrassment wakened the suspicion of the authorities. Campian was detained, taken before the Mayor of Dover, and interrogated. His worship questioned the stranger searchingly. Was he not a recusant? Had not he and his man assumed false names? Had they not fled from England on account of religion? Were they not returned to propagate Popery? Was not his name *Allen*? Certainly it was not. He offered to depose the contrary on oath, which he could have done freely. It was then clear that the Mayor had no sufficient information. All the questions were general, except one; and that one convinced Campian that he had not been traced. He waxed bold. The chief Magistrate of Dover had no more interrogatories at command. The Jesuit seemed indignant, like a man conscious of injured innocence, and his examiner, baffled, withdrew for consultation. "Presently,"—thus Campian relates the adventure in a letter to Mercurian,—“out came the old man: (well fare his heart for it!) ‘It is our pleasure,’ said he, ‘that you be dismissed. Farewell.’ Away we flew.”

But suspicion revived in higher quarters. Sir Francis Walsingham employed spies in Rome, who pursued their vocation so skilfully, that the Pope mistook them for fugitives in distress,



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and gave them pensions, and the Cardinals took them into confidence. These men, Sled and Elliot, sent information of this mission, with a description of its agents, distinct enough to lead to the arrest of Campian.

Meanwhile they were indefatigable. After the escape from the Mayor of Dover, Campian travelled at full speed, and found welcome in the same house that had sheltered Father Robert. A party of gentlemen provided him with several suits of clothes, dresses prepared for the various characters that it might please him to act. Mounted and armed, he rode out of London, and roamed over the country in the disguise of a country gentleman, ruminating by the way, excogitating discourses and framing schemes. Sometimes in the houses of Romanists he heard confessions, celebrated mass in secret chambers, gave them discourses for the times, changed name and dress, and hastened away to other haunts, there to do the like again; and often held conference with select friends concerning the deliverance of England from "the accursed heretic" that sat upon the throne. Everywhere Priests met him, and then he indoctrinated Priests and people in the course that it behoved them to pursue. Often he heard blunt Englishmen execrate his name. He saw his pursuers, knew them, and talked with them in the manner of a zealous Protestant. One day he read a letter beginning with the portentous sentence,

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“Campian is taken,” and then went on, the sentence ringing in his ears, “Campian is taken.” Fear, he said, drove all fear from him; and he even began to be charmed with the romance of his own existence. At length his daring rose to desperation; and, one day, thinking his detection imminent, he wrote a paper in anticipation of the event, confessing himself to be a Priest of the Society, come “with an intent to amplify the Catholic faith, teach the Gospel, and administer sacraments.” In that paper he requested audience of the Queen, and the peers of the realm, and challenged his adversaries to combat. One copy he reserved to himself, to be found on him when arrested, and another he intrusted to a friend. But it was a friend that could not keep a secret, and let the document go into other hands. Copies of it were soon multiplied, and the pursuit of the traitor was resumed.

Parsons, also travelling in disguise, chiefly laboured in soliciting noble families to rally around the Papal standard, whenever it should be unfurled. After those perambulations, the two Fathers met in London, compared their notes, and resolved to assemble all the Priests then concealed in the metropolis. They accordingly assembled them in a solitary house on the banks of the Thames; and Parsons, as chief Missionary to England, showed them a written order of the General, Mercurian, which forbade

the Jesuits to appear to meddle with affairs of state. The mission itself was, indeed, an affair of state; but its true character was to be veiled in dissimulation. Interference, to be effective, must be secret. The Jesuits then promised, on oath, to observe *silence* on all such points; and the Priests were delighted to receive that permission to render external obedience to the Queen, which Gregory XIII., as we have already heard, had granted.

In the same synod—for in fact it was a synod—Parsons, in the name of the Roman Court, endeavoured to overcome the scruples of some old Priests, who required their people to observe the accustomed fasts, although such an observance could not but expose them to observation. After some difficulty the Jesuits succeeded in persuading them to relax that obligation, and leave the people free to borrow the manners of Protestants, if they saw it necessary, and even to eat flesh, instead of dining upon fish, on Fridays.

There was another scruple to be disposed of. Twenty years before this time the Council of Trent had appointed a committee of ten Doctors to decide whether the Romanists in England might continue to attend in Protestant congregations, and by apparent conformity evade punishment. The Doctors judged that such a course would be dangerous, inasmuch as a pretended conformity might imperceptibly become real.

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But the English Romanists had not obeyed the Council ; and, although there was no objection to disguise of any other kind, by change of garb, or dissembling in speech or action, the new Missioners had an insuperable objection to allow their people to hear heretical discourses. The decision of Trent was, therefore, declared to be obligatory on all. To hear an evangelical sermon being thenceforth treated as a sin, if, in any extremity, it should be committed, the stain of it would be washed out in penance.

The English Jesuits lurked in concealment. But one Father Donall, an Irishman, was arrested, imprisoned in Limerick, and executed.\* Ireland was then in a state of extreme confusion, which the Spaniards and other foreigners aggravated. The presence alone of Donall was a breach of law, so long as he refused to acknowledge the Queen's supremacy. With desperate audacity Parsons braved all peril, refused to relax his efforts for the propagation of Popery and sedition, and actually wrote to the General, asking him to send over five more Priests to speed the work. Their friends, however, succeeded at length in persuading him and Campian again to separate, and severally hide themselves in places more likely to afford certain refuge. Parsons, finding it hopeless to elude the vigilance of justice, withdrew to Rome. Campian, through the diligence of Elliot, the

\* Cretineau-Joly mentions this case.

spy, was discovered in a closet, in the house of a Papist in Norfolk, and carried prisoner to the Tower. According to the barbarous customs of criminal justice in those days, he was laid on the rack, and there confessed the names of several who had harboured him; but on whom it does not appear that any severe punishment was inflicted. Neither was that instrument applied with severity. His challenge to meet him in debate was accepted by some Divines, who held a disputation with him in the Tower; but one of them, Dr. Thomas Norton, with whom Dr. Hammond agreed, confessed that the controversy was confused and ill-conducted. Campian, they said, was furious; and certainly they were themselves far from calm. To torture a man first, however slightly, and then to dispute with him, was more than unreasonable, even though he had been engaged in treasonable correspondence.\* For this he was condemned; and his execution, which took place at Tyburn, on Friday, December 1st, 1581, was just. Two other Jesuits, Sherwin and Bryant, suffered death with him for the same crime.

But let us not overlook the reasons which determined the Queen to lay aside endurance,

\* But, to the honour of Queen Elizabeth let it be stated, that she mitigated the barbarities which disgraced criminal justice in those days. But the French continued to break criminals on the wheel, and minished none of the abominations of the Bastile.

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and authorise judicial proceeding against those men. Ireland was in rebellion, promoted by Romish emissaries; and already the north of England had been the seat of a revolt, raised by agents of the Pope and the King of Spain. Mary, Queen of Scots, was proposed by the Papists as competitor for the throne of England. Disaffection to the Sovereign spread wide among multitudes of unsound Protestants. Intelligence from Ireland had lately told the country that the Bull of Pius V. was more than a priestly threat. A company of Italians and Spaniards, sent by the Pope to aid the Earl of Desmond in rebellion, landed on the western coast of that island, and occupied a strong position in a fort, which they called *Castel dell' Oro*. On that castle they hoisted the Papal flag. The Queen's Deputy marched to the spot without delay, and the place yielded (November 9th, 1580). All the Irish there, both men and women, were hanged. More than four hundred foreign soldiers died by the sword; but the Deputy reserved the Colonel, Captain, and Secretary of the expedition for their ransom. That the Pope was as willing to contribute the gold of his treasury as the lead of his Bulls to conquer the United Kingdom further appeared by a store of excellent provisions for six months, with ammunition for two thousand men, that was found in their strong-hold, supplied at his expense.

At this very juncture, when it was also certain

that a special mission for the recovery of the nation to the Papal See had been undertaken at Rome, and while the Missioners, in disguise, were spreading sedition in almost every part of England, the Duke of Anjou, brother of the King of France, being pressed for money to carry on a war, came over to London in the character of suitor to the Queen, who, for some time, was unable to decide whether or not she should accept his hand, and allow him to share her fortunes. Articles of a marriage agreement were already drawn up, in the form of a treaty between the Sovereigns of England and France; subject, however, to the condition of mutual satisfaction between Elizabeth and the Duke on "certain other points" not expressed in the document, nor perhaps easily to be expressed. No sooner was it known that this negotiation was on foot than Priests and other Papists made their appearance everywhere, trusting to be sheltered under the favour of a royal Consort. And they even ventured to boast openly of the Pope's power, while some of them allowed their friends to understand that, although Gregory XIII. would *forgive* those of the Queen's subjects who obeyed her, the Bull of excommunication was in full vigour, and the Priests were empowered to enforce it, in due time.

Her Majesty's best subjects were alarmed. They remembered that, only nine years before, England was full of grief and horror at the mas-

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sacre of St. Bartholomew, and reminded one another that the Protestants were, at that time, persecuted in France as bitterly as in Spain, although in a somewhat different manner. They had seen the terrible effect of a Spanish marriage with the last Queen of England; and they began to attribute to French influence the lenity of Elizabeth towards the English Papists, on whom she had not yet inflicted the penalties prescribed by law. For, although the kingdom swarmed with Popish traitors, only five had been executed in all the reign. And there was an indisposition in the Queen to have the extreme penalty of justice executed.

While those misgivings were occasioning general discontent, the proceedings of the Jesuit Missioners came to light; and then it was that, by the earnest entreaty of her Ministers, she allowed herself to direct Campian, Sherwin, Bryant, and eleven others to be arraigned. They were indicted for treason, under the Act of 25th Edward III., (an Act still in force,) for having compassed the destruction of the Queen and realm, adhered to the Bishop of Rome, the Queen's enemy, and come to England to disturb the quiet of the nation, and collect forces for carrying their treason into execution. The insolent challenge of Campian was itself an evidence of his guilt. With his own hand he had written that the Jesuits, all over the world, were united in "a league, whose succession and multitude



must overreach all the practices of England, cheerfully to carry the cross that they should lay upon them, and never to despair of the recovery of England while they had a man left to enjoy their Tyburn, or to be racked with their torments, or to be consumed with their poison." And this was in pursuance of a vow of allegiance,—as the Government of England rightly understood it,—which they had rendered to the Pope, "*to obey him in all causes whatsoever.*"

Not to put such a defiance to silence would have been, at any time, unwise; but to have allowed rebels to make it with impunity would, at such a juncture, have been doubly unjust to her most faithful subjects, who held themselves ready to support the throne at any cost, and might have alienated them from their allegiance.\*

When on their trial, all the Jesuits denied every charge of treasonable correspondence and discourses; and, indeed, they had conducted their enterprise so artfully, calculating the import of every word, and covering themselves under a mask of equivocation, by virtue of the Papal dispensation professing obedience and honour to the Queen, that it was difficult to establish, by full proof, many of the charges. But there was evidence enough of many others to satisfy the jury.

\* Camden, in his Annals (1581), describes the political reason stated above. Cretineau-Joly mentions the letter, and says that the zeal of Campian carried him too far. Strype gives extracts from the letter.

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Campian, a man of dignified exterior, capable of entire self-command, calm or vehement, as the occasion might require, subtle, plausible, sanctimonious, and eloquent, parried each accusation with admirable ingenuity; and his pleading might have perplexed the court, if "a little book in Latin," which they had brought with them "to instruct them how to equivocate," had not been produced, and read aloud, to show that the statements of men so instructed were utterly unworthy of credit. A similar book was afterwards found in English, and, from a copy in the Bodleian Library, has lately been sent to press, and published under the title of "A Treatise of Equivocation." Evidences of guilt afterwards transpired to justify the sentence and to explain the language of Campian in a letter from himself to Pound, written when they were both in the Tower of London, wherein he bewailed his weakness in disclosing the names of those who had harboured him. But he also said, "As for the chief matter, *that* is as yet unrevealed; and, come rack, come rope, never shall *that* be discovered."\*

Even before the execution of these persons the Jesuits and their adherents began to call them martyrs, and to threaten that their blood should be avenged. One of them, writing to Rome under date of November 26th, 1581, pre-

\* Holinshed, Chronicles, An. 1581, in John Stow's Continuation.

dicted of England that the day of her perdition was near. To inspirit the seditious, they wrote ballads, half religious and half political, employing a method of propagation very usual in England in those days. Here is one of them :—

“ The Cross appears, Christ doth approach,  
A comfort for us all :  
For whom to suffer or to die  
Is grace celestial.

“ Be therefore of good courage now,  
In this your sharp probation,  
Which shall you bring to glory great,  
And mighty consolation.

“ If you persevere to the end  
Of this sharp storm indeed,  
*You shall confound both foe and friend,  
And heaven have for meed.*”\*

As the early Christians paid reverence to confessors of Christ, and regarded them with mysterious veneration when on the eve of martyrdom ; so did these people gaze on Campian, saying, that thenceforth he should be their *patron*, and pray for them in a revolutionary struggle that would end in their own death, if it did not issue in the subversion of the state.

Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador, went to see the execution, and, by his presence in Tyburn, among several members of the court, who attended officially, fanned the fires of revenge. He then sent to his master, Philip II.,

\* Strype.

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a highly-coloured picture of their heroism. In a letter to a sister, he told her that, as he could not, being Ambassador in England, write a full account of the transaction, one Serrano should do it for him. "And I pray you," said he, "have a copy of this despatch made out, and send it, in my name, to the Fathers of the Company of Jesus, in order that it may be promulgated in all their houses. Add that I, as well as all others here, can certify that the manner in which Father Campian suffered places him in the number of the most illustrious martyrs of the church of God. *His order may regard him as such.*" Of Spain we shall soon have more to say, which will show the intention of those despatches.

The Jesuits who declaim about sanguinary persecution of their order this year in England, do not mention that, in the same year, at Rome, Richard Atkins, an Englishman, was burnt alive, in a slow fire, his legs being consumed first, and then his body. His offence was not high treason, but some gesture of disrespect during the elevation of the host.

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Parsons, like a wise General who takes care of his own life for the better prosecution of the campaign, had effected a timely retreat, and heard, in Paris, of the course of British justice. The Duke of Guise helped to console him with

hope of eventual victory ; and the Pope bent his efforts, for a moment, on our northern neighbours. By order of the Holy Father, Creighton and Hay, two choice members of the Society, went to Edinburgh ; but, notwithstanding the favour of the Duke of Lenox, Regent of the kingdom, they found it impossible to make any progress, and, yielding to the general opposition of the people, Creighton hastened to join his brethren in Paris.

The Nuncio, Giulio Castelli, the Bishop of Glasgow, the Duke of Guise, the Spanish Ambassador, Allen, Parsons, and Claude Mathieu assembled to consider his report. Affairs were desperate on both sides the Tweed. The process of reconversion, if not hopeless, would be exceeding slow. Dark methods of producing disaffection in London and the provinces were extremely perilous, and now seemed to be impracticable. Even to the Jesuit, hope was forlorn. They resolved, therefore, that Creighton should hasten to Rome, and Parsons to Madrid, to obtain troops and subsidies from Gregory XIII. and Philip II. Both Pope and King promised help ; but the vigour of our maiden Queen, who sounded their designs, placed England in a posture of defence, and enabled Scotland to take the same position, dismayed her enemies, and they presumed not to hazard a second *Castel dell' Oro*. War they durst not wage, yet they vowed some secret vengeance, and affected contempt for the woman

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at whose name they trembled. It was reserved for a bolder Pope, Sixtus V., to wind up his courage to the pitch needful. They inflated his ambition with breath of compliments like that paid him by a zealous chamberlain:—"What can be conceived more miserable than for men to be enslaved to women? freemen to slaves? They who are born to govern, to them who are created to obey? Alas, poor England! In bondage to that perverse and wicked Jezebel! We weep for thee. Thou art groaning under a ponderous and cruel tyranny; but, *if I mistake not*, the time is near when God has determined to break it from thy neck, by means of His most holy Vicar, Sixtus V." \* No, good Hannibal Scot, thou wast indeed mistaken. But England knows full well that power only, not will, was wanting, or the yoke of Roman bondage would certainly have been forced upon the neck of England.

Feeding on vain hope, Parsons crept back again to England, masked under false attire, and bearing some false name. Here we encounter him once more (March 1st, 1582), writing to Father Agazzari, Rector of the English College at Rome, where this Italian was appointed to promote the alienation of English youth from the interests of their native country. His letter, after the high colouring is removed, exhibits the same account of the state of England as may be gathered

\* Annibalis Scoti Comment. in Taciti Annales, lib. i.

from our own writers. The Papists took advantage of the execution of those three Priests, to raise an outcry of persecution. They invoked "the martyrs;" and weaker Protestants, wrought upon by unceasing lamentation, inclined to think that the Queen had been too severe on the propagators of Popery. A sort of enthusiasm glowed in their secret meetings, and they longed to greet a host of crusaders if it would but hasten over to avenge in blood the death of "the martyrs."

Aware of the smouldering discontent, and of the means employed to create and foster it, the Queen caused a long proclamation to be published, containing a justification of the severity that could no longer be deferred, with a prohibition of the persons and practices that threatened the security of the kingdom. She told her subjects that she had been informed of certain societies of persons called Jesuits, with their conventicles and seminaries. The seminaries were made use of for the perversion of her natural-born subjects; and the Jesuits, delegates of the Pope, had stirred up rebellion, and even endangered her life. Already she had forbidden the reception, maintenance, succour, or relief, of any Jesuit, seminarist, massing-Priest, or other such person *sent into* this realm,—for she did not proscribe or persecute such as were already here,—and warned them that all who abetted those vagrant and counterfeit

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persons would be punished for misprision of treason.

Her Majesty spoke of the apprehension, arraignment, and execution of Campian and his accomplices, and stated at length the just, public, and orderly manner in which evidence had been obtained and sentence given. She referred to their confessions, and to the documentary evidence of their guilt: she reminded her subjects of the Irish rebellion, and insisted on the fact that the Jesuits were sent from abroad to stir up rebellion, and deprive her of "life, crown, and dignity."

She also forbade the sending of children out of the country to be educated, without her own permission first obtained; summoned all students in Jesuit seminaries to return to England within three months; and declared that, after that time, all her subjects found in those seminaries should be, *ipso facto*, reputed as traitors, and, with all their abettors, treated accordingly. He must be indeed ingenious who can tell us what a Sovereign of England, or of any other country, could have devised better in such circumstances.

Parliament supported the Queen by an Act to the same effect; and seeing that absence from Protestant worship was, in reality, a signal of revolt, the small fine of one shilling for each week hitherto laid on recusants, was raised to twenty pounds for every month of recusancy. But the facts that Popish worship was celebrated



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throughout the kingdom, notwithstanding, and especially in Lancashire and Cheshire, by great multitudes, that only the more turbulent were imprisoned, and that the ultimate penalty was only inflicted on a very few, whom impunity emboldened, must be taken into account. The law was enacted, but only executed so far as, in the estimation of the magistracy and the Government, public safety demanded.

I have not space to enumerate evidences of the indulgence then shown to persons whose religion was not mingled with sedition, and can only refer to one instance,—that of Sir Richard Shelly, Lord Prior of St. John's of Jerusalem. During the mission of the Jesuits to England, he was in Malta, where the English of his order had privileges. He heard with indignation of their proceedings, expressed his disapproval, and was well-known as a man loyal to his Queen and faithful to his country. He had free access to the Papal closet, and to the presence of the King of Spain, yet, hated by the Jesuits and Inquisitors, was everywhere surrounded by their spies. To avoid the dungeons of "the Holy Office," he found it necessary to quit Rome. From Malta he applied for permission to return to England, but also to continue a member of the Church of Rome. After satisfying herself as to his sincerity, the Queen gave him an unrestricted permission to return, accompanied with many assurances of esteem and confidence.

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Parsons evaded the last proclamation against Jesuits by once more quitting England. At Rouen he established a printing-office for English books ; and at Eu, assisted by the Duke of Guise, he founded a school, or college, wrote a " Christian Directory," and then managed to return again to our island.

The safety of England required justice to be executed on some other traitors. The day after the proclamation, John Paine, a Priest, suffered the last earthly penalty at Chelmsford, as, on the 28th and 30th of May, did seven others suffer at Tyburn. Six more were brought to the scaffold in York in the year 1583 ; but *seventy*, after being condemned to die on full proof of treason, were pardoned by the Queen, and sent out of England. Imprisonment was the punishment generally inflicted, but the restraint was very light ; and many of the prisoners became notorious for the writings prepared during their leisure, and those writings were actively circulated by their friends. How far Divine justice interposed, will be revealed in eternity. How far the dupes of Roman delusion may have felt remorse while contriving the ruin of their country, the Searcher of hearts only knows. One of the most virulent of the Jesuits, it is related, suffered a miserable death. In Ireland, Nicholas Sanders, forsaken by his former adherents, disheartened by the failure of rebellion, and fearing the pursuit of justice,

wandered about in "woods, forests, and hills," and perished with hunger.

Creighton, sent from Paris to solicit help from the Pope for the conquest of England, returned hither, in company with Gordon. Gordon betook himself to the north of Scotland, and Creighton fell into the hands of the Secretary Walsingham. Documents in proof of treasonable correspondence with the Pope and others, were found upon his person. What sort of documents came from Rome may be learned from other specimens discovered in the course of this conspiracy. A Welshman, named *ap Harry*,—which name he changed into Parry,—contrived to deceive Queen Elizabeth and the Pope at the same time. To the Queen he was a most zealous Protestant and patriot, devoted to her service, and wholly occupied in collecting intelligence of plots formed at Rome and other Courts against herself. To the Pope he was a religious and humble candidate for grace, benediction, and pay to kill the Queen. A letter from the Cardinal of Como, which Strype read in original, was thus addressed to the regicide, as Pope Sixtus thought him to be :—

"Monsignore, His Holiness has seen your letter of the 1st, with the certificate included, and cannot but commend the good disposition and resolution which you write to hold towards the public service and benefit. Wherein His Holiness exhorts you to persevere, and to bring to effect that which you have promised. And to

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the end you may be so much the more assisted by that good Spirit which has moved you thereunto, he grants you his blessing, plenary indulgence, and remission of your sins, according to your request ; assuring you that besides the merit which you shall receive on that account in heaven, His Holiness will further make himself debtor, to acknowledge your deservings in the best manner he can ; and so much the more, in that you use the greater modesty, in not pretending to anything. *Put therefore your most holy and honourable purposes in execution, and attend your safety.* And to conclude, I offer myself to you heartily, and desire all good and happy success. From Rome, the 30th of January, 1584. At the pleasure of *vostra signoria*, N. Cardinal of Como." \*

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Three favourite projects still engaged the Jesuits : to raise a rebellion in England, to kill the Queen, and to enthrone Mary of Scotland in her stead.

\* This Cardinal does not give his *title*, and therefore I cannot name him, but observe that there was a French Cardinal, Nicole de Pellevé, who, in 1585, subscribed a Bull of Sixtus V. that declared the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé excommunicate and incapable of the crown of France. Being deprived of his revenue in France, and become a pensioner at Rome, it is not unlikely that this "poor Cardinal" was made use of for the very humble service of negotiating with an assassin.

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Parsons, again in England, is now traced by means of a pompous epistle addressed to Cardinal Allen, at Rome, but intercepted. It is dated from XXplirz,—not disclosing the place whence written, but only the fact that, like other political correspondents, he wrote in cipher,—July 25th, 1586, and signed *Robertus*. His voyage to England was most pleasant. The enemies of the truth, he says, were furious, the Catholics fervent. The fame of his approach had gone before, and some of the Queen's Councilors were heard to pronounce his name with terror, and the adversary still trembled. On reaching London he gained access to some "Catholics" who were under military guard, and visited others in prison, gathering good hope from that first adventure. The friend to whom Allen had recommended him gave him a cordial welcome, entered upon lighter matters briefly, and reserved graver ones for long discourse. The opportunity being soon found, after accustomed confessions and with great solemnity and greater comfort, they renewed their vows. Within the walls, as it would seem, of some baronial castle, they were preparing for the celebration of high mass with symphony of instruments and voices, when some urgency called him to another place. But business was not hindered. Marvellously were the sheep comforted at the re-appearance of the shepherd, which assured them that they were

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not forsaken. Many Priests, he said, had been imprisoned, but not kept very close. Some purchased release, and others were unconditionally dismissed. Yet they were watched, and fined when caught transgressing the law. Some died in Newgate, and some sickened there; for Newgate, in those days, was a filthy place. Yet the "Catholics," despite reports of some design to their discomfort, were in high spirits, and the first alarm given by the royal proclamation was hushed. Labourers, only, were wanted now to keep the fold; but, for want of labourers, weaker members of the flock were leaving it. The Earl of Arundel, he said, then in prison for denying the Queen's supremacy, was offered liberty, if he would but carry the sword before Her Majesty when she went to the chapel-royal, but preferred continued imprisonment to compliance, and resolved to stand firmly to "the Catholic religion." A Priest, dressed as a sailor, had been arrested, a few days before, taken to court, and brought into the presence of the Queen, who amused herself and the maids of honour at the oddity of his appearance, and then sent him to prison. Wonders, as eye-witnesses have told him, have been wrought by persons possessed of devils, to the conversion of many heretics, and the confirmation of many waverers. Yet hardened Protestants bestowed the contemptuous epithet of "wizard" on Priests who had figured in those scenes, and with a sublime piety and

power subdued the fiends. Blindly did they attribute the wonders of exorcism to devilish craft rather than to priestly power.

Parsons himself was incessantly laborious in sermons, confessions, and other business of the Society, yet beset everywhere with perils, and never safe for a moment. Familiar with perils, he ceased to fear them. And he closes the letter with beseeching Allen and the Fathers to help the Jesuits in England with sacrifices (masses) and prayers, and to send them some long-desired privileges and powers.

Allen had undoubtedly been informed of the diligent distribution of his books in England, and of the fate of one of the distributors, a Priest named Alfield. This person was arraigned for treason in circulating one of Allen's works written "in defence of the English Catholics." Even on his trial he maintained that it was "loyal, lawful, good, and true." Such was his notion of a "libel" that denied Elizabeth to be lawful Queen of England, because, being of illegitimate birth, she had not sought dispensation, and, being excommunicated, she had not sued for pardon. It taught that Romanists had no escape from her tyranny but by depriving her of her crown. Heresy, it affirmed, dissolved even the ties of natural kindred. "Parents that become heretics lose the superiority and dominion they have, by law of nature, over their own children: therefore let no man marvel *that*

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*in case of heresy the Sovereign loseth the superiority over his people and kingdom."* And it justified the Pope's invasion of Ireland by various considerations, and affirmed that he "was moved with compassion" by the complaints of the Irish, "and did that in case of religion against one whom he took, in his own judgment, *rightly by his predecessor's sentence to be deposed ; and in a quarrel in his sight most just and godly.*" The whole book was written in the same strain ; and if there be any wisdom, justice, or humanity, in a law to prevent high treason, with its fearful consequences, it was right that the person who introduced and circulated some hundreds of copies of such a fire-brand as this, and inculcated its doctrine to the utmost of his power, could not be exempted from the action of that law, without a failure of wisdom, justice, and humanity.

The lapse of one year sufficed for the seed thus dispersed to yield fruit. One "Creighton," a Scotch Jesuit, whom I suppose to be the man whom we have known as Creighton, and who had once been in prison, was discovered, with many others, in a widely-ramified conspiracy. On his arrest a paper was found on him, containing a summary of "reasons to show the easiness of the enterprise" of a foreign invasion.

England, they agreed, was easy to be overcome with a few forces, being ill fortified, and ill defended. The people were given to change ;



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and, favoured by their instability and love of innovation, Henry VII. made a swift and easy conquest, and malcontents had always been able to gain adherents, and, at least, give much trouble. The "Catholics," without exception, greatly desired some such enterprise. They desired it for the restitution of their faith, for the sake of delivering the Queen of Scots and placing her upon the throne of England also, and to get rid of their disabilities, and to prevent the execution of recent statutes.

The conspirators calculated minutely on the state of parties, and the disposition and the strength of each. They extended the calculation to Scotland also, and concluded thus: "Wherefore now is the time, if ever it be the pleasure of God, to reduce these kingdoms under one empire, which would be a most happy thing. Wherefore, His Holiness and His Most Catholic Majesty should, &c.—" *What* those potentates *should do* was well enough understood, and therefore needed not to be expressed.

The discovery of a plot so dark, so intricate, and so extensively ramified, proved that a catastrophe was imminent.

## THE BABINGTON PLOT.

The English seminarists at Rheims had engaged a man named John Savage to assassinate Queen Elizabeth. To that end he came over to England, bearing letters of recommendation to

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several zealots here. Ballard, a seminary Priest, who had been in England and Scotland, and thence returned to Paris, reported the general disaffection of the Papists, just as Creighton stated it, proposed an invasion of England, in favour of the Queen of Scots; and Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador, who had been required by the Queen to leave the country, on account of his correspondence with her enemies, encouraged Ballard to expect help from the King his master, the Pope, and the Duke of Guise. But Charles Paget, a member of the confederacy, far from thinking a conquest easy, insisted that, so long as Elizabeth was alive, her vigour, prudence, and popularity would baffle every effort to push her from the throne. Ballard, being privy to the engagement of Savage to be the assassin, came to England in the disguise of a soldier, calling himself "Captain Fortescue," to contrive at once an assassination, an insurrection, and an invasion.

Anthony Babington, a young man of Detwich, in the county of Derby, who had already made a secret visit to Paris, conferred with Mary's Ambassador, the Bishop of Glasgow, and with Thomas Morgan, a fugitive, and returned with an introduction to that Princess, had been in communication with her, until the increased vigilance of her keepers made that impracticable. He welcomed Ballard. They fully agreed with Paget, that no plan could be successful which

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did not include the murder of Elizabeth ; and Babington heard with satisfaction that the services of an assassin were engaged already. He only thought that so critical an attempt should not be intrusted to a single hand, and proposed to join five others with Savage. This proposal, being accepted, involved the necessity of enlarging the number of associates, which was done without much difficulty. Savage alone objected to this part of the scheme ; for he was very reluctant to share the honours of regicide with others, instead of wearing them alone.

Their scheme for liberating the Queen of Scots and assassinating the Queen of England at the same moment, was minutely laid. The French Ambassador in London, and his secretary, met the conspirators in secret, and Mendoza corresponded with him from Paris. By their means men and money were to be sent over, to determine the struggle that would naturally follow on their first murderous blow, and to decide it for Mary and for Popery.

But they were caught in their own snare. Walsingham, long accustomed to the employment of "spialls," both at home and abroad, had intelligence. One of his men, a Priest, had travelled to France with Ballard, on his return thither, and, by talking like a hot Papist, passed for one, and obtained some general intimation of the project then just in its commencement. Another spy had got into their company, and, although not

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accepted as an accomplice, knew enough to put the Queen on her guard. Just then, Dr. Gilbert Giffourd, a seminary Priest, perhaps unable to bear the guilt of participation in such a crime, came over to England, went to Walsingham, and disclosed all he knew of the matter. The Secretary advised him to join the conspirators, go on with them, and so obtain full knowledge of their persons and proceedings, and keep him acquainted with the whole. He did so. Babington and Ballard employed him to convey letters to the captive Queen. Her keeper connived at the introduction of the papers through a chink in the wall. She answered them. An active correspondence followed between her and the leaders of her party. Walsingham's clerk deciphered and copied them as they went and came. He once even added a postscript in the same cipher, asking for the *names* of the assassins, whose purpose Mary strongly encouraged. Babington and six others, in too great haste to recommend themselves to their expected Sovereign, not only sent their names, but their pictures also, that she might distinguish and reward them, on appearing in her presence in London. But those resemblances were submitted to the inspection of Elizabeth.

Babington, anxious to parry suspicion, presented himself to the Secretary, asking a passport for France, and offering his services as a spy, to disclose the proceedings of seminarists

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and fugitives. His real object was to engage the Nuncio at Paris, the Duke of Guise, and the Spanish Ambassador, to send over their forces quickly, in order that the invasion, the murder of one Queen and the liberation of the other, might take place at the same time. Walsingham, aware of every movement, received Babington with apparent cordiality, and, pretending a wish to give him more secret instructions, even induced him to sleep in his house the night before departure. Then the conspirators were to be taken. Babington, indeed, seeing that he was watched, took alarm, fled, and communicated the alarm to the others. But flight was vain. Every one of them, being known, was tracked and seized. Those who desire to look deeper into this nefarious plot, may find its details in the State Trials of the time, and other contemporary records.\* Fourteen persons were condemned and executed. Seven of these confessed their guilt, the other seven were convicted on evidence.

I cannot digress from this narrative of the treasonable proceedings of the Jesuits, in order to relate the facts disclosed in the trial of Mary, Queen of Scots. It is enough to say, that her complicity was clearly proved. She unreservedly entered into correspondence with the enemies of this country, both at home and abroad, in order

\* Hume has ably compendiated the whole from Murden, Camden, and the State Trials.

#### REINFORCEMENT OF THE JESUIT MISSION.

to dethrone Queen Elizabeth ; and, although she did not suggest, she most explicitly approved of, the conspiracy to take away her life. And, in consequence, her own was forfeited. It must also be noted that Allen and Parsons were, at this very time, and by her orders, negotiating at Rome conditions for the transfer of the crown of England, after her decease, to the King of Spain, and for disinheriting her son, James V. of Scotland, afterwards James I. of England, on account of his heresy. So much it is necessary to mention in order to exhibit the course of events. We have now reached February 7th, 1587.

#### REINFORCEMENT OF THE JESUIT MISSION.

Astounded at the discovery of their doings, and at the execution of their agents, the Jesuits wavered. The Provincial of France, who seems to have had England included in his province, was on the point of writing to the General, Aquaviva, to request that Parsons might be recalled to Italy ; and he gave up the thought of sending any more Priests, or even books, to reconvert England.

Father Parsons, on the contrary, wrote to Aquaviva, imploring him to command two other Jesuits, Weston and Henry Garnet, to come to his assistance. The General hesitated. But Dr. Allen, now in high esteem at Rome, and just on the point of being created Cardinal, that England, willing or unwilling, might have a protector

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in "the Sacred College," interposed on the side of Parsons. He represented that the French Jesuits, living in a land of peace, were not competent to judge of the necessities of a country in a state of war, as England was. Truly, they had lost thirty Priests fighting in that war; but he affirmed that they had gained a hundred thousand souls, and acquired great influence over the public mind. To surrender an inch of the ground so hardly won would be giving up all; and if the heretics saw the Church retreat, they would instantly redouble the violence of persecution. And if they thought that the battle was nearly ended, they would themselves finish it at one stroke by putting to death all the brethren that were in their power. To save, therefore, those that were in prison, he deemed it necessary to send more emissaries, men of heart, who would keep up the courage of the people. The General agreed.

Then it was that Henry Garnet came, afterwards Provincial of England, and made notorious by his participation in the Gunpowder Treason. And he came not only to propagate Romish doctrine, but to carry on warfare, by whatever means, against the constitution and the government of these realms.

## SPANISH ARMADA.

One year passed at Rome after the failure of the Babington plot, before a more powerful

## SPANISH ARMADA.

agency could be made ready for achieving the same purpose. The entire naval force of Spain, with some addition from France, was to be formed into one great armament, an "*invincible Armada*," for the invasion and conquest of England. When it was reported that preparations were nearly complete, this Englishman, Cardinal Allen, sat down and wrote an incendiary tract, under the following title:\* "An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland concerning the present Wars, made for the Execution of His Holiness' Sentence, by the high and mighty King Catholic of Spain. By the Cardinal of England." He speaks of pretended laws and usurped sovereignty of Henry VIII. over souls, and guilt of both King and people, who deserved to perish together. "Wherein, though the case have long seemed well near desperate, yet God Himself, not forgetful of His old mercies, beholding from heaven our not voluntary, but coacted miseries, and our most holy and zealous Father in Christ, Sixtus V., His highest minister, *and our chiefest magistrate and master in earth*, to whom our Saviour hath given apostolic power to take vengeance upon disobedience," &c., &c.,

\* The Rev. Joseph Mendham, among his many services to the cause of evangelical truth, as opposed to Popery, some years ago rendered that of reprinting, without the variation of a letter, this "superlatively rare tract," with an important preface by "EUPATOR." London, Duncan and Co., 1842.



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together with the most zealous and mightiest Princes in Christendom, "took our case into his hands." So sweetly and moderately would they apply the remedy that the "corps of our commonwealthe" need not feel nor fear distress. Only the Queen and her adherents would be "wrong or wrinched thereby." Justly indeed might this country be given up to wasting and destruction, like Thyatira, for tolerating Jezebel, and forcing people to eat bread of idolatry and schism. Wickedly, indeed, had we tolerated her manifold usurpation, made our Sovereign "a verie nationall idol," and blasphemed the Pope "as a forren power." Yet the Pope, in apostolical benignity, spared the people, and meant no more than, "in zeal of God's house, to pursue the actual deprivation of Elizabeth, the pretended Queen; eftsones declared and judicially sentenced by His Holiness' predecessors, Pius V. and Gregory XIII., for an heretic and usurper." Sixtus only meant "this one woman's condign correction." But not to pursue his declamation from page to page, we copy only a few sentences, and let them pass for illustration of the sort of deeds perpetrated in those days, and of the doctrine of the Church of Rome, both then and now.

"She must needs be adjudged by law and nature unable to inherit the crown."

"Over and besides that she never had consent, nor any approbation of the See Apostolic,

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without which she nor any other can be lawful King or Queen of England, by reason of the ancient Accord, made between Alexander III., the year 1171, and Henry II., then King, when he was absolved for the death of St. Thomas of Canterbury; that no man might lawfully take that crown, nor be accepted as King, till he were confirmed by the Sovereign Pastor of our souls which for the time should be. This Accord afterwards being renewed, about the year 1210, by King John," &c., &c.

"Fear not, my dear countrymen, fear not, one generation is not yet past since this wickedness began. Trust now in God, and in this self generation it shall be revenged, and, in the person of this the foresaid King's supposed daughter, (in whose parents' concupiscence all this calamity was conceived,) shall be both punished and ended."

"His Holiness.....dischargeth all men from all oath, obedience, lealty, and fidelity towards her,.....commanding upon pain of excommunication and other penalties of the law.....that all and every one, according to their quality, calling, and ability, immediately upon intelligence of His Holiness's will, by these my letters or otherwise, or at the arrival of His Catholic Majesty's forces, be ready to join to the said army, with all the powers and aids they can make, of men, munition, and victuals, *to help towards the restoring of the Catholic faith, and actual deposing of the*

*usurper, in such sort and place as by the chief managers of this affair, and the General of this Holy War shall be appointed, for the best advancement of the cause."*

The sort might have been fire, and the place might have been Smithfield. The "worthy, fortunate, and victorious" Philip of Spain, or his heir, would certainly have been King of England once more, and the Inquisition, afore-time threatened, would then have been established—perhaps in the Tower of London. The frustration of this device by the perishing of the Armada (July, 1588), three months after the date of Allen's "Admonition" (April 28th), is too signal an event to need narration here. Like all other crusades, it came to nought. At the Court of Rome, indeed, there was much martial zeal. Orators pleaded for "the Britannic war,"\* called on all Christian Princes and states to help in the battle waged, and the new Cardinal of England was extolled as altogether excellent. He had furnished a map of our island, a description of the country, the manners of the people, the defences, population, sea-ports, landing-places, harbours, and best times of the year for sailing on the coast.† Yet he

\* Eupator's Preface to the Admonition. Additions, vi.

† Flash orators in England, whose little stock is eked out by a few fine old words and blind allusions, talk of the "chivalry of the Crusades," the "piety and munificence of our forefathers," evidenced in grand ecclesiastical edifices, and so on. Our school-boys are better taught.

## COVERT TRAITORS.

was a man of gentle spirit, they said, addicted to religion, not to war and arms,—the strife was “for religion, and for Divine worship.” Religion and Divine worship would sanctify a “Britannic war,” even though it were a war of extermination.

## COVERT TRAITORS.

Stunned, but not killed, the monster of treason lay gasping for a while, then took to its feet again, and crept stealthily about the land. From July, 1588, when the loss of the Armada disheartened and dismayed the Romanists, until the latter end of the year 1590, their proceedings were almost impenetrably secret. At that time, however, they gathered fresh courage, and a shoal of new emissaries came over. As to Garnet, having been made Provincial of England in the year 1589, he was quietly preparing for more favourable times. But the adversity of those times did not result from the failure of the projected invasion of England only. The Jesuits suffered the consequences of their political meddling in almost every country of Europe. In Rome itself they were in disgrace. Several of them had written in favour of “tyrannicide.” Their doctrine found an executor in the Dominican Jacques Clement, who assassinated Henry III. of France (August 1st, 1589), and, under a general tempest of retribution, their ship was nearly driven on the rocks. But they lowered sail, and, as soon as their alarm subsided,

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renewed their efforts to acquire merit with the Pope by the recovery of England.

In other countries, however, they could proceed with greater freedom. In Scotland, they found means to gain access to King James, who admitted them to secret conferences, and allowed them to believe that he was a Papist in heart, and only waited for opportunity to declare openly for the religion of his mother. Several noblemen followed his example. Fugitives from England found shelter there, and it was not until Queen Elizabeth required him to refuse that encouragement to persons known to be contriving her death, that he sent away those Jesuits. The agent for the Scottish nation at Rome favoured the presentation to the Pope of an indirect application for help to the King for reclaiming England, and Cardinal Allen was indefatigable in the same cause. Father Parsons had come from Rome to Spain, to urge Philip to renew his purpose of invading England. Enconced in his chamber in Seville, Parsons conducted an incessant correspondence to this effect, and sent his agents out in all directions; some to organize plans for the Jesuits to execute, and some to corrupt noblemen near the sea-ports, whose treason, could it be purchased, might have insured the success of a hostile descent upon the coast.\*

A proclamation of Queen Elizabeth (dated October 18th, 1591) describes their manner of

\* Strype, Annals, vol. iv., num. lxiii.

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proceeding in England then. The best possible care had been taken of the English seminaries abroad for the preparation of emissaries. The Jesuits had corresponded with the King of Spain, who longed to make another and better-concerted effort for the conquest of our island. Avoiding the sea-ports, Jesuits came in small vessels, and were landed in creeks along the coast, "disguised both in names and persons." Some came apparelled as merchants, mariners, and soldiers. Others came as gentlemen travelling for pleasure, "in comely apparel," but with "contrary names." They mingled in society of all kinds, unsuspected for a time. Sometimes, under the garb of gallantry, they pleased the ladies in gay parties, or they sported on the race-course; and again, figuring as ruffians, they pursued that vocation on the highways, and so obtained introduction to the prisons, where their brethren lay, watched more closely than heretofore. They were students in the universities and houses of law, or they maintained themselves in families as private tutors, everywhere making the most of their opportunities. Now and then one was detected, and, on conviction of some overt act of treason, executed. Reports of spies, who related, with great particularity, schemes formed in Spain, the Spanish Netherlands, and Italy, for burning the fleet, dethroning the Queen, and doing all imaginable mischief, kept the Government in constant apprehension. But nothing

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could be effected to the injury of the Queen or the disturbance of the country, and no event of magnitude broke the uneasy monotony. Jesuits were arrested, imprisoned, examined, and now and then punished with severity. Every act of justice, being regarded by the Romanists as one of persecution, was related with great exaggeration ; and Garnet was most careful to collect all reports, and transmit them to Rome. Those communications contribute largely to the staple of that history which passes over in silence the crimes of the sufferers, and with a malicious industry depicts incidents that are inseparable from the execution of all penal statutes. Those details are not necessary to our present object, and the ten years that followed after the wreck of the Armada afford us very scanty material:

Yet we must not fail to render Garnet his meed of praise for ingenuity and perseverance. A pretty large company of seminarists and other Priests lay in easy bonds within the precinct of Wisbeach Castle. They compounded with Gray, the keeper, for all sorts of provisions, and for the accommodation of servants, as if they were in a free college, rather than a prison. The best articles that Wisbeach market could afford were purchased for their consumption. "Great resort, and daily, was there to them of gentlemen, gentlewomen, and of other people, who used to dine and sup with them, walk with them in the castle-yard, and confer with them in their chambers ;

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whereby they received intelligence, and sent again what they listed, from, and unto, all quarters of the realm, and beyond the sea." Venison, wine, spices, and all manner of dainties poured in to that house of bondage from all parts of England. Money abounded. The good people of the town were admitted to partake of the conviviality, and, of course, were at their devotion. The poor took alms at the castle-gate, and blessed the gentlemen within. Tradesmen and tradesmen's wives went to receive payment of their bills, and lingered in religious conversation. Eight poor children of the town lived on their charity, as did two poor men, strangers, besides a retinue of cooks. Their licentiousness was equal to their luxury.\*

One Jesuit, Edmund Weston, who shared in the affluence of Wisbeach Castle, persuaded the young captive Missioners to admit of certain rules as to rising, eating, and studies, whereby they might appear like a college, or regular community. Garnet, then in London, furnished a written plan, and the young men hastened to carry it into execution. But the elder ones, to whom the Society of Jesus in England was in disfavour, stood aloof from the innovation, and stoutly resisted the persuasions of Weston and his young seminarists. They thought it a stratagem of Father Garnet to bring the Clergy into subjection to the Jesuits, and to get for

\* Strype, Annals, vol. iv., num. cxxix.



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himself the management of collections made all over England for the support of the prisoners. Nor were they mistaken. Weston got possession of considerable sums of money, which he refused to distribute to any of the nonconformers, whom he hoped thus to starve into submission. The noise of conflict spread through the country. Grave Priests came to the castle to implore them to be united, but Weston and his adherents charged the others with disorderly conduct and abhorrence of restraint; and the mediation was ineffectual. Eighteen of them—leaving a minority of fourteen on the other side—signed a letter to Garnet, beseeching him to confirm their election of Weston to be their superior; and intimating that, although he professed himself unequal to the burden, he would not refuse to undertake it, if commanded by his superior. Garnet consented, and confirmed their appointment; yet qualified it by many cautions, in hope of appeasing the opponents, and gaining his point without the trouble and hazard of an open rupture. Such a rupture did take place; but the clever Provincial had the address to reconcile the parties afterwards, and then saw his end accomplished by help of a few concessions. The schism, however, was not confined to England, but reached to Rome; and there the students in the English College petitioned the Pope to withdraw the Jesuits from England. But Father Parsons again interposed. “The Society,

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he assured the Pontiff, was essential to the existence of religion in this country. To the laity its members were necessary, to counsel, to strengthen, and to protect them; to the Clergy, to support, *to correct, and to restrain them.* Already the latter, by their vices and their apostasy, had become objects of aversion or distrust to the Catholics. Were the Fathers to be removed, the people would be left without advisers, the Clergy without guides; the salt would be taken from the earth, and the sun would be blotted from the heavens of the English Church." \* Clement VIII. heard the prayer, and the salt of Jesuitism continued to impregnate the soil, and that mock sun to shed its illusion over the firmament of England. All this was consummated in the year 1595.

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England could not be recovered to the Roman See by any violent effort. The band of Jesuit enthusiasts who proposed to achieve the conquest by dint of heroic devotedness, encountered insuperable opposition; and Parsons, their leader, gave up the attempt, and fled to Rome. But at Rome there was a "Cardinal-Protector of England," on whom it was devolved to preside over such deliberations, and to superintend the execution of such measures as might be taken for the accomplishment of that object.

\* Tierney in Dodd, vol. iii., p. 42, *seq.*

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So early as the year 1578, Gregory XIII. had appointed George Blackwell to perform certain ceremonial services, thought requisite in order to the due celebration of the sacraments. Although not a Bishop, (*licet episcopus non sis,*) he was empowered to bless and consecrate priestly ornaments, and everything used in Romish worship. Only one Bishop and one Archbishop remained of all the Prelates in England; and even they were in prison. To enable the Romanists to participate in ecclesiastical services, such an indulgence became necessary; but the appointment was to cease as soon as ever our kingdom returned "to the unity of the Roman Church."

Blackwell made himself acceptable in this little way; and after a probation of twenty years, Enrico Cajetano, Cardinal-Protector of the English nation, conferred on him extraordinary powers as his delegate in England and Scotland, with the title of Arch-Presbyter over all the seminary Priests. He was directed to govern them, send them to their stations, settle their quarrels, and assemble them for consultation when it might be necessary and safe to do so. In that case, or in any great emergency, Father Barrett, President of the College of Douai, was to assist him. The Cardinal authorised him to inflict ecclesiastical penalties on refractory Priests, and to report the incorrigible to Barrett or to himself. To aid him in such matters, six

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consultors or coadjutors were named, to whom he was to add other six; those twelve, with himself, as chief, forming a tolerably complete hierarchy. The names of the last six coadjutors, and a statement of qualifications, were to be forwarded to the eminent Protector, with letters from themselves, also, declaratory of their purposes and wishes in assuming the new charge. Blackwell was to send a written report of his proceedings, and of the state of England, every six months, if practicable. Vacancies in the body of coadjutors, occasioned by the absence, sickness, imprisonment, incapacity, or death of any member, were to be filled up at once, and the appointment promptly reported. If the Arch-Presbyter himself died, left England, or "fell into the hands of enemies," the oldest of the consultors then in or near London was to take his place, until the Cardinal-Protector could appoint another. The instructions concerning the Jesuits were remarkable:—

"Above all things, peace, union of souls, and concord among brethren and Priests are to be preserved, but especially with the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, who labour with you in the same vineyard, as His Holiness has lately been pleased, with his own mouth, earnestly to enjoin on some Priests who were going hence to England. Nor is this without a most just reason. For those Fathers not only labour strenuously and indefatigably, here and elsewhere, to sustain the

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English cause by founding seminaries, instructing youth, helping the poor, and by many other means; but they pursue the same works of charity in England also, even to the shedding of their blood, as events have shown. And while they neither have nor pretend to have any sort of power or jurisdiction over secular Priests, nor wish to give them any trouble, the craft of the enemy and fraud of the devil would be manifest, if, in order to overturn altogether the English work, any Catholic should envy them or cause others to envy them; while, on the contrary, they are to be rather regarded with entire love and reverence, that they, too, may more readily treat others with attention, kindness, and a really paternal charity; and that thus, all hearts and hands being united, this most holy work may be promoted."

The earnestness of this injunction may be accounted for by the fact, that the secular Priests of England and the Jesuits were jealous of each other, and their open quarrel would have ruined "the English work," unless the supreme authority of their Church had interfered.\* Indeed, the Jesuits had for several years provoked the hostility of the secular Priests, and their quarrels threatened to ruin the common cause.

Blackwell and his twelve coadjutors embraced the honour conferred upon them from Rome.

\* Dodd's Church History of England, by Tierney, vol. iii. Appendix, numbers xxii. and xxvii.

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Their letters in acknowledgment breathed an obedient enthusiasm. Soon afterwards Clement VIII., seeing that the experiment succeeded, gave it sanction by a Bull; and from that time the conduct of the disguised hierarchy of England, and their Jesuit advisers and helpers, proceeded under the authority of the Pope, and was exercised without intermission. But the Papists of England, already divided by jealousy of the Jesuits, as well as by contrary views of the relation between England and Rome, were not united by this measure. A model of the recently established episcopate is discoverable in that appointment of Blackwell and his twelve brethren, by Henry, Cardinal of St. Pudentiana; and then also was the type of the true Roman and the English parties originated. These parties exist now, but with an inevitable preponderance of the Roman. Of the genuine Roman denomination, Nicholas, Cardinal of this very title, Pudentiana, is delegated to be chief.

The schism extended to the English fugitives. A letter from Sir Henry Neville, Ambassador in Paris, to Mr. Secretary Cecil, describes them as divided into two factions in France; one depending on the Jesuits, with Parsons at their head, and the other consisting chiefly of laymen, with Charles Paget at theirs. The Jesuits and their adherents wished to overthrow the State "by conquest or any other means;" but the laity could not be brought to join in promoting the

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invasion of England by a foreign Prince. While Mary Queen of Scots was alive, they all agreed in her favour; but after her death they became disunited. Parsons and the Clerics urged their schemes on all the English on the Continent with great violence. Paget, on the other hand, resisted them; and Paget himself, anxious to avoid suspicion of being engaged in their manifold conspiracies, obtained an interview with Sir Henry Neville, and gave information of the doings of the Jesuits and seminary Priests in England. Six hundred of them, at least, he said, were there in concealment. They had diet and maintenance in private houses, often removing from house to house. Officers at the ports, and especially at Gravesend, connived at the passage of young men who came out of England to be prepared for this work at Douai and other seminaries.\*

The Jesuits in England had been commanded by their General at Rome to refrain from appearing to meddle with politics. The Arch-Priest and his coadjutors were instructed by the Cardinal of St. Pudentiana, Protector of England, to accept and seek the guidance of the Jesuits, in order to promote more steadily the "most blessed work," which they all knew to be the subversion of the throne. Henry Garnet knew, when he came over to England, that the Spanish

\* Winwood's Memorials of Affairs of State, in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I., vol. i., p. 53.

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Armada was in preparation. He knew of a scheme between the Romish rebels in England, and the King of Spain, advised by his Priests, and urged onward by the Court of Rome, to invade England. He knew that 100,000 crowns were promised by Philip II., and that the money would be at his disposal; for he confessed that he had meant to distribute it among "poor Catholics." He not only knew that an invasion was imminent, but rode about the country, together with Gerard, Blunt, and others of his Society, to assist in the purchase of 2,000 horses that were to have furnished a troop of cavalry to join the Spaniards on their landing. He was privy to the designs of many traitors, some of whom he named after they were dead, but refused to give up the names of the living. He became involved, notwithstanding his utmost caution, in the doings of some traitors, but eluded justice by help of false witnesses, or for want of evidence, and obtained a certificate of indemnity after the death of Queen Elizabeth in common with others; the fact that he was a Jesuit and a Priest being until then unknown to the Government and to the public.\* And this is the man that was Provincial of the Jesuits in England and Scotland. Thus was Roman discipline organized; the government of the secular

\* *Antilogia adversus Apologiam Andreæ Eudæmon. Joannis Jesuitæ, pro Henrico Garneto, Jesuita Proditore. Authore Rob. Abbotto. Lond. 1613. Pp. 166—168.*



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Priests being confided to Arch-Priest Blackwell, and that of the Jesuits to Provincial Garnet. These corresponded incessantly by scouts and letters with the Protector and General at Rome ; and these again, surrounded by a select and profoundly secret Congregation,—for they were sworn to secrecy,—brought Pope Clement VIII. into familiar knowledge of every dark deed, would give him the name of every spy, and the offer of every conspirator ; so far, at least, as the spy had gained noteworthy intelligence, or the conspirator had any scheme feasible enough to be encouraged. *Here began the fatal establishment of Roman discipline in this country in spite of law.* Here was the beginning of the hierarchy that has been recently brought out so ostentatiously to view. And in his “Letters Apostolic,” appointing the Archbishop and twelve Bishops, Pius IX. reverts to this beginning, yet abstains carefully from such an open reference as would too forcibly suggest thoughts of the treasonable purpose lurking in the scheme. He merely speaks of an unremitting care of his predecessors to provide an unfailing succession of persons to take charge of Catholic affairs in England, and to educate English youths on the Continent, to return to their country for the “defence and the propagation of the true faith.”

So does this “benevolent Pope” approve of the unremitting care (*impensam curam, et nunquam intermissam*) spent by his predecessors on the

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project so tenaciously cherished by himself, and numbers among the most precious historic remembrances of the "Apostolic See" deeds that in England are mentioned with abhorrence.

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Nothing could be more unsatisfactory than the conduct of King James. Often he seemed to hang in suspense between two parties; and unrestrained by that prudence which, using a veil of silence, might have covered his infirmities, he allowed himself to speak and act in such a manner as to arouse false hopes on each side, and, by disappointing the hopes of both parties, he kept their fears alive.

He not only allowed Jesuits to come into his presence, in Scotland, and to make him overtures in secret, but he employed them in discreditable negotiations. It could not have been without his knowledge and consent that James Gordon, uncle of the Earl of Huntley, a Jesuit, went to Rome to ask the Pope for money and supplies (A. D. 1596), the King promising to recant and be reconciled to Rome. Gordon brought back "very good dispatches" in answer to these proposals; and the King of Scotland is said to have accepted money of the Pope in consideration of his conversion in prospect, and money also from our good Queen Elizabeth, with whom he made himself meritorious by rejecting the offers of the Pope, their common enemy, whose money he

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had pocketed, and received help from Her Majesty in the shape of 5,000 sterling angels.\*

“ In the month of May this year, 1596, John Ogleby, a Scotchman, came from Rome to Spain, saying that he was sent by the King of Scotland, with commission to treat of an amity, league, and confederation between that King and His Catholic Majesty against the Queen of England, and produced a certain letter of confidence and credence of the said King of Scotland, presenting several memorials to this effect.” Thus speaks the preamble of a project of negotiation between the two Kings. A copy of this document, obtained some years afterwards by Sir Henry Neville in Paris, was afterwards published. It sets forth as grievances the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, mother of James, and other causes of complaint against Elizabeth; and in it James roundly offers, “ in the first place, to reconcile himself and his kingdom to the Apostolic See, and to give satisfaction to His Holiness in this particular, and to concur in the extirpation of all heresies in the kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland.” And many other things he would do, naturally consequent on this, immediate war on England being included. Lord Ogleby was accused by the Spaniards of double dealing, and imprisoned at Barcelona. It yet remains to be known how far the text of those

\* Winwood, vol. i., pp. 12, 13.

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articles proceeded from James ; but it is acknowledged that he sent Ogleby both to Rome and to Madrid,\* and that his secret negotiations in those cities were continued through several months. It is also said that he exchanged several letters with the Cardinals Bellarmino and Aldobrandini.†

On the other hand, he was known to dislike the Jesuits, and to have spoken against their friend and patron, Cardinal Allen, and the Fathers Parsons and Holt. The Jesuits, therefore, mistrusting his sincerity, opposed the negotiation at Madrid, and, under the good providence of God, succeeded in their opposition.

Strongly suspected of Popery, he wrote a book, the *Basilicon Doron*, to prove himself a Protestant. But some passages therein strengthened the suspicion. Then, again, he wrote a preface to the book, where, after all, he demonstrates his preference of the Papists to the Puritans.‡ And, notwithstanding his labour to seem a sound Protestant, the respect he avowed towards Rome, as "the mother Church," the injunctions he gave to his son Charles to profit by the example, and secure the attachment, of those who had proved their fidelity to himself and his persecuted mother, the worse than equivocal conduct of his representatives abroad, in

\* Winwood, as above, and at page 52.

† Cretineau-Joly, tom. iii., chap. 2me.

‡ King James's Works. London, 1616.

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their communication with Parsons and others, gave occasion to a general impression unfavourable to his reputation as an honest man long before he came to England; and when he did come, the Romanists, full of confidence in his protection, affirmed that he had promised them liberty for the exercise of their religion,—a promise which would imply, of course, a reversal of all that had been done to preserve England from the aggressions of Rome during the long reign of Queen Elizabeth. As for the Jesuits, they could act loyalty, or contrive treason, according to circumstances. At one time we find Parsons, no doubt invited by the Romish Bishop of Glasgow, Scotch Ambassador in Paris, addressing to that personage (February, 1601) an “apology for his writings against King James,” and praying for some entrance into his favour and good opinion; with no want of protestations that he will “relinquish the service of any other, and only adhere to him, upon the smallest show that he will make of his inclination towards the favour of the Catholics.” The double dealing of James made him contemptible, even at Rome, where letters were received from this same Ambassador, asking the Pope to make a Scotchman, the Bishop of Weems, Cardinal; and the Curials laughed to see a Presbyterian King making suit for a red hat, for the honour of his own Scotland. The only result of those negotiations was another strenuous exertion to bring

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him to an open renunciation of the religion he professed.\*

And when the Society found that their endeavours to gain James could not overpower the counteractive influence of Protestantism in Scotland, his own kingdom, and in England, which he hoped would become his own, they again applied themselves to treason. Shortly after Christmas, 1601, Catesby, Tresham, and Thomas Winter,—persons of whom we shall hear more presently,—met Garnet the Provincial, and perhaps Greenwell, another member of the Society, was with them, at a house called White Webbs, on the border of Enfield Chase, a place of resort for the Jesuits and their friends. The three traitors requested his assistance in conducting a correspondence with Spain, to obtain men and money for an invasion of England; the English Papists procuring horses, with that money, for mounting the Spanish cavalry on their landing, either at Milford Haven, or, if sufficiently numerous, on the coast of Essex or Kent. Garnet was coy, as Jesuits are wont to be on the offer of that which they most desire; but, after two or three more meetings at the White Webbs, he not only acquiesced in the plot, but wrote a letter for Christopher White, a Yorkshireman, whom they sent to Spain, desiring Creswell, an English Jesuit at Madrid, to introduce him to Philip III., and aid him in prosecuting the

\* Winwood, vol. i., p. 388.

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negotiation. Guy Faukes, then a soldier of fortune at Brussels, and of whom also we shall hear again, was sent from that city to Madrid, with letters from Baldwin, another Jesuit, to give additional impulse to the ambition of the Spanish King.\* Philip received them kindly, but could not be induced to hazard a second shameful defeat on the shores of this island; and the less, as the body of English Romanists, after the death of the Queen of Scots, and after some experience of the alien spirit of Jesuitry, could not agree to surrender their country to an Italian or a Spaniard. Then it was that Garnet rode about the country in disguise, with Gerard and Blunt, to buy horses.†

When the Jesuits heard that Elizabeth had departed this life, and that James of Scotland was to be her successor, they knew not whether to hope or fear. Their brethren in Scotland had applied lately for "talk with His Majesty;" but even their Superior, Garnet, did not know whether the application had been successful. Garnet, writing to Parsons while James was approaching the seat of his new dominion (April 16th, 1603), tells him that, with Elizabeth, great fears were passed away; but that then all were turned into the greatest security, "and a golden time we have of unexpected freedom abroad. Great hope is of toleration, and a general consent of Catholics in his proclaiming." All sorts

\* Dodd, vol. iv., p. 8.

† Abbot, Antilogia, p. 168.

of religion, he said, were living in great suspense ; but "the Catholics" had "great cause to hope for great respect." For that the nobility almost all laboured,—if we could believe him,—and had "good promise thereof from His Majesty." The Catholics thought themselves well, "and would be loath any Catholic Princes, or His Holiness, should stir against the peaceable possession of the kingdom."\*

Early in the spring James left Edinburgh and came southward, everywhere welcomed by the acclamations of his new subjects. As he travelled the season advanced ; the climate and the scenery grew on him with increasing mildness and beauty, and every object seemed full of promise. He did not know that a zealous party was in combination to seize him at Greenwich, and, having gained possession of his person, to keep him prisoner until Government should be modelled to their liking. Such a party there was, and Garnet was invited to employ his known talent for mischief in conjunction with the conspirators. But the Father did not choose to commit himself, and therefore endeavoured to screen his party by causing the plot of his antagonists to be made known to the Bishop of London. It was crushed at once. Fuller, although diverted a little from historical accuracy in his account of this plot by his passion for witty sentences, is perhaps quite right in the final

\* Dodd, vol. iv., no. vii.



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stroke of his description. Speaking of the chief conspirator, he says: "Meantime the Jesuits looked on, and laughed at Watson's execution, to see how bunglingly secular Priests went about a treason, resolving, in the next platform thereof, which now they were contriving, to rectify the errors Watson had committed: not to engage in a squint-eyed company," (of Papists, with Episcopalian and Presbyterian Protestants,) "where two did not look the same way, but to select a competency of cordial Catholics for the purpose."\*

Arrived at London, the King received an address, subscribed, "The Catholics of England," and expressive of their hopes, as well as their desires. They recounted services rendered to his mother, pouring into the "sacred ears" of their "puissant Prince and orient Monarch" assurances of loyalty. They asked for general toleration: toleration of Protestantism, because it could not be suppressed, and of their own religion, because it was "venerable for antiquity, majestical for amplitude, constant for continuance, irreprehensible for doctrine, inducing to all kind of virtue and piety, dissuading from all sin and wickedness," and so on. The free use of that religion they requested, "if not in public churches, at least in private houses; if not with approbation, yet with toleration, without molestation." And they protested, "before the majesty of God and all His holy angels, as

\* Fuller, book x., cent. xvii., A.D. 1603.

loyal obedience and as immaculate allegiance unto His Grace as ever did faithful subjects,"—the Israelites to King David, or the legions to the Emperors. They flattered his vanity by an adulatory preamble; and they appealed to his bigotry by alleging the disloyalty of all Protestants to their earthly Sovereigns.

The Jesuits did not encumber themselves with any such pledge of loyalty. Garnet instructed them only as to the reasons they might yield "why they were to be trusted and esteemed." Feeble, indeed, were those reasons. Parsons, wrote Garnet, had signified to His Majesty his inclination to adhere to him if he would maintain the Catholic religion. During the last two years the Jesuits had frequently sought means to declare to him their duty. They had given up the thought of a Spanish succession to the throne of England, and had promoted peace with Spain. The Pope was not likely to resort to harsh measures with the King. "The Jesuits had never held it lawful to kill any Prince, but such as by violence had unjustly usurped a kingdom." The Jesuits had always been faithful to the King's mother; and, *if their zeal for religion were satisfied*, there would be "the greatest security of all fidelity and loyalty in them."

James did not hasten to answer the address; but it was probably while preparing to do so, that he sent a most remarkable letter to Sir Thomas Parry, his Ambassador in Paris, written

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in Latin, and therefore intended to be seen by others whom it concerned. An authentic copy of this letter is in the State-Paper Office, and its contents are to the purport following.

The King has received the last letter of Sir Thomas, with one enclosed from the Pope's Nuncio at Paris, and another from Cardinal Aldobrandini, at Rome, to that Nuncio. Those two letters bring proposals from Clement VIII. to James I., who is careful to furnish his Ambassador with a suitable reply.

His Majesty commands Sir Thomas to declare to the Nuncio, that nothing could have been more grateful than the honour done him by the sincere benevolence of the Pontiff, (*honorificá in nos sinceráque benevolentid,*) as well in that business as in some others long before. He takes them to be signal indications of the care of the Pope of Rome to protect him from perils imminent both at home and abroad. He will have the Nuncio to be assured, that no one could be more acceptable to himself for the affairs to be transacted; for, to confess the truth, his mind has been distracted with care and indecision, (*incipite curá et dubitatione,*) while considering by what means, if any plan is to be attempted for establishing a true and solid friendship between himself and the Pope, he may avoid the mischiefs which frequently befall Princes through the weakness, or the malice, of those whom they employ to

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negotiate such affairs. That difficulty is now removed, the Nuncio being a person in whom he can confide. The Ambassador is therefore to give him full information of what took place before the accession of James to the throne of England; such information being due in consideration of letters received by the King before the death of Queen Elizabeth, and of a messenger from the Pope, introduced to James in Scotland by some of his own subjects. And he is also to commit to the fidelity and prudence of the Nuncio all that is to be hereafter transacted between the Pontiff and the King. The contents of the letters acknowledged are then recited.

Clement has explained why he could not send a Legate to the King of England. He has offered to recall from England "all Papists, or Catholics, who are of unquiet and turbulent spirit," and to excommunicate those who will not behave well. Cardinal Aldobrandini has cleared himself from a certain false report, or calumny. Prayers have been offered up at Rome for the welfare of King James. And His Majesty is asked to appoint a person to communicate with the Nuncio at Paris, as occasion may occur.

Sir Thomas Parry is to say that the King desires to reciprocate these courtesies in such a manner as becomes a Christian King and an honest man. But to the points. His Majesty approves the determination of the Roman Pontiff

not to send him a Legate, and takes that determination as an evidence of kindness toward himself, for he would have grieved to withhold those honours from him which other Kings rendered to Legates of the Popes, but which he could not have given them without great offence to the people of England. Clement has made a distinction between loyal and disloyal Catholics; in which, says James, "we gladly acknowledge the equity of his judgment, and shall so accommodate our authority and power to that rule, that the administration of our kingdom shall not incur the just reproach of the Roman Pontiff, or of any other man." To Cardinal Aldobrandini he desires warm expressions of consideration and kindness. He has not heeded ill reports of the Cardinal; and begs His Eminence not to believe anything prejudicial to himself, until he has obtained certain information. With regard to the appointment of a person to communicate with the Nuncio, he writes: "*We command you, and give you authority, to communicate with him concerning our affairs at all times, as often, and in such a manner, as may seem good to yourselves.*"

But it remains to make some reference to past affairs. First of all he must account for not having answered the Pope's letter sent to him in Scotland by Sir James Lindsey.\* Clement had

\* About three months before the death of Elizabeth, or perhaps less.

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chosen that gentleman to be the bearer of a letter overflowing with benevolence, (*benevolentiae plenissimis,*) and spontaneously offering to oppose himself to the utmost of his power, wherever that power was available, to every attempt, under whatever pretext made, to prejudice his right to the crown of England. The Pope had also asked to be intrusted with the education of his son, and offered to give, in compensation, as much money as he might want, in order to make sure of permanent possession of the kingdom. The proposal, made and announced in such a friendly manner, demanded a fit reply; and therefore James thought that no one could so well be employed to return the answer as the bearer of the letter; and some time before the death of Queen Elizabeth he had desired him to hasten back to Rome with the reply; but Sir James Lindsey was prevented from setting out by sickness. The Queen's death, and the journey of King James to England, occurred meanwhile: therefore, instead of going to Rome, Sir James, on his recovery, came after the King to London for such orders as a change in His Majesty's circumstances might require.

Premising that the Pope must *not imagine that his kindness towards him has cooled, or that his good-will has been diminished by this change of fortune*, so that he should not still render him all civil honour, the King now empowers Parry to communicate his answer. He will not

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trust himself to send a written reply to the Pope, lest it should be made the subject of misinterpretation, but the Ambassador may tell the Nuncio that as the King has been brought up in another religion, he cannot give his son to be educated in one that is utterly contrary to his own. And he adds that the people of England, over whom his son will have to reign, have also a claim in such a matter, and that it would be equally repugnant to his conscience and his safety to consent to the proposal. "And we command that this our sentence may be plainly and precisely expressed, without any delay or hesitation."

After a renewed protestation of kind feeling towards the Pope, the King proceeds to say that, although he stands fast in his present religion, which is a great comfort to him, he will not treat with severity so many of his subjects who differ from himself, but will allow them full enjoyment of justice, peace, tranquillity, and other benefits of a mild government, provided they do not cover perfidy and pernicious counsels under the veil of religion. But he earnestly desires a General Council that may settle one common form of worship adapted to the law of God, and free from human corruptions, in order that all the Church may be united and gain strength "to make war upon, and to chase away, the common and most hateful enemy of God and of all Christians"—that is to say, all nonconformity. And

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finally, he asks the Pope not to believe ill reports of him until he has asked for an explanation from himself, and received it; and promises that in regard to His Holiness he will do the same.\*

As to the education of the heir-apparent to the throne, the words of James were strong and clear; but the lamentable history of Charles I., whom he gave up to the Spaniards after all, is a terrible proof of the insincerity of those words. One thing alone is certain, that he longed for a reconciliation with the Pope, and would have had it, if he could have kept the thrones of Scotland and of England also. Honest Queen Elizabeth acted far otherwise. She was content with the confidence of her subjects, and ready to spurn with dignity, worthy of a Queen of England, any overture which the Court of Rome might have insolence enough to make.

To the "Supplication of the Catholics of England," the King sent a reply in the July following by the Lords of the Council. Tresham, and a large body of leading Romanists, came to Hampton Court by royal command, and were received there with every mark of respect. Their Lordships were instructed to tell them that it was the King's intention to exonerate the Catholics of England from the fine of £20 a month, imposed on recusants by the statute of Elizabeth; and to assure them of "this grace and relaxation, so

\* Tierney gives this letter in Dodd, vol. iv., p. lxvi., *et seq.*



long as they kept themselves upright in all civil and true carriage towards His Majesty and the state, without contempt." And when Tresham and his friends objected that recusancy might be held for an act of contempt, the Lords assured them that recusancy would not be counted for contempt, and desired them "to communicate the King's gracious intentions to their brethren."\*

If this was not toleration, it was at least a step towards it, in the apprehension of the Romanists, as of most others; but James did not acknowledge this to lie within the scope of his gracious intentions, and seven months afterwards "made a long and vehement speech in the Council Chamber" (on Sunday, February 21st, 1604), "to declare that he never had any such intention; and that if he thought his sons would condescend to such a course, he would wish the kingdom translated to his daughter; that the mitigation of their fines was in consideration that not any one of them had lifted up his hand against his coming in, and so he gave them a year of probation to conform themselves; which seeing it had not wrought that effect, he had fortified all the laws that were against them, and made them stronger, (saving for blood, from which he had a natural aversion,) and commanded that they should be put in execution to the uttermost; and that this his intention should be made known publicly, as it was on the Wednesday following

\* Dodd, vol. iv., p. 37.

## PROCLAMATION AGAINST JESUITS.

in the Star-Chamber by all the Lords in very ample manner, and likewise on Thursday, to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen by the Recorder."\* This declaration made it clear that the King was no longer able to temporise; but his previous conduct had given every party just reason of complaint; and now that he could not be induced to profess Popery, nor yet to allow the Papists the exercise of their ceremonies, it was to be expected that the loyalty of the secular Priests and laity would be severely tested; and that on the Society of Jesus would be devolved the work that others could not accomplish. They applied themselves, therefore, to their peculiar mission with the utmost diligence.

## PROCLAMATION AGAINST JESUITS, &C.

Elizabeth never wavered in her proceedings towards the subjects of the Pope within this kingdom. James I., on the contrary, betrayed indecision in every act. She understood Popery, but he did not. She governed England as an independent Sovereign. Her feeble successor knew not how to govern. He dogmatised without knowledge, and endeavoured to rule without a consciousness of power. On his first meeting Parliament † (March 19th), he did indeed launch out into a tedious, wordy invective against Popery and the temporal en-

\* Winwood, vol. ii., p. 49.

† King James's Works, p. 491.

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croachments of the Pontiffs; but one sentence of his oration spoiled the whole. "I was never violent nor unreasonable in my profession; I acknowledge the Roman Catholic Church to be our Mother Church, although defiled with some infirmities and corruptions, as the Jews were when they crucified Christ." And much to the same purpose followed. The old Preacher at St. Paul's Cross would have counted him with "poisoned Protestants and maimed professors."

It did indeed seem that he had aroused himself to do a kingly act, when, on the day after his harangue in the Sunday Council, people heard of a proclamation to banish those Jesuits whose utmost loyalty consisted in attempting to bring him to a capitulation; they offering adherence to him "rather than to any other person" if he would show favour to the Catholics, leaving him to make the inference inevitable, that if they were not favoured, they would pay allegiance to some other. Knowing, as every one did know, that the religion of Rome was neither more nor less than treason in England, since the bare acknowledgment of a heretic as King was a sin to be atoned for by penance, and only to be forgiven in consideration of a present necessity; the enforcement of existing laws was justified by every consideration of patriotism and self-respect. But when the proclamation came to be read, every one was disappointed.

Having spent some time in settling the politic

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affairs of this realm, said the royal author, he had bestowed no small labour in composing differences concerning rites and ceremonies, among the Clergy of the Church of England, and reduced the same to such an order and form that he doubted not but every pious person would be satisfied. But a greater contagion to religion, he very justly said, was imminent in the common enemies of both sections in that Church ; the great number of Priests, both Seminarists and Jesuits, that abounded in the country. In a vain confidence of being permitted to innovate, which he "never intended," and upon assurance of a general pardon which only extended to offences committed in the preceding reign ; they audaciously exercised all offices of their profession, both saying masses and making perverts from the established religion to the Church of Rome. To preserve his subjects from infection by such persons, he thought fit to publish a declaration of his pleasure :—

That all Priests, regular and without rule, then found in the kingdom, should be expelled ; those in prison to be shipped off as early as possible, and those not in prison to depart by the nineteenth day of the month following. Any such persons afterwards returning would be left to the penalties of the law, without hope of remission. And this severity towards Jesuits and seminary Priests was justified by consideration of the plot discovered a few months

before, and to be traced chiefly to motives of conscience and religion. Appealing to the judgment of foreign powers, the King "*acknowledged himself much beholden to the Bishop of Rome for his kind offices, and private temporal carriage towards himself in many things*, so that he would be always ready to requite the same towards him, as Bishop of Rome in state and condition of a secular Prince." Yet, considering the assumptions of that See, he could not imagine that Princes of his own religion and profession would have any assurance of safety from the Pope, unless it were obtained by the mediation of other Christian Princes. And he proposed that by means of a General Council, free, and lawfully called, the dangers and jealousies that had arisen on account of religion might be ended, and it might be made manifest that "no state or potentate, either hath or can challenge power to dispense of earthly kingdoms or monarchies, or dispense with subjects' obedience to their natural Sovereigns." He volunteered his good offices for the assembling of such a Council, "not only out of a particular disposition to live peaceably with all States and Princes of Christendom, but because such a settled amity might, *by an union in religion*, be established among Christian powers, as would enable them all to resist the common enemy." \*

So did "the British Solomon" dream of a dogmatic union between the churches of Roman-

\* Wilkins, Concilia, vol. iv., p. 376.

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ism and of the Reformation, at the same time that he persecuted the best of his subjects for fairly carrying out the doctrines of the Gospel, revived at the Reformation, and could not forgive some passing extravagance in men whose piety and loyalty would have environed his throne with a living bulwark of defence against the power that he called the common enemy. But there was reason to suppose that he employed the term rather to veil than to express his real sentiments. Such conduct could not but be displeasing to God.

And here let the reader forgive a digression from Garnet and the Jesuits, and accept the copy of a letter from Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, to Lord Cranborne, afterwards Earl of Salisbury.\*

“ December 18th, 1604.

“ *Salutem in Christo.*

“ I HAVE received letters from your Lordship, and others of His Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, containing two points. First, *that the Puritans be proceeded against according to law, except they conform themselves.* Secondly, that good care be had unto greedy patrons; that none be admitted in their places but such as are conformable, and otherwise worthy for their virtue and learning. I have written to the three Bishops of the Province, and in their absence to the Chancellors, to have a special

\* Winwood, vol. ii., p. 40.

care of this service, and therein have sent copies of your letters, and will take present order within my own diocese. I wish with all my heart that the same order were taken and given, not only to all Bishops, but to all Magistrates and Justices, &c., to proceed against *Papists and recusants, who, of late, partly by this round dealing against Puritans, and partly by reason of some extraordinary favour, have grown mightily in number, courage, and influence.*

“ The Puritans, whose fantastical zeal I dislike, though they differ in ceremonies and accidents, yet they agree with us in substance of religion; and I think all, or the most part of them, love His Majesty and the present estate, and I hope will yield to conformity. But the Papists are opposite and contrary in very substantial points of religion, and cannot but wish the Pope’s authority and Popish religion to be established. I assure your Lordship, *’tis high time to look unto them.* Very many are gone from all places to London, and some are come down to this country in great jollity, almost triumphantly. But His Majesty, as he hath been brought up in the Gospel, and understands religion exceeding well, so he will protect, maintain, and advance it, ever unto the end. So that if the Gospel shall quail, and Popery prevail, it will be imputed principally unto your great Councillors, who either procure, or yield to grant toleration to some.

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“ Good my Lord Cranborne, let me put you in mind that you are born and brought up in true religion. Your worthy father\* was a worthy instrument to banish superstition and to advance the Gospel. Imitate him in this service especially. As for other things, I confess I have not to deal in State matters; yet, as one that honoureth and loveth His Most Excellent Majesty with all my heart, I will less wasting of the treasure of the realm, and more moderation of the lawful exercise of hunting; † both that the poor men’s corn may be less spoiled, and other His Majesty’s subjects more spared, &c. The Papists give it forth that they hope that the Ecclesiastical Commission shall not be renewed any more: indeed it stayeth very long, albeit there is great want of it. I pray your Lordship further it. Sir John Bennet will attend your Lordship. Thus beseeching God to bless your Honour with His manifold graces, that you may as long serve His Most Excellent Majesty, as your wise father did serve most worthy Queen Elizabeth, I bid you most heartily, farewell.

“ Your Lordship’s, in Christ, most assured,  
“ MATTHEW EBOR.”

I have given this letter for the sake of its intrinsic excellence; and it serves to show that, notwithstanding the protestations of James to

\* Cecil, Queen Elizabeth’s Secretary.

† The King was excessively fond of hunting.



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his Privy Council and to the nation, and notwithstanding the proclamation, which, with all its two-sidedness, was distinct enough as to the banishment of the Jesuits and all Priests, loyal and disloyal, all was empty words. Nine months had passed away, and no Ecclesiastical Commission was employed to see the proclamation executed; no execution of it seems to have been made, certainly not enough to produce any impression. Both at London and at York, the Papists were in high spirits, and, however, they may have been restrained in the neighbourhood of the Court, they were under little or no restraint in Yorkshire, and we may presume that they were no less "jolly" in other parts of England. This, however, reminds us, that where the Sovereign and Government of a country only put forth proclamations, or procure laws against this alien usurpation of spiritual and temporal authority, the loyal part of the population may be quieted for a time, and imagine that the evil must pass away before the law; but the usurpation gathers new strength from signal and scandalous impunity.

### THE ROMANISTS TAKE COURAGE.

In such circumstances they could not but take courage, and make renewed efforts to prepare England for some triumphant crisis. For this purpose the Benedictines were chosen, as the most ancient monastic body in the island, and best fitted for influencing the more intelligent.

## THE ROMANISTS TAKE COURAGE.

A special Congregation had been formed in the year 1598, in the monastery of St. Martin of Compostella in Spain. A "Venerable Father, Augustine," with five English fugitives, constituted that Congregation, and bound themselves by "the three vows of religion" to undertake a Mission in England. They took the habit of St. Benedict, and secretly came over to endeavour the fulfilment of their object. Concealed among the recusants, they spent three years in keeping up the spirit of their superstition. Augustine, rejoicing in success, left his companions thus occupied; went over to Belgium, and built one monastery at Douai, and another at Dieulowart, in Lorraine, for the reception of English Benedictines to be prepared for the English Mission; and then, constituted General, with approbation of the Supreme Pontiff, he assembled a large company of learned men, who gradually acquired ascendancy in the University of Douai.

Stimulated by this example of zeal, the Benedictines of Valladolid raised two new Colleges in 1604, for the education of young Englishmen in arts and polemical theology. From these Colleges they came hither, and the literary historian of their order boasts, that "having gained possession of England, they found out the scattered Catholics, imparted to them fresh courage, and, casting off the fear of death,—of which, however, there could be but little,—they attached them anew to the Catholic Church.

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Others who had left it they restored." And in full anticipation of conquest, the Congregation of Monte Cassino secretly sent over prudent Monks, skilled in controversy, who might repress growing heresy, spread the nets of Peter, fisher of men, and, with assiduous care, gather in the wandering fish for Christ, lay them up in vessels, and recover what their forefathers had gained, but others lost.\*

Nor could anything be more natural. A Protestant King persecuted his Protestant subjects with cordial hatred; proscribed in words the adherents of the Pope,—but let them have almost all their own way, notwithstanding; and gave reverence to Rome as his mother Church, and to the Bishop of Rome as to the first Prelate of Christendom. Clement VIII. exulted, gave the Gregorian College to the English Benedictine Congregation at Rome, and united that Congregation to the College of the Propaganda, for the swifter conversion of England.† Still these Benedictines persevere, and fondly wait for the recovery of Westminster Abbey and the Cathedral of Canterbury to repay the toil of centuries. Less political than the "Order of Jesus," as it is profanely called, the Order of St. Benedict might have been more worthy of commendation, if it had been merely a literary

\* Ziegelbauer, Hist., Lit. Ord. S. Benedicti, tom. ii., p. 148.

† Ibid.

## THE GUNPOWDER TREASON.

Society, and if its learned labours had not been marred by subservience to the interests of Rome.

## THE GUNPOWDER TREASON.

Robert Catesby, a young man<sup>m</sup> of respectable family, impetuous and fanatical, had long cherished a desire to exterminate the chief persecutors of the Catholics, as he chose to consider those who wished to maintain, by force of law, the independence of the British throne, and to uphold, by defensive measures, the Protestant Church of England. While Queen Elizabeth was yet alive, this person conceived the idea of blowing up the House of Parliament with gunpowder, and, wishing to satisfy his conscience that the deed would be pardonable, if not meritorious, he applied to Garnet for a solution of the question, Would it be lawful to blow up the Parliament House? Garnet answered,—or Catesby understood, if the testimony of two of Catesby's servants may be credited,—*that it would be lawful.*\*

Whether or not the conception was original—whether a similar employment of gunpowder in Scotland, or on the Continent, gave the hint—whether such an explosion is to be called Catholic or Protestant, may be discussed by those who write elaborate apologies, or extenuations, begging for Catesby and his accomplices that kind of popular sympathy which, even in England, a certain section of the lower public is

\* Antilogia, p. 175.

## GARNET.

always ready to afford to interesting criminals. My only business is to relate facts, and therefore observe that, before James reached the throne, this man brooded in secret over the project of dispersing, by a single spark, that assembly of legislators whose acts were so strong a barrier against the restoration of Popery.

Intent on the project, and probably anxious to draw the Provincial of the Jesuits into it, he repeated the question (September 1st, 1603), a few weeks after it had been made evident that James could not, or would not, fulfil the expectations he had raised, "Would it be lawful to blow up the Parliament House?"\* But Garnet remembered the instructions of his General, requiring abstinence from direct participation in political affairs. The murder of King, Lords, and Commons, would be a very political affair; and, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, we must suppose that Garnet abstained from giving a reply. Did the question come to him in confession, or in private conversation? From the rank and activity of Catesby, and from the habits of the men, I incline to believe the latter.

Irritated by the declaration of the King in Council, that he would enforce the laws against Jesuits, Priests, and recusants, and by his message to the citizens to the same effect (February 19th and 22d, 1604), Catesby renewed the scheme for vengeance. Daily intelligence of

\* Antilogia, p. 176.

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recusants indicted kept his revenge burning ; and no sooner was the proclamation issued (February 22d) for expelling from the realm "all Jesuits, Seminaries, (Seminarists,) and Priests whatsoever," than he hastened to frame the plot.

On one of the last days of February he was holding a secret conference with John Wright, in a house in Lambeth, when Thomas Winter, who, after repeated messages, had come up from Worcestershire for the purpose, found them closeted. Catesby, without reserve, disclosed the scheme he had devised for "delivering the Catholics from their bonds," and, after tracing the particulars, asked Winter if he would give his consent. The sudden proposal to perpetrate so great a crime, horror at the thought of destroying so many lives by one murderous blow, and of involving some of their own friends in the common revenge, startled Winter. He kept silence. As he sat thus, weighing the proposal, Catesby poured into his ear impassioned pleadings for vengeance on the enemies of holy Church, the persecutors of Catholics, the rebels against the Pope. Traitors, who had paid the penalty of justice, and were therefore counted with the martyrs, seemed to be crying from their graves for vengeance. Traitors and recusants, now in prison, seemed, like suffering confessors, to groan for a deliverer. The nation was excommunicate. Death was the appointed penalty for heresy, and yet there was no secular arm ex-



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without avail ; bribes, offered and received in Scotland, wrought no effect in England ; not even on the King, who had pocketed them when beyond the Tweed. It remained for some Phinehas, moved with holy zeal, openly to rush into the camp, and transfix the guilty ones ; or, if that were not possible, as evidently it was not, any last resort, any secret instrument, might be sanctified for use in such a sacred cause. Ay ! and if even the plot should fail, a grateful Church would, in that event, canonise her victims, her absolution would cleanse away their guilt,—if guilt there were,—her suffrages would bring them release from pain eternal, her praise would give them immortality.

Winter yielded. There could be no sin, he thought, in performing that at a single stroke which had been wrought laboriously from century to century, by the solemn apparatus of inquisition and crusade. Surely the Parisian massacre, that called forth *Te Deums* in St. Peter's, was less meritorious than a grand victory would be, won by a few hands, and consummated in a single moment. He consented. Yet the word of consent had no sooner escaped his lips, and the congratulations of Catesby and Wright were yet sounding in his ears, when his reluctant conscience once more whispered a remonstrance, and he bethought him that, after all, some commutation might possibly be made.

He suggested that, as negotiations were in



progress for a treaty of peace with Spain, the plenipotentiaries might possibly be induced to insert articles favourable to Romish interests in England, and that influence might be employed with the Constable of Spain, then expected in the Netherlands to meet the representative of England. Winter had been employed on confidential missions to the late King, Philip II. ; and it was agreed that he, and he only, was the person fitted for such a negotiation. He hurried away, and met the Constable at Berghem ; but soon found that Philip III. would not follow in the footsteps of his predecessor : he had already refused to make a holy war on England, and his Minister knew that he was not disposed to encumber a treaty with England by asking conditions in favour of Papists whose disloyalty was more than manifest, nor to offer, in return for concessions to Rome, any deduction from advantages that he considered to be due to Spain. And even if his views had been other than they were, who was Winter ? He had no credentials. Whence came he ? None could tell. That effort necessarily failed. But Winter, dwelling day and night on the plot to which he had agreed, and seeking to justify it to his conscience, wrought himself into a persuasion that it was the last and only means remaining for Catholic emancipation in England. Thus persuaded, he met with Guy Faukes, a soldier of fortune, and a zealot beside. They found each other at

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Ostend, and returned together to London about the middle of April.

No more preliminaries. A few other persons, but a very few, might now be accepted as co-adjutors in the enterprise, and they would concert measures for its accomplishment. Catesby had attached Thomas Percy, a Northumbrian, to the party; and at an appointed time they met again, not at Lambeth, but in a familiar house in the fields that then were behind St. Clement's Church, without Temple Bar. It would seem that the Papists were wont to assemble there for the celebration of mass, and, whether with or without the privity of the Priest, that day ready for the service, they held, in an inner chamber, a meeting far more solemn than the former. Catesby, Wright, Winter, Faukes, and Percy, were the persons present. Before entering on the business that brought them thither, a form of oath, which had been previously drawn up, was read. By the blessed Trinity, and by the oath they purposed to receive, they bound themselves to execute the plan that should be formed, with all their force and power; not to reveal it to any of their fellows, except to such as might be thought worthy to enter into their action; and not to abandon the design without consent of their companions. Then they administered the oath to one another, on a primer; and this done, the original members proceeded to initiate the novices. Catesby told Percy, and Winter

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and Wright told Faukes, the deed which they were sworn to execute. In confirmation of that oath they then went into an adjoining room, where a Jesuit, Father Gerard, was robed and ready, and from his hands they received the wafer, thus to sanctify their purpose, and get such grace as through that channel might fitly flow, for perseverance and unwavering resolve. Jesuitism, at that moment, found itself at the head of as fiend-like a conspiracy as ever was recorded on the pages of history.

What other meetings were next holden it seems impossible to say; but their conferences must have been frequent. On the 24th day of May, Percy, "being well acquainted at Court, where he enjoyed a place, and was on this account less suspected,"\* accomplished an agreement with one Ferris, keeper of Vyniard House, an edifice adjoining the wall of the Parliament House. It served for withdrawing-rooms for the Lords, when in session, and out of Parliament was at the disposal of the keeper of the place and of the Lords' wardrobe.† Occupation of that building during vacation might be had for hire; and thus Percy became its tenant, and it was to be the haunt of the conspirators. But as their purpose was only to be ready by the opening of the next Parliament, they dispersed to their homes in the country,

\* Dodd, vol. iv., p. 43.

† Speed's Great Britain, *anno* 1605.

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with an agreement to return by the beginning of November. At the time appointed they came, but found that Commissioners for the union between England and Scotland were holding meetings in the house, and therefore kept themselves out of sight, until the apartments were free. On the 11th of December they were at work, their number and strength being increased by the addition of Robert Keyes, sworn into the fraternity in the month of August, and Thomas Bates, associated about the time of entering the house.

Percy lived there. The others came in secretly. Guy Faukes, under the name of John Johnson, passed as his servant, so that there was no domestic to trouble them; and those gentlemen of rank added to their store of merit by performing menial offices for themselves, having tools prepared, and baked meats provided, lest sending abroad frequently should cause suspicion. Faukes, *alias* Johnson, the porter, kept strict watch, both to prevent intrusion and to collect intelligence, while the others laboured in absolute secrecy. The ground was opened, and the rubbish removed during the day was concealed at night under the soil of the garden. Underpropping the earth with timbers as they went, by Christmas they had opened a subterranean passage on to the wall of the Parliament House. But the foundation was nine feet thick, and to bore it without noise would require much ingenuity, strength, and patience. Faukes then

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announced that the next session of Parliament was prorogued from the following February to October, and, as this delay appeared favourable to their object, they resolved to disperse for a time; and agreed that Catesby and Percy, on obtaining the concurrence of a third, might admit suitable persons to aid the plot, and to contribute towards the expenses, which were likely to be heavy. Robert Winter, brother of Thomas, and John Grant, of Norbrook, near Warwick, were, in January, 1605, requested to meet Catesby at the Catherine Wheel, in Oxford, where they were sworn, and initiated by a communication of the secret, and by receiving the host, as usual.

If we may depend on the confessions of the conspirators, Garnet kept aloof, while Gerard, perhaps without any distinct information of its details, gave the plot sacramental sanction when new members were sworn in. At Christmas, however, Catesby and his companions agreed that they would consult their Confessors, in general terms, and ascertain whether such a deed as that premeditated would be in accordance with the law of holy Church. Several Confessors would thus be sufficiently informed of their criminal intention. Catesby resorted to his friend Garnet, and, *not in confession*, but in ordinary conversation, endeavoured to elicit his judgment, or rather, to draw him so artfully into the plot that he might safely say it had not been mentioned, covering the details with

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substituted names and positions, after the same manner as the names of the Fathers of the Society, and their vocations, were disguised. A full member, for example, was called a "workman," and a novice was a "'prentice."

Catesby put the case thus. How far is it lawful in war, for the party that has the just quarrel, to sack or destroy a town or fortress that holds out against them, by strong hands? For here, as in the proposed explosion of the Parliament, friends might suffer as well as enemies. Garnet answered that, "in a just war, it was lawful for those that had right to wage battle against the enemies of their commonwealth, to authorise their captains or soldiers, as their officers, to annoy, or destroy, any town that is unjustly holden against them; and that such is the common doctrine of all divines; in respect that every commonwealth must, by the law of nature, be sufficient for itself, and therefore as well able to repel injuries as to provide necessities." Plain enough, in common reason; but Catesby wishes further to be satisfied. For example, again: during the wars in the Low Countries, towns are sacked, and forts, that cannot be taken by force of arms, are drowned by letting in the sea upon them. Many innocent persons and young children, and some of the latter, perhaps, unbaptized, perish in the flood. What of this? Garnet acknowledges that it is not right to kill innocents, "for that the reason

ceaseth in them for which the pain of death may be inflicted by authority." Here Catesby rejoins, that the thing is ordinarily done in the destruction of those forts by drowning. "True," said the Father, "it is there permitted, because it cannot be avoided; but is done as *per accidens*, and not as a thing intended by, or for, itself; and so it is not unlawful. As if we were shot into the arm with a poisoned bullet, so that we could not escape with life, unless we cut off our arm; then, *per accidens*, we cut off our arm, and fingers also, which were sound, and yet, being, at that time of danger, inseparably joined to the arm, lawful to be cut off. And such was the case of the town of Gibeah, and the other towns of the tribe of Benjamin, wherein many were destroyed that had not offended."

Catesby was quite satisfied. His Church was at war with England. The Provincial of the Jesuits, whose advice all Romanists were enjoined by the Pope himself to take, taught him that this was a war of extermination, wherein the innocent might suffer with the guilty. He inferred, of course, that a few Romanists might, *by accident*, be blown up with the heretics, if the heretics could not be blown up without them. To kill the King, the royal family, and the chief men of England, would be a virtuous act, nay, necessary to save the body ecclesiastical, which had received a bad wound from the poisoned bullet of the Reformation. To kill a

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few Papists, not, however, Jesuits, if the others could not be killed without them, would be a mere *accident*, and it might be innocently incurred. Catesby told all this to his crew, and, by the testimony of Gerard himself we have it, "all were animated in their proceedings, without any further scruple." Gerard affects to disapprove of their divinity, and says that Garnet had no notion of any plot existing, nor imagined that any such application would be made of his doctrine.\* But Garnet knew that, fifteen months before that time, Catesby had sounded him as to taking away the life of the King; that before the death of Queen Elizabeth he had consulted him as to the lawfulness of blowing up the Parliament; and he had declared that it would be lawful. Garnet, indeed, had withheld his approbation from the project of killing the King; but just then a friendly correspondence was going on between James I. and the Pope. When that correspondence had ceased, and the restoration of Popery by means of negotiation was again hopeless, Garnet again sanctioned vengeance. To drown the fort meant, in their enigmatic dialect, to blow up the Parliament; and the only change observable in his communication is that of a caution matured with the progress of time and of events. In effect, he merely said: "Do as you please; but I must know nothing about it. Yet I will help you all I can."

\* Dodd, by Tierney, vol. iv., p. 47.



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The pickaxes of the conspirators were again plied in perfect harmony with the teaching of the Jesuit. Christopher, brother of John Wright, was incorporated with due solemnity in February, the month after the resumption of their work. At this time, it may be noted, the Priests were everywhere active in making perverts, inciting to recusancy, and in Wales their adherents rose in arms. This gave rise to some earnestness in prosecuting recusants; yet the Bishops and parochial Ministers showed great reluctance to present such, and it became necessary for the Archbishop of Canterbury to call on his brethren in their dioceses to use greater diligence, and, towards midsummer, the King sent for all the Judges, and charged them to be diligent and severe in their circuits against the ringleaders.

The secular Priests, be it again observed, were not generally favourable to conspiracy. They laboured hard to increase the number and courage of the recusants, and some of them, as in Wales, were indeed guilty of sedition. But they were to be distinguished from the Jesuits. It was probably some non-Jesuit Confessor, consulted by the conspirators, who communicated the existence of a plot to Rome. Aquaviva, the General, wrote to Provincial Garnet thus:—

“We have understood, although the intelligence comes with the greatest possible secrecy, (*etsi planè admodùm secretò,*) and I am persuaded that your Reverence must also have known

## THE GUNPOWDER TREASON.

of it, that Catholics have now meditated and contrived something for their liberty; *which thing*, especially at the present time, would not only bring many and most grievous troubles on (our) religion, but would even put in hazard the existence of the Catholics themselves.\* His Holiness, therefore, commands me to write to your Reverence, in his name, that you may exert yourself, with your noblemen and gentlemen, and especially with the Lord Arch-Presbyter, that no schemes of the kind be treated of, nor carried into execution, for the reasons abovesaid; but especially for one reason on which His Holiness insists, which is, that, besides disapproving of all such practices being dealt in by the Catholics in your country, he says that certainly *greater advantages (majora bona)* would be lost,—advantages which the clemency and benignity of His Beatitude towards those Catholics is now thinking of, and endeavours to bring about. For assuredly His Holiness will never fail, nor has he now failed, to devise and seek for means by which they may be helped to peace and better fortune.

“Therefore, as your Reverence must fully understand the gravity and necessity of so

\* A just apprehension. If some Huguenots, for example, had plotted to blow up the Parliament at Paris, would not the French priesthood have called on the multitude to lay vengeance on the whole fraternity? Just as certainly as ever did their brethren in Lisbon or in York to destroy the Jews. But nothing of the kind was done by us.

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doing, you will use every endeavour that thoughts of this kind be laid aside ; for, in addition to the reasons just given, which are indeed of the greatest weight, there is also another, by no means to be overlooked,—for it is given for the good of the Catholics themselves,—that, if it should come to pass, which may God forbid, it would bring no small damage to our Society, for *no one will easily believe that this was done without our consent.* June 25th, 1605.”\* Here was no abhorrence of crime, but only fear of mischief to themselves.

Garnet replied that he had four times prevented tumult ; that the Catholics would not do anything public without his consent, and that, therefore, it would be in his power to prevent an armed insurrection ; but he feared that they might take up arms in a distant province, and, others following their example, his authority might come too late. Some, however, would only be restrained by an absolute prohibition from the Pope. Nay, there had been some who, in the reign of Clement VIII., asserted that the Pope could not forbid them to defend their own lives. “They also say that no Priest shall know their secrets ; but some of our friends complain of us that we are interposing obstacles to their plans.” In order that he might pacify them somewhat, or at least, he said, gain time, he had exhorted them to send some one over to the Pope.

\* Copied by Tierney from the State-Paper Office.

## THE GUNPOWDER TREASON.

Another copy, but its authenticity is disputed, makes Garnet express his apprehension of something worse, namely, an attempt on the King's life. But, at any rate, it is evident by the copies of this document, published, although variously, by the Romanists themselves, that he knew of the plot, and that *his friends* complained of him for not helping it forward. He did not choose to appear as an actor, his instructions forbade this; and therefore he looked quietly on, and indirectly managed it. And he knew what it was proposed to do *in a distant province*. He allowed his friends to go on without interruption; but Blackwell, to his honour be it said, wrote a letter to his Clergy, conveying the Pope's disapprobation, given in the original words, and exhorted them to publish that mandate, "to the suppressing of all suspected discommendable actions." The mandate, however, was not heeded by Catesby and his men. Garnet answered, when asked, in private, the meaning of the Pope's words in Aquaviva's letter, as published by the Arch-Priest, that the Priests "were not to undertake or procure stirs; but yet they would not hinder any—nor was it the Pope's mind they should—that should be undertaken for Catholic good." Sir Everard Digby, to whom he gave this answer, and who saw Catesby to be in constant communication with him, then made up his mind to join the plot." \*

\* Dodd, iv., 47.

## GARNET.

From January to Easter they laboured hard to perforate the wall, half despairing of success, when an accidental noise under the House of Lords alarmed them. Dropping their tools, they seized their weapons, (for of powder and shot they had abundance,) and resolved to die there, rather than be taken. "Johnson" ran out to discover the occasion of the noise, and found that it proceeded from the shovelling away of coals from a cellar under the House of Lords. The coals were sold off, and the occupier was to leave. Moreover, Faukes calculated that the point towards which they were mining, directly under the throne, lay in that very cellar, which they must get possession of, or else lose their labour. But this could easily be done, as the cellar was to be let. Percy dressed himself, went out, saw Ferris, and hired the cellar, under pretence of laying in a stock of wood and coals for the winter. Without loss of time Johnson brought in one thousand billets, five hundred faggots, and, under these, twenty barrels of gunpowder.\* The mining was now relinquished, as no longer necessary.

The expected session of Parliament drew near, and, as many other things were intended to be done besides blowing up the House, Catesby collected more recruits. At the Duck, in St. Clement's parish, probably the house of resort where they had met before, Catesby administered the oath to one Rookwood, a lodger in that

\* Speed.

## THE GUNPOWDER TREASON.

house, Winter and Wright assisting ; and either then, or about the same time, Sir Everard Digby and Stephen Littleton were also added to their number. On the 14th of October Tresham followed, and made the band complete. To cover the expenses that must be incurred, Sir Everard Digby offered £1,500, and Tresham £2,000, Percy £4,000 from the rents of the Earl of Northumberland, with ten good horses, for use "after the blow." By this time there were stowed close in the cellar thirty-six barrels of gunpowder, covered with bars of iron, crow-bars and pickaxes, great stones, and logs of timber, that, by resisting force, would make the shock yet more destructive. And having finished their work, they had leisure to pray, which they did most heartily, adding their recitations to the litanies already heard in Rome, and throughout the Popedom, for the promotion of their cause. They muttered to the host of heaven :—

*"Gentem auferte perfidam credentium de finibus,  
Ut Christi laudes debitas persolvamus alacriter."*

"O take away the perfidious nation from the borders of the faithful, that we may render with alacrity the praises that are due to Christ." \*

As for Garnet, he wisely kept at a distance from London, but took care not to put himself beyond the circle of communication with the traitors. By a pilgrimage to St. Winifred's Well, he prepared new merits, and added to his

\* Speed.

## GARNET.

reputation for sanctity. Goathurst, a seat of Sir Everard Digby, in Buckinghamshire, afforded him concealment for a considerable time. He wrote thence to Parsons on the 4th of October, and again on the 21st, on which day Tesmond asked, and of course obtained, absolution for the sin he intended to commit. But, as we shall soon find, a second centre of operations, and those too of the utmost importance, was to be established further north,—“in a distant province,” as he had told his General,—and thither he proceeded; first, to Harrowden, the seat of Lord Vaux, in Northamptonshire, thence to Coughton, in the neighbourhood of Alcester, and, on the day after “the blow” was to have been struck in Westminster, he is said to have been at Dunchurch, waiting for intelligence, and watching for the further execution of their purpose.\*

### DETECTION OF THE PLOT.

One dark evening, towards the end of October, as Lord Mouteagle, a Romish Peer, was entertaining a party at supper in his mansion at Hoxton, a footman brought in a letter given him in the street, by some one whom the man did not know, or, if he had known by day-light, could not have distinguished then. His Lordship opened the letter, but, seeing neither date nor signature, and supposing it to be of slight importance, handed it to one of his attendants

\* Tierney in Dodd, vol. iv., p. cii. *seq.*

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named Thomas Ward, and went on talking with the company. Mr. Ward read the letter, and, startled at the contents, returned it for perusal to his Lordship. It was as follows:—

“my lord out of the love i beare to some of your friends i have a caer of your preservacion therefor i would advyse youe as youe tender your lyf to devyse some excuse to shift of your attendance at this parleament for god and man hathe concurred to punishe the wickednes of this tyme and thinke not slightlye of this advertisement but retyere youre self into youre contri wheare youe maye expect the event in safti for thoughe there be no apparence of anni stir yet i saye they shall receyve a terrible blowe this parleament and yet they shall not seie who hurts them this council is not to be contemned because it maye do youe good and can do youe no harme for the dangere is passed as soon as youe have burnt the letter and i hope God will give youe the grace to mak good use of it to whose holy protection I commend youe.” \*

Lord Mounteagle, utterly destitute of any clue to the interpretation of the letter, although Tresham, one of the conspirators, was his brother-in-law, put it quietly into his pocket. Not only was it anonymous and without date, but the hand-writing was disguised. But if there was any meaning in it, it concerned the nation no less than himself; and for him to

\* Tierney, *nt supra*, p. 49.



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follow the hint by going to his country house, leaving the Parliament to receive "a terrible blowe," was out of the question. Without loss of time, he went that night to the King's palace at Whitehall, and showed the sibylline leaf to the Earl of Salisbury, principal Secretary of State. The Secretary knew not what to make of the letter. He knew not whether to treat it as a work of sport or frenzy. No wise man, he thought, could be so weak as to suppose, that on so trifling a notice, the King would absent himself from the opening of Parliament, which was to take place the next week. And as for Lord Mouteagle, Salisbury thought it very unlikely that if an attack on Parliament were intended, he alone would have received warning, and all the other noblemen be left in ignorance. Yet these reasons did not satisfy himself. He felt driven into "a great strait," and the more he pondered the matter, the more perplexing it became. Half ashamed that any one should see him affected by such a paper, yet more than half afraid to let it pass unheeded,—loath to trust his own judgment alone, and accustomed to do too much, rather than too little, in doubtful matters, however trifling,—he showed the letter to the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain, and asked his opinion. Suffolk, being intrusted with the management of state solemnities, and familiar with thoughts of Parliament, Parliament House, and all the ceremonial of opening a

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session, took a somewhat clearer view of the mysterious words. *A blow was to come without their seeing who should hurt them.* "They" meant a company of persons on whom the blow should come; and the letter itself indicated Parliament as that company. A blow from an invisible hand, heavy enough to destroy them all, was inconceivable, except by some such thing as the explosion of a mine; and there had been examples of the kind. An attempt had been made to blow up the Council-house and all within it at the Hague; and in Edinburgh a similar death was prepared for King James's father, but providentially averted. He thought, therefore, that the intention must be,—if indeed any intention was really entertained,—to blow up the King and Parliament together, when fully assembled on the day of opening, the 6th of the coming month. He also thought of a large vault under the House of Lords, used only for wood and coals, than which no place could be more suitable for such a purpose. Salisbury agreed in the surmise. Although, each time they read the letter, this idea became yet more clearly the key for interpretation, Salisbury hesitated to admit the suspicion of so nefarious and wanton a piece of mischief. But these two Lords consulted the Lord Admiral, and the Earls of Worcester and Northampton, who half concurred in the same view, although they could scarcely help thinking the letter to have been written to alarm them, that the writer might make

sport of their perplexity. The King, too, was away in the country; and they agreed, that if there were a conspiracy on foot, they could not take measures energetic enough to detect, or even to prevent it, without first consulting His Majesty.

On the 1st day of November, the King having returned to London, Salisbury put the letter into his hand; and, while His Majesty mused over it, threw in his own suspicion of a design to blow up the Parliament with gunpowder. The King instantly caught the same suspicion; but Salisbury, again pointing to the words, "the danger is passed as soon as you have burnt the letter," observed that, if it were so, the man must be a fool that would have written that. The King, on the contrary, laid stress on the adverb "soon," which he interpreted to mean *quickly*, and solved the enigma thus:—"As quickly as this paper could be burnt—in as short a time—they would be all launched into eternity." James then professed,—which, however, is doubtful,—that he had a natural habit of contemning all false fears, but agreed with them, that, "seeing such a matter was possible, that should be done which might prevent all danger, or nothing at all." Hereupon it was moved that, "till the night before his coming, nothing should be done to interrupt any purpose of theirs that had any such devilish practice,\* but

\* Let the reader be reminded that this coarse outspokenness was the common language of the time.

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rather to suffer them to go on till the end of the day."

On the afternoon, however, of Monday, the 5th of November, the Lord Chamberlain, whose office it was to see all places of assembly put in readiness when the King's person should come, taking with him Lord Mouteagle, went to survey the Parliament House, which he did in his usual manner; and, as if it were merely to complete the official visit, went also into the vault, which, like the house adjacent, was opened on such an occasion, as of course. Seeing a large quantity of fire-wood, more than the housekeeper was likely to require, his Lordship asked to whom it belonged. "To my master, Mr. Percy, who lives next door," was the reply. "It's his stock of firing for the winter." "Your master," said the Lord Chamberlain, "is well provided against winter-blasts." "Percy,"—thought Lord Mouteagle,—“Percy makes great profession of friendship with me. It must be he that sent me *the warning of a friend.*” The suspicion was communicated to the Lord Chamberlain as soon as they were alone, and his Lordship resolved to search under that heap of wood, although there was no appearance of any other material in the cellar. About five o'clock, the Lord Chamberlain and the Earl of Salisbury went to the King, related what had been seen and suspected, and the Secretary added, that although he was hard of belief that any

such thing was thought of as that which they had fancied, yet, in such a case, whatever was not so done as to put all out of doubt, was as good as nothing. Whereupon His Majesty resolved that the matter should be so managed that no one should be scandalised, nor any alarm raised. The Lord Admiral, the Lord Treasurer, and the Earl of Worcester being also present, there was, in fact, a Privy Council; and after some deliberation they agreed, that on pretence of searching for stolen goods, Sir Thomas Knevet, a gentleman of His Majesty's Privy Chamber, and also Justice of the Peace, should that night search the cellar, and all the neighbouring premises; and, causing the wood to be removed, see the plain ground under it.

Sir Thomas, attended by a sufficient force, went to the cellar about midnight; and outside the door met a man dressed as if for a journey, booted and spurred. Him they detained there, but without asking any question, and proceeded to the search. No sooner were a few faggots removed than a barrel appeared; then another, and another, thirty-six in all, with some smaller ones. By this time the caitiff was bound fast, searched, and found to have a dark lantern and three matches. He made no difficulty in confessing that those barrels of gunpowder were put there in readiness to blow up the King and the Parliament next day, and that he was the person who would have lighted the train. This was

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Guy Faukes, who gave his assumed name Johnson, and answered their questions without the slightest perturbation; coolly saying, that, whatever might have come of it, it had been his fixed intention to finish the plot next day. His object, he said, was to restore "the Catholic religion," to extinguish the Government, and substitute another. Of himself, he confessed everything, and said that he had some accomplices, but would not divulge their names. When some observed that the providence of God had saved the nation by this discovery, he told them that it was not God, but the devil, that had spoiled the plot; and vowed that if they had caught him inside instead of outside the cellar, he would then have lit the train at once and blown up them and himself together. He was instantly put into confinement.

There was also another centre of conspiracy. Within eight miles of Dunchurch, in Warwickshire, was the Princess Elizabeth, too young to be taken with her parents to the opening of Parliament. At Dunchurch-Heath, Catesby and some of his complotters were to meet on pretence of a hunting-match. The party, including servants, or persons who passed for servants, would be about eighty in number. The first place of meeting was a house in Dunchurch, where Digby, Catesby, and John Wright were waiting. Their intention was to ride over to Lord Harrington's, take possession of the Princess, and proclaim her

Queen. As soon as the explosion had taken place, in the moment of universal terror, one of the conspirators would proclaim her at Charing-Cross. During the confusion, Percy would keep Duke Charles, also a child, close in his chamber. They would divide the high offices of state among themselves. About six o'clock on the Monday evening, it being dark, Faukes slipped away to find Percy, who was then at the house of the Earl of Northumberland, and told him of the visit of the Lords Suffolk and Mounteagle to the cellar that afternoon. Not doubting that the place would be searched, Percy, and all the conspirators in London, except Tresham, instantly mounted swift horses, and rode away towards Dunchurch, keeping to the highway, but going so fast, that even if pursued without any delay, it would have been difficult to overtake them. Two or three of them kept in company, and after pushing their horses over the bad winter roads that night and all the next day, they reached Dunchurch, and found Sir Everard Digby in the jollity of a hunting-party, and surrounded by persons who suspected nothing of the plot.

The gentlemen wondered to see so many new guests come in so suddenly, so late in the evening, and so well appointed. But the surprise increased when they saw them look weary and dejected; and when Sir Everard abruptly withdrew, and closeted himself with them in a chamber apart. And greater still was their

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amazement when Sir Everard came out, ordered all his men and horses to be ready, and rode away with the strangers, leaving his company to disperse without ceremony.

From Dunchurch, the traitors rode to Warwick, entered the town next day as rebels, took away a fine stud of horses from stables near the castle, proceeded to Lord Windsor's, and seized a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, and thence pursued their way through Worcestershire towards Staffordshire. At first, people looked on inquisitively, but soon the rumour of their guilt overtook them; yet they ventured to hope for adherents in the cause of Popery, and prepared to make resistance.

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On Thursday night they reached the house of Stephen Littleton, one of themselves, in Staffordshire; and, after taking some rest, rose early on the Friday morning to make preparation for defence. Some went out into the fields to ascertain who might be coming, friends and foes. Others remained in the house to get ready ammunition. As if blinded by fear, or by a retributive infatuation, on finding some of their powder dampish, they laid a quantity of it before the fire to dry, and sat round it, hastily making up cartridges, or preparing their arms. A spark from the fire exploded the powder. Catesby, Rookwood, and Grant lay stunned at a distance; the others ran away. Littleton and Winter,



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hearing the report, flew back into the house, and found Catesby scorched and terrified, and the other two miserably burnt and bruised. "What will you do?" cried Littleton. "We mean here to die," answered they. "Then," said Winter, "I will take such part as you do." Death seemed visibly upon them. They applied themselves earnestly to the recitation of litanies, or such prayers as they could remember; and the few men who had joined them made the best of the moment to escape.

At about eleven o'clock, Sir Richard Walsh, High Sheriff of Worcestershire, came with a pretty strong force, and surrounded the house. Winter, going into the court, was shot in the shoulder, and lost the use of one arm. Next, the elder Wright was struck dead. After him the younger Wright. Then Rookwood, severely wounded, was made prisoner. Then Winter and Grant. Catesby and Percy resolved to defend themselves to the last minute.

Then Catesby, drawing from his bosom a cross of gold which had been his aid to devotion throughout all the plot, blessed himself with it, showed it to the people, and, with a loud voice professed that it was only for the honour of the Cross, and the exaltation of that faith which honoured the Cross, and for the saving of their souls in the same faith, that he had been moved to undertake the business. But since he saw that it was not God's will that it should succeed in the manner or to the end that they intended, he was

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willing and ready to give his life for the same cause, only he would not be taken by any one, and against that only he would defend himself with his sword.

This said, Catesby and Percy stood back to back, with swords drawn. In that posture they were shot through by the same bullet. Percy languished for a few days, and then died. Catesby, fallen to the ground, crept on his knees into the house, got a picture of the Virgin Mary into his arms, and, embracing it thus, he sank with his lips upon the canvass, and expired. Such was the opprobrious martyrdom of the man who intended to have offered up a royal holocaust to his deity at Rome. And it was marked as an intervention of Divine Justice that by gunpowder, the very material chosen by himself for the perpetration of the crime, a falling spark brought him the first stroke of retribution. For it was acknowledged in confession that, when their companions came in from the field after the explosion, and saw them scorched and confounded, all agreed that God had given a signal of His will that they should not attempt to persevere, much less to resist, but suffer.

Some of them had fled, hoping to escape for a time, at least. Winter and Littleton did so put off their fate for about two months. Sir Everard Digby, attended by two servants, who would not leave him, took horse, and rode away. But the country was up. A hue and cry for the traitors resounded on every side. His tall and

noble figure, his knightly appointments, and his features familiar to multitudes, attracted instant observation. People from town and country collected; and, seeing that he was known, he desperately struck into a wood, there to be concealed, or else to die. He and his servants were in a dry pit with their horses, covered by the brushwood on its sides; but the pursuers tracked them to the place, and he soon heard voices crying, "Here he is! Here he is!"

At the first impulse he fancied himself yet able to brave the peril; and shouting, "Here he is indeed!" advanced his horse, and, curvetting boldly,—for he was a fine horseman,—broke through about a dozen men. But a hundred more came forward, and to escape was hopeless. He therefore surrendered himself to "the likeliest man of the company," asking only time to prepare himself for death. He was forthwith conveyed to London, and lodged in the Tower. Winter and Littleton were eventually found, and also made state prisoners. Nothing now remained but for justice to take its course.

Guy Faukes had named no other person but Percy, whom he called his master; and next morning early, a proclamation was issued from the King, commanding all his "officers and loving subjects whatsoever" to make diligent search for Percy, apprehend, and by all possible means keep him alive, until the rest of the conspirators might be discovered. Another proclamation on November 18th brought in Winter and Littleton, after a

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concealment in London of two months ; and some other persons were apprehended on suspicion. The examinations of the criminals resulted in information tending to criminate Garnet, Gerard the Chaplain of the plot, and Tesmond. On the 15th of January, therefore, 1606, the King issued another proclamation for the apprehension of those three Jesuits ; John Gerard, *alias* Brooke ; Henry Garnet, *alias* Wally, *alias* Darcy, *alias* Farmer ; and Tesmond, *alias* Greenway. Discoverers were to be liberally rewarded, and harbourers, maintainers, or concealers, to suffer a severe execution of the laws, without hope of mitigation.\*

Great terror fell upon the Romanists. Owen, a Priest, and Baldwin, a Jesuit, two persons who had been in intimate relations with the plotters, were at Brussels, and the King demanded them to be given up. The Jesuits and the Nuncio beset the Archducal palace ; and the Government, yielding to their more influential importunity, refused to surrender the culprits, alleging that Owen, as a spiritual person, could not be meddled with, unless by authority of the Church ; and that, having entered the service of the King of Spain, he could not be touched, although an Englishman, without permission of His Catholic Majesty. Baldwin, being a Jesuit, was altogether beyond secular jurisdiction.

At the Court of Spain, vexation rose to the highest pitch, and scheme after scheme was devised for poisoning or assassinating the Earl

\* Rymer, *Fœdera*, an. 1605.

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of Salisbury, whose diligence had disconcerted the plot, and who bore the hated name of Cecil. Sir Charles Cornwallis, the British Minister there, was treated with incivility when demanding judicial examinations of suspected fugitives, and the Jesuit Creswell made haste to write and print a book, charging the Government of England with having themselves contrived a sham conspiracy, in order to bring discredit on "the Catholics." \*

On the clearest evidence of guilt, Digby, the two Winters, Rookwood, Grant, Keyes, Faukes, Bates, and Littleton, were condemned to die, and executed on the 30th and 31st of January. On the 28th of that month, Garnet was apprehended in the country, at the residence of the brother-in-law of Lord Mounteagle, and thence transported to the Tower. At his first examination, he denied all previous knowledge of the plot; but two of the Warders overheard him say, in a conversation with Oldcorn, another imprisoned Jesuit, that Tesmond had communicated a knowledge of it to him in confession. He was examined a second time, and, finding that to be known, confessed it without much reserve; but pleaded that the absolute prohibition of his Church to break the sacramental seal of secrecy had rendered it impossible for him to disclose the treason; and that therefore he was not to be regarded as accomplice in a crime which he could not hinder, by giving information to the Government, and which, as

\* Winwood, ii., 183—190, 236, 277, 290, 202, 203.

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he pretended, he had not sufficient influence over the criminals to prevent. All this, however, was the mere conclusion to which the science of equivocation had conducted him ; and, as we have seen, on evidence brought out in the course of these trials, some years before, he had sanctioned the notion of Catesby, that the Parliament might be destroyed by gunpowder, and afterwards, by subtile reasoning, under a cloak of pretended ignorance, he had indoctrinated him in regicide. We have also seen that he answered the letters from Rome, where it was understood that he was privy to the whole affair, with a reserve as to the main point, and endeavoured to provide a screen for himself in the hour of necessity, by declaring that the patience of the Catholics was exhausted, and that, although he could easily prevent an insurrection, he had no power to disarm secret violence, or open sedition in a distant province. Double dealing had characterised all his communications.

Not until the latter end of March (28th), was Garnet brought into open court. At eight o'clock in the morning, the Guildhall of London was crowded to witness the trial of the Superior of the Jesuits in England. The Lord Mayor of London, the Lord Admiral of England, the Lord Chamberlain, the Lord Chief Justice, the Lords Worcester, Salisbury, and Northampton, with other Commissioners, were assembled. The King himself sat behind a screen, that he might hear all, without being seen. Garnet was

placed in a square desk, somewhat resembling a pulpit, before the Judges, to be distinctly seen and heard, and where, conscious of his "graceful presence," he was not unwilling to be in a position so favourable to effective speaking. Chief Justice Coke conducted the prosecution, and we can easily believe that he encumbered the case by displaying a superfluity of legal erudition which, as yet, a better taste in England had not forbidden. The prisoner, calm and self-possessed, by an effect of that thorough discipline of the Society which prepares its subjects to pass through any crisis with stoical self-abandonment, felt himself to be the representative of his order, earning glory in Rome in proportion to the infamy that covered him in London, and the ignominious execution that was to follow. He pleaded with that effective eloquence which might be expected from a man who had professed philosophy, (and Hebrew too,) and taught mathematics, at Rome; one who had sat at the feet of Bellarmino, and learned from the lips of Suarez, and sat in the chair of Clavius. By desire of the King, as it was understood, the court abstained from the vituperations which were too frequently poured upon prisoners. He was allowed entire freedom of defence, and even complimented on his talent. "Garnet," said the Lord Admiral, "thou hast done more good in that pulpit this day, than in all the pulpits thou ever camest in." \*

\* Winwood, ii., 206.

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Unencumbered by the strict morality that makes honest men hesitate, he held equivocation to be virtuous, if it might cover an indiscretion or hide a crime. The one object to be pursued was the clearing the Society of Jesus from the scandal of regicide. To himself, death must come; but for the honour of the Society, he must do his utmost to prove himself, their Provincial, innocent. The particulars may be seen in the State Trials, and elsewhere; but the conclusion, as universally admitted, was, that he had foreknowledge of the plot. The Romanist theologians agree, that he would have sinned if he had attempted to save the lives of the King, Lords, and Commons of England, by breaking the seal of confession. The trial lasted until seven in the evening. Then, being found guilty, he was sent back to the Tower.

On the 3d of May following, after breakfast, the Sheriffs of the city of London were announced to the Lieutenant of the Tower, with the King's warrant to deliver up the body of Henry Garnet. After exchanging the usual good words with that officer, his lady, and others, he came out at the gate, was placed on a sledge, with some straw under him, and with a strong guard drawn towards St. Paul's Church-yard. A vast multitude lined the way, and windows and roofs looked alive with spectators. The people kept a decorous silence as he passed, and at the foot of the scaffold, opposite the west door of St. Paul's, the Sheriffs' officers helped him out,



## GARNET.

and assisted him to mount the ladder. Thence, he used his liberty to address the people, by descanting on the finding of the holy cross, a fable unhappily noted in the Calendar of the Church of England opposite that day; and therefore there could be no legal reason why Garnet, or any one else, then or now, might not make the finding of the holy cross a subject of discourse. Thence he proceeded to make a declaration of his faith; but this the Recorder forbade, as he was not to die for his faith, but for his treason. The Recorder then asked him to speak to the people concerning his offence. For that he thought his voice too weak. The Recorder offered to repeat his words aloud. But not satisfied with the first experiment, he raised his own voice, protested that in confession only he had heard of the plot,—which may have been true, as to some details,—but confessed that he might have been wrong in not making known the suspicions he entertained of Catesby, from whom he had heard of *something*. Thus did he suppress and equivocate to his latest moment. He was hung. His body was cut down, and an executioner, having separated the head, held it up, and cried, “Behold the head of a traitor!”

## THE STRAW.

A Jesuit hero, if he would be perfect, must work one miracle at least; and if he could not do it while alive, his body must perform it after death. But when, just two nights before his

## THE STRAW.

death, the Lieutenant of the Tower and his lady saw Garnet drunken, and heard him talk foolishly, they did not expect him to work miracles. Those who occupied the scaffold, and saw him even on his knees, as if to make a last prayer, listening to the observations of the people near, and now and then speaking to the nearest, perceived no sign of supernatural energy. When his features sank, and his voice faltered with consternation at sight of the headsman and the gallows, he gave no sign of any supernatural faculty. When he was evading some close questions, the people shouted, "Equivocation!" little thinking of any signal from heaven in his favour. And when he endeavoured to clear himself of a slander of guilty conversation with Ann Vaux, no thought of saintly power came into the mind of the crowd.

But one John Wilkinson, a Seminarist in disguise, entertained a more reasonable, because a better founded, expectation. He knew what a Jesuit could do, and he prepared accordingly. The day before the execution, this Wilkinson, lying in bed, sick, as he afterwards related, thought that a miracle—more especially in absence of all other evidence—would be necessary to attest the sanctity of his Superior; and with the fixedness of mind which is nurtured in a "retreat," he dwelt on the notion of a miracle. Next morning he arose early, full of miracle; and, looking as much as possible unlike a Jesuit, made one of the throng, and got a place just at the foot of the scaffold. He saw his Superior

## GARNET.

swinging—dead—cut down—beheaded—disembowelled. The mutilated carcass was thrown piecemeal into a large hamper. And in removing the hamper to a cart that was ready, some straws, wet with blood, were scattered from the scaffold. One straw, he knew not how, came into his hand. It was hallowed with the martyr's blood. He carried it to his lodgings, and gave it to the wife of his landlord, Hugh Griffith, a tailor. Mrs. Griffith, in reverence of the relic, had a small glass case made; and, after eleven or twelve days, it was placed therein, and set on a table. Wilkinson, meanwhile, pondered the idea of a miracle; and after the space of nineteen weeks some one observed upon a hollow husk of that ear of straw a minute picture of a bearded head. Wilkinson had left the country on the eve of the discovery of the husk pencilled; but the tailor and his wife proclaimed the miracle. Eudæmon Johannes, the apologist of Garnet, gave the world an engraving, in his title-page, of "The Miraculous Portrait of Henry Garnet, of the Society of Jesus, Martyr of England, on the 3d of May, 1611."\* Thus gloriously ends the career of the first Jesuit Provincial in this country.

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