

Fourteen Years A Jesuit

by

Count Paul Von Hoensbroech

This Work by a former member of the Society of Jesus is yet another first hand witness to the true character and nature of the Jesuits. From the early age when he was recruited into the Society until his departure fourteen years later, Von Hoensbroech records his schooling, his work and his observations and thoughts of the inner workings of the Jesuits. His interested research brings out the History and activities of the Society that he himself was not a direct witness of. Written without rancor or rage, this two volume set is one of the best Histories of the Jesuits to be found.

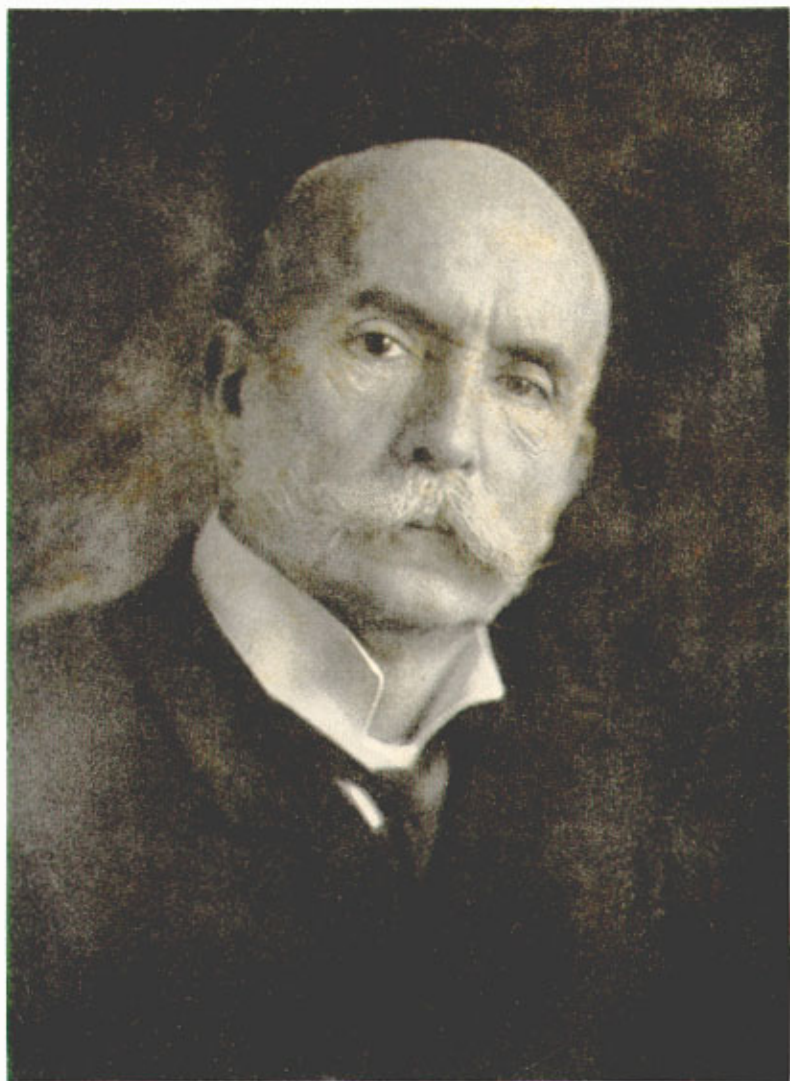
The Past shall not be lost; the Truth shall not be hidden. Bank of Wisdom is proud to be able to reproduce this and other needed books for the advance and elevation of the entire Human race.

Emmett F. Fields
Bank of Wisdom, LLC

Bank of Wisdom®
A LIMITED LIABILITY COMPANY

P.O. Box 926
Louisville, KY 40201
U.S.A.

www.Bank-of-Wisdom.com



COUNT PAUL VON HOENSBROECH

FOURTEEN YEARS A JESUIT

A Record of Personal Experience
and a Criticism

BY

COUNT PAUL VON HOENSBROECH

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY

ALICE ZIMMERN

(Girton College, Cambridge)

Reproduced in electronic form

2000

Bank of Wisdom®

A LIMITED LIABILITY COMPANY

P.O. Box 926

Louisville, KY

U.S.A.

1911

Reproduced in electronic form
2000

Bank of Wisdom®
A LIMITED LIABILITY COMPANY

P.O. Box 926
Louisville, KY
U.S.A.

The purpose of the Bank of Wisdom is
to again make the United States the Free
Marketplace of Ideas that the
American Founding Fathers
originally meant this Nation to be.

Emmett F. Fields
Bank of Wisdom.

TO MY WIFE

At your side, and under your gentle yet firm influence, a new life has arisen in me on the ruins of the old.

With courage and a loving devotion that shrank from no sacrifice, you joined your fate to mine in despite of the hard and tormenting difficulties that towered like mountains before you.

It was you who strengthened my power of endurance and increased my joy in creation. It was your wise judgment that watched over my labours. All that I have attained in face of a world of difficulties, is, in part, your work.

That is why love and gratitude that will endure till death dedicate to you this book of my life.

" I will answer also my part, I also will shew mine opinion. For I am full of matter, the spirit within me constraineth me. Behold, my belly is as wine which hath no vent ; it is ready to burst like new bottles. I will speak, that I may be refreshed."—JOB xxxii. 17-20.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

THE translation here offered to English readers is slightly abridged in certain portions. The main omissions in Volume I. are an excursus by Professor Morgenstern on the Latinity of the Jesuit Order; a correspondence between the Jesuit General and the Austrian Minister of Education in regard to Austrian schools; and a "Retrospect" by the Author, intended as a conclusion to Volume I., which was published separately in Germany, some months before the appearance of Volume II. In Volume II. the chapters on "Abuses in the Jesuit Order," and on the "Suppression of the Order," have been omitted, as well as a few of the very numerous quotations from Jesuit writers, particularly in the chapter on "Jesuit Morality." A few notes and explanations of Roman Catholic customs which are also Anglican have been omitted, and two or three translator's notes inserted at points which might puzzle the English reader.

The translations from the Latin have been made from the Antwerp and Prague editions of the *Institute*, as the Roman edition, which is usually quoted in the references, does not appear to be in the British Museum or the Cambridge University Library. For the loan of the Antwerp edition I have to thank the Librarian of

Translator's Preface

Dr. Williams' Library. Quotations from English works are copied from the originals, and in the case of Taunton's "History of the Jesuits in England" I acknowledge the courtesy of Messrs. Methuen & Co., Limited, in allowing the use of extracts from that work.

I am indebted to the courtesy of Count Hoensbroech for explanation of a few difficult points, and some help in the correction of proofs.

ALICE ZIMMERN.

LONDON, 1911.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	xi
CHAPTER	
1. HOME AND PARENTS	1
2. EARLY EDUCATION AND FAMILY LIFE	18
3. THE JESUIT SCHOOL AT FELDKIRCH	49
4. THE JESUIT SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION	61
5. THE JESUIT SYSTEM OF EDUCATION	127
6. PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF FELDKIRCH	196
7. MAYENCE	219
8. STONYHURST—BONN—GÖTTINGEN.	239
9. THE INTERVENING YEARS. LOURDES AND THE "KULTUR- KAMPF"	255
10. POSTULANT AND NOVICE	271
11. THE PIETY OF THE JESUIT ORDER	295
12. THE ASCETIC DISCIPLINE OF THE JESUIT ORDER	326
13. PERSONAL EXPERIENCES	391
14. THE INNER CONSTITUTION OF THE ORDER	407

INTRODUCTION

ON the 4th of November, 1878, at half-past four in the afternoon, I crossed the threshold of the novitiate house of the German province of the Society of Jesus at Exaeten, near Roermond, in Holland, to announce my intention of joining the Order.

On the 16th of December, 1892, at half-past twelve in the afternoon, I crossed the threshold of the same house, to leave the Society of Jesus and the Roman Catholic Church for ever.

What motives led me to take the first step, and what the last ?

To these questions this book will supply the answer. Between these steps lies a whole world—at any rate for me. Within it are comprised religious enthusiasm, lofty idealism, and complete disenchantment; religious despair and the very depths of pessimism; ardent faith and stubborn unbelief; spiritual struggles, self-denial, verging on self-annihilation, suffering that penetrated the very marrow of my being, stabbing me to the quick and crushing me as with the weight of a millstone; the sweat of anguish and the night vigil; penance and scourgings; the whole inner and outer being trodden under foot; and at last a struggle for freedom like that of a suffocating man for air.

Even before I took these two steps a whole world lay behind me—the world in which I was born and educated, my own surroundings, my family, my class; the world in which I grew to boyhood, youth and manhood.

On both these worlds I wish to throw light. I shall describe both, because they belong together as cause and effect.

The first part of the book deals with my early life and the Ultramontane Catholic world in which I grew up, and describes my life down to the time of my entering the Society of Jesus. This is a necessary part of a book written by me about the Jesuit Order, for its influence upon me dates from my earliest youth, and continues without interruption. The second part, which describes my life in the Order, while constantly referring to my own personal experiences, gives fundamental and systematic information concerning the Jesuit Order, with the omission only of its systems of instruction and education. With these I deal in Chapters III.—VI., in my account of the Jesuit training establishment at Feldkirch, which I entered at ten and left at seventeen years of age.

My book is essentially of a personal character, since it describes my life down to my fortieth year.

Yet it is also impersonal, for he who writes it to-day is in the strictest sense no longer the man whose experiences are described. Were it indeed possible for a man to retain the consciousness of his individuality and yet become a different person, I could assert that in my case this apparent psychological impossibility had been achieved.

The years that have elapsed since the 16th of December, 1892, have transformed me into a new being—new in thought, feeling, and action. Fresh springs of knowledge and conduct arose in me which, gradually increasing from a few scanty drops to a full stream, washed away my old self till not a trace of it remained. When I look back over the forty years of my life before 1892 I behold a stranger.

The history of my transition from one being to another is a story full of instructive detail. The influence of education, the immense power of old and inherited prejudices, the tyranny of a misinterpreted religious system, are disclosed in the telling. But along with these stands revealed the elemental, even creative, power of a personal consciousness which has reawakened to freedom in and through the strength of that freedom itself. A mechanical being, fashioned by traditions of family and creed, was transformed into an individuality: a man who, after decades of dependence, developed a consciousness of his own, who after forty years of bondage attained the right and capacity to rule and to guide his own destiny, who passed from self-annihilation to self-accentuation, and won back for himself his lost—or, rather, unrecognised—self, his innermost being, his own true nature. The slave perished, and the free man began to live.

My physical youth was gone, but at the age of thirty-nine my intellectual youth began to put forth shoots which are still growing. I became young in mind, and this made me a new being. When I was young in years I was weighted with an old age, a load of centuries of thought, judgments, and feelings. Now, in my actual old age, "I plough new lands":

"The old gives way, and time beholds his changes,
New life arises from the ruined old."*

In my case these words have been actually fulfilled. Therefore this book is both personal and impersonal; it is also fundamental.

I do not propose to set forth the outward events of my life in the order of their occurrence. It is that on which they are based, their fundamental significance, that I wish to emphasise. The particular spot where I stood

* Schiller, *Wilhelm Tell*, Act IV. Sc. 2.

at any time, and the exact manner of my life there, are comparatively unimportant; the essential is the reason why I stood there and lived thus.

Everything I say about the Jesuit Order is my exclusive property, because it gives the experience of my own mind and body during fourteen long years, and because my judgment rests exclusively on my personal experience. What I state is my own opinion of the Jesuit Order. Though I make some use of material supplied by others, where it is of value, the judgment drawn from it is my own. I belonged to the Order long enough not to need the judgment of others when I write about Jesuits and their system.

An enormous amount of literature on the Jesuits has been published by friends and foes; and the mass of books and treatises, articles and pamphlets, contains a great deal that is valueless—unmerited praise, unmerited blame, exaggerations of good as well as of evil, fabrications now on this side, now on that. I have no intention of sifting this accumulation. But undoubtedly my book will sweep away much that has been copied and re-copied by a whole series of critics, along with the lies that have been coined for and against the Society.

Fifteen years have gone by since I burst the bonds of the Order, and bade farewell to the creed and family in which I was born. Long enough surely to enable me to form an objective judgment. But though my judgment is impartial, its expression will not be dispassionate, for passion only dims our vision and weakens our judgment when it takes possession of us before the object has been grasped by our vision and understanding. When we have recognised and understood, then we may call in its aid. Indeed, it would be well if convictions were more frequently upheld with passion. There would be less uncertainty, weakness, and insincerity in the world. Many a good

book would not have missed its effect had it been written with more of passion.

How, indeed, would it be possible to write dispassionately about that which has stirred our souls to their depths? The aim of these pages is to show the part the Jesuit Order played at every epoch of my life from my earliest youth to the ripeness of manhood; the harm it caused and the good it brought me; the havoc it wrought in my soul, and the edifice it erected there. To tell all this without passion is beyond the bounds of possibility.

For what did not my religion and my family signify to me! To both I was bound by traditions reaching back for more than eight centuries; the life of both pulsed through my blood; I clung to them with every fibre of my whole burning heart. Yet both of these I was forced to leave for ever, to break down every bridge and plank that stretched between us. How would it be possible to think and speak of such a parting without passion? The man who could dispassionately describe his highest and deepest experiences, the shattering of an old world ardently loved for a whole generation and the building up of a new one, must have a stone in place of a heart.

My book has been written entirely from memory. I have no notes on which to base it. Before I entered the Society I only kept a diary when travelling, and this is of no value for my development. While in the Order I made a number of valuable notes, but I brought none of them away when I left it. At that time I thought I was right in so acting, but I now regret it.

These notes which I left behind dealt with the Ascetic Discipline, Learning, and Constitution of the Order.

The notes on the Discipline, which began with the first day of my novitiate, showed the development of my inner religious life under its ascetic influence, and more particularly of the Annual Exercises (*exercitia spiritualia*). They

also contained statements as to my own spiritual activity in the Order when preaching, hearing confessions, and conducting Exercises and popular missions. This work was done in England, Holland, and Germany. My notes on the Learning treated of my own humanistic, philosophic, and theological studies, and the examinations which concluded each section, as well as my literary contributions to the periodical, *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, written after the completion of my seven years' course of study. My notes on the Constitution of the Order were copies of the Instructions (*instructiones*) which I received during the first and second as well as the third or last probationary year (*tertius annus probationis*), concerning the spirit and constitution of the Order from the Master of the Novices, Father Meschler and the "Instructor" of the tertiate, Father Oswald. These Instructions were exceedingly valuable on account of their official as well as their intimate character. I can only express my lively—though, alas, unavailing—regret at no longer possessing them. For, if published, they would afford the deepest, because most authentic, insight hitherto available into the inner life of the Jesuit Order. Yet even the Instructions did not supply the very last word, because they were meant for all tertians, *i.e.* all persons in their third year of probation, whether destined for the grade of coadjutor or professed. And only the professed—and among these only the thrice sifted—become true initiates. Valuable material, also left behind when I left the Order, was contained in a number of letters addressed to me by the General, Antonius Maria Anderledy, by Father Hövel, for many years his assistant, and Father Ratgeb, at that time my Provincial. These I received in the course of my Jesuit training. Several particularly interesting letters were written me by the General and Father Ratgeb during my stay in Berlin in 1889. Still, there is a good deal in the

letters bearing an intimate character and referring to persons (members of the Order or public characters) which I should not have published, however characteristic they might have been of the mode of direction within the Society, and the method of judging public affairs on the part of its superiors (General and Provincials).

I am thus without any written basis for the long period of forty years, with all I experienced in their course. There may, therefore, be small errors in dates, names and places. I can no longer recall in every detail the external life of the Society, the daily routine, the arrangement of studies, and many single incidents. But the account as a whole is in no way affected by this.

Nor is this a book written with a didactic purpose. My object is to tell my own experiences, to set down the thoughts that arise in my own soul. Standing as I do in the last third of my strange life, I feel the need of looking back and setting down for myself and others that which I have beheld.

Nor yet is it meant as an attack—at least, not a calculated one. Its effect as such is due not to me, but to the inner and outward circumstances which it records.

Neither is it a polemic in the ordinary sense. I do not deliberately explain my views to opponents or friends of the Roman Church or the Jesuit Order, to persons whose point of view and conception of the universe differ from mine. Whenever I do this I am compelled to it by the exposition of my own views.

Only in dealing with the literature of the Jesuit Order do I depart from this rule. Jesuit literature is the exponent of the Jesuit system. To pass it by without drawing the sword is impossible where the aim is to unmask the Jesuit spirit.

Fourteen Years a Jesuit

PART I

THE ULTRAMONTANE WORLD IN WHICH I WAS BORN AND EDUCATED

CHAPTER I

HOME AND PARENTS

THE castle of Haag, my childhood's home, lies on the pleasant banks of the Niers in the Rhenish-Prussian district of Guelders.

Meadows, fields, and woods, intersected by ponds and streams, surround the massive building with its four flanking turrets. A broad moat, the remains of old draw-bridges, portholes, gloomy dungeons with armour, chains, instruments of torture and executioners' blocks, an array of helmets, cuirasses, and swords, everything here recalled wild, warlike days, stories of knightly deeds and baronial feuds.

How often, as we played among those roomy buildings, was the departed world re-peopled by the boy's imagination!

The castle offered a wide field for memory and fantasy. There was the "Emperor's Room," a large and lofty chamber, adorned with wood-carvings and costly tapestries from designs by Rubens, in which Frederick the Great, Napoleon I., the Tsar Nicholas I. of Russia, and later

Fourteen Years a Jesuit

the Emperor William I. had spent the night—this last on two occasions, as Regent and as King. From its walls hung ancient works of art, pictures by celebrated masters, innumerable portraits of ancestors with their legends and history, and weapons of every description. Then there was the great dining-hall, decked with white and gold, hung with tapestries representing stories from Roman history, with its pictures over the folding doors, and mirrors of Austrian emperors and Prussian kings. There was jewellery set with diamonds and other precious stones which my mother wore on great occasions, old plate which adorned the gala board, and in the castle chapel a shrine with honoured relics of apostles, martyrs, and saints, even reputed fragments of the Cross of Christ, and an authenticated imitation of one of the nails used at the Crucifixion.

All these objects, connected for centuries with the destinies of my family, made a powerful impression on my youthful mind, and filled me with religious and historic traditions which turned my thoughts and ideas into one definite direction.

Haag Castle was not the ancestral seat of my family. It was a marriage in the sixteenth century that brought it to us along with several other estates. Our own ancestral castle, Hoensbroech, a structure of remarkable grandeur and beauty, is situated in what is now the Dutch province of Limburg, between Aix and Maestricht. In olden times the castle and dominion of Hoensbroech belonged to the Duchy of Juliers. My family is therefore not of Dutch but of very ancient German origin. Even at the fatal battle of Worringen on the 5th of June, 1288, when Duke John of Brabant conquered Count Reinold of Guelders, and the Archbishop of Cologne, Siegfried von Westerburg, was taken prisoner, two knights of the name of Hoensbroech fought and fell.

I was born on the 29th of June, 1852, the festival of SS. Peter and Paul. My father was Franz Egon, Count of the Empire and Marquis of Hoensbroech, Hereditary Marshal of the Duchy of Guelders, Privy Councillor of the Kingdom of Prussia, Honorary Officer and Grand Cross Knight of Malta. He died on the 19th of December, 1874. My mother was Matilda, Countess and Marchioness of Hoensbroech, *née* Baroness von Loë. She died on the 19th of December, 1903. Both my parents belonged to the old school of nobility, with all its simplicity, dignity, and the sense of *noblesse oblige*. In their eyes it was character and not the accident of birth or title that gave the true stamp of nobility. In intellect both were far above the average; and their interests were numerous, though limited, as I must afterwards show, by their extreme ultramontane views.

My father only remains in my remembrance as a blind man. During his residence at Berlin in 1849, on the occasion of the "United Diet," he was afflicted with an eye trouble which, in spite of all Professor Gräfe's skill, led to permanent blindness. It was probably due to this cause, as well as to his deliberate manner, which found expression in a countenance recalling that of Napoleon, that we children never learnt to know him intimately, and that, in spite of all our love and reverence, there was never anything like familiarity between us.

This blindness, which overtook him in the full vigour of his manhood, must have been a severe trial to an energetic man like my father, whose position, ability, and the respect that he enjoyed on all hands would naturally have secured him a wide field of activity. Though compelled to renounce almost everything, we never heard him utter a word of complaint. With a calm and equable self-control he endured the inevitable, and submitted to the heavy fetters which his blindness laid on body and

Fourteen Years a Jesuit

spirit. His own strong character was naturally suited to endurance, and his burden was lightened by the wonderful devotion and inexhaustible affection of my mother; yet there is no doubt that the main source of his strength lay in his religion, which he embraced in what I can only call a masculine spirit, as an ancient family inheritance.

Indeed, there was nothing sentimental about "the Marquis," as he was universally called; even his religion had a certain hardness. It was to him principle, law, and the tradition of centuries. In spite of his remarkable intelligence, I doubt whether it ever occurred to him that religion must be a possession freely acquired; that to it above all the saying applies:

"And what thy fathers handed down of old,
That earn, that thou mayst truly call it thine."*

No; in my father's eyes religion was something handed down by our fathers. That was decisive for him. He had no thought of earning what he had inherited. Just as he clung resolutely to other family traditions, so he regarded the inherited trust of his religion as an entail to be maintained whole and entire, as it had been handed down to him. I do not wish to imply that he was not genuinely religious; but the emotions of his heart were only an accompaniment and addition. The iron bond which united him to the Catholic Church was tradition.

It was tradition that led him every evening to preside over his whole household in the castle chapel, and himself recite the rosary; which sent him almost every Sunday to the parish church at Guelders, though he might have heard the obligatory mass in his own chapel, and led him every year, till he reached extreme old age, during the octave of the "Assumption of the Virgin," to march for

* Goethe, *Faust*, I., Soliloquy.

two hours in all weathers with the procession from Guelders to the shrine at Kevelaer, and kneel down amid the crowd in the public street before the miraculous image. I can only repeat that a critical examination of religion was a thing unknown to my father.

How closely he clung to tradition in religious matters a slight incident may show. In the first year of my residence at the Jesuit school at Feldkirch I had learnt to say the Ave Maria in Latin. Now the Latin, *i.e.* the official, text differs from the German in use in my home, and, indeed, elsewhere in Germany, in the omission of the word "poor" before "sinners" which occurs in the German (*ora pro nobis peccatoribus*). On one occasion, when I was driving out with my parents in the holidays, we said the rosary, as was our frequent custom, and I, literally translating the official Latin, omitted the word "poor." In answer to my father's question as to why I did so, I replied, with true schoolboy pride, that this was the correct form according to the Latin text. But he would not hear of it; we had always said "Pray for us poor sinners," and must continue to do so.

This adherence to tradition is, indeed, a characteristic of Catholics in general, and especially of the nobility. They are born Catholics, they have inherited Catholicism; that suffices.

How many a time have I since been bitterly reproached by my relations for abandoning my inherited religion, and thus sinning against the "traditions" of my family! In my present view—and would it had been mine for thirty years and more!—religion has nothing to do with inheritance and family tradition. Among all a man's possessions, religion is the most individual, that which most needs winning by personal activity. Unless it proceed from this source, it is the husk without the kernel. The more marks of past centuries the kernel shows, the more must the

religion identified with it bear the character of something petrified and benumbed, the fetish of a family or caste.

This theory of religious heredity and prescription has penetrated even into the ranks of orthodox Protestantism. Hence its spiritual and religious numbness; hence the tendency in these circles to look back rather than forward. Soon after my breach with the Roman Church I made the acquaintance in Heligoland of the late Count Finckenstein-Madlitz, one of the ultra-Conservative members of the Upper House. In one of our first conversations he told me how hard he found it to get over the circumstance that I had broken with "the religion of my forefathers." My reply was: "But what about your ancestor, who turned Protestant and thus brought you and your whole family over to that faith?" To this he could give no answer.

I never really understood my father's political views. The reason is, perhaps, that he never talked confidentially with us in our childhood, and at the time of his death I was only twenty-two. The papers which were read aloud to him were the Catholic *Kölnische Blätter* (now *Kölnische Volkszeitung*), the ultra-Ultramontane French journals, *L'Univers* and *Le Bien Public*, and the *Kreuzzeitung*. The reason for the admission into our house of this orthodox Protestant journal was its reputation as the aristocratic paper *par excellence*. This was probably the only concession made by my father to a narrow class prejudice. And he found it hard enough, for the paper had a Protestant flavour, and I am sure that it was with a light heart that he at last agreed to give it up.

His reason and manner of doing this are so characteristic of the antipathy to everything Protestant which still prevails in Catholic circles that they are worth recording.

It was the custom of our friend and relation, Count Caius zu Stolberg-Stolberg (son of the poet Friedrich

Leopold zu Stolberg-Stolberg, who had gone over to Catholicism), to pay us a week's visit every year with his whole family. They all had the true convert's hatred of Protestantism, combined with a dislike of everything connected with Prussia and Berlin. How often have I heard old Count Caius, my godfather, speak of William I. as "that hardened old sinner"! Now the Stolbergs were horrified at always finding in our house this Protestant and Prussian paper. On one occasion the fanatical daughters set upon my father, with the support of my mother, and came off victorious. A copy of the *Kreuzzeitung* was twisted into human shape, suspended from the chandelier of the "White Room," and solemnly burnt. In this way the *Kreuzzeitung* vanished from the list of the papers to which my father subscribed. There is something of the inquisitor and heretic-burner in every Ultramontane Catholic, especially in the recluse nobility, and most of all in their female relatives. The words, "Ye blessed flames of the pyre,"* are not a mere aberration of a fanatical Romish editor, but a cry of the heart, conscious or unconscious, low or loud, that springs in every ultramontane bosom.

My father was prevented by his blindness from taking any public part in politics. Whether he belonged to the Centre, or rather, would have belonged to it, since the Centre was only just forming at the time of his death, I cannot say. In the struggle with Rome (*Kulturkampf*) which was just beginning, he was, of course, to be found on the side of his inherited religion.

That he was loyal to his King and his hereditary Prince there can be no doubt. But I feel less certain about his affection for the Protestant Royal Family of Prussia. Frederick William IV. was most gracious to him; even

* From *Analecta Ecclesiastica*, a journal published at Rome under Papal auspices, January, 1895.

more so William I. and Queen Augusta, who treated him with especial favour. In return it seems to me he gave them dutiful loyalty, but not affection. On one occasion, when Queen Augusta telegraphed from Coblenz to announce a visit for the following day, my father had the horses put in at once and took us all away to one of his estates just across the neighbouring Dutch frontier. A telegram was then sent to the Court Marshal to the effect that the family was away from home.

Here is another characteristic circumstance. Count Hompesch, afterwards so well known as leader of the Centre and for many years President of the Centre group in the Reichstag (died 1909), was often a guest at our house. Always a witty and amusing talker, his best stories related to his experiences as chamberlain to the Queen-Empress Augusta, who favoured him particularly as her travelling companion. He had a store of entertaining anecdotes about her, and we never could stop laughing at the expense of these exalted personages. For instance: the Empress was at Baden-Baden, and wanted to travel incognito to Geneva. A telegram was sent to the Emperor William at Ems: "May I go to Geneva?" Answer: "Go." From Geneva the Empress wished to go to Turin. Another telegram, and the same answer: "Go." And so again and again, till at last, according to the Hompesch account, the concluding telegram was worded, "Go to the deuce!" During the *Kulturkampf* a nunnery at Coblenz was threatened with dissolution. The Empress, who was particularly fond of these nuns, begged the Emperor to avert their doom. He said it was impossible. Thereupon the Empress: "William, if the nuns do not remain at Coblenz, I shall always remain with you." The nuns remained!

In all the Rhenish-Westphalian noble families, with

very few exceptions, there was—and probably still is—an anti-Prussian feeling which at times, especially in 1866, came strongly into evidence. The real cause was the antagonism between Catholicism and Protestantism. Their hearts inclined towards Catholic Austria, and even Napoleonic France. A great many noble families allowed their sons, in spite of considerable annoyance from the authorities at home, to become officers in the Austrian army; and scions of Catholic Prussian nobility, closely related to me (Wolff-Metternich, Westphalen, Schmising-Kerssenbrock, and others), served in the Austrian army against Prussia in 1866.

This dislike of Prussia, so characteristic of the Catholic portions of the Rhinelands and Westphalia, was common to all classes and grades. Many a time, when out riding or hunting, I have asked a peasant or farmer where his son was, and received the typical answer, "With the Prussians"—*i.e.* he is serving his time in the army. In the eyes of the Catholic Rhinelanders and Westphalians, the Protestant Prussians were foreigners, if not actual enemies, although they had been united to them for nearly two hundred years.

Even to this day, the anti-Prussian feeling survives among Catholics, and at times manifests itself with great violence. On the occasion of an election trial before the Court at Trèves, on the 1st of April, 1908, the Catholic Pastor, Leinen, from the village of Orscholz in the district of Trèves, was reported to have said: "I hate all Prussians, from the Emperor downward! I am no Prussian, but a Rhineland, and our country did not belong to Prussia in former times."*

There is no doubt that in Ultramontane Catholicism it is the resemblance or difference of creed that determines the degree of affection for dynasty and country.

* *Kölnische Zeitung* of April 3, 1908.

My father never went to the university. He entered the army early, and afterwards undertook the management of the family estates. Still, he was highly educated, though on Catholic lines. He had a number of books and magazines read aloud to him, but only those of an ultramontane stamp were allowed in the house. Among these were *Historisch-politische Blätter*, the Jesuit *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, and a great many bigoted and one-sided journals. Non-Catholic and Liberal Catholic writings were excluded. In spite of all this, his interest in questions of the day kept my father from mental torpor. His blindness was illumined by an active intellectual life, based on the literature, art, and science of Ultramontane Catholicism.

It was, indeed, this culture which marked him off so advantageously from many other members of his class in Rhenish Westphalia, who, even at the end of last century, were for the most part distinguished by their ignorance. Very few young nobles even matriculated. Some of my cousins are unable to write the simplest letter correctly. Nowadays things are improving. Even the "Junker" of the Western Elbe has come to realise that education is one of the needs of the day. My father was always convinced of this, and therefore insisted that his sons should devote themselves seriously to study.

Side by side with my father was always my never-to-be-forgotten mother, the soul, light, and spirit of the house. She possessed all the graces that make a woman honoured and loved. Beautiful, clever, wise, a devoted and self-sacrificing wife and mother, of heroic strength in grievous trials, as shown at the dying beds of her husband and seven children, she was held in honour by all who knew her. Only my blind father could know all her devotion, but even we children guessed and felt that she was everything to him, just as she was to each of us till the last breath of her long and sorrowful life.

As I write these words her beloved picture stands on my writing-table and inspires me with longing for this unrivalled mother and her inexhaustible love. Yes, and also with the sad consciousness that it was I who inflicted the deepest wound on her heart when I left the Jesuit Order and broke with the Catholic Church.

Though she had no desire to govern, it was she, in point of fact, who ruled the house. Though outwardly my father was the centre of everything, in reality the work was hers. It was she who gave its stamp to our family life in all its relations. Never opposing her husband nor acting without him, she yet supplied the initiative and standard to this strong-willed man with the imperial countenance.

I wish I could give a faithful appreciation of my mother. Her nature was not a simple one, for her main characteristics were intellectual nobility and an absolutely unlimited power of self-abnegation. But from this basis sprang variety and even opposition. Of a warm, passionate temperament, she yet had a clear vision, with good reasoning power and presence of mind. She combined kindness with harshness, candour with diplomatic calculation. She had an unlimited capacity for loving, with a corresponding faculty for disliking; and had her religion permitted her to hate, she would have been a good hater of many things and many people. Though a *grande dame* in society, she knew how to touch the hearts of the lowest, and was a true mother to the poor and needy. Naturally gentle, she was yet no stranger to wrath. Kind and loving in consolation, she was severe, even cutting, in blame. But her whole being, in all its harmonies and discords, was dominated by a perfect self-control which never failed in her outer bearing, nor, I believe, in her inmost being.

Still, the true essence, the dominant note of her nature. its very base and source, were to be sought in her religion.

Fourteen Years a Jesuit

Her Catholicism was so distinctive, so complete and passionate, that her thoughts, feelings, and acts were filled and penetrated with it. In a word, she was an Ultramontane Catholic.

What this means no one can understand who is not himself a Catholic. No other religion takes such complete possession of a man's whole being, because no other makes such demands on understanding, heart, feelings, senses, instincts, and impulses, body and soul, outer and inner life, nor penetrates so deeply into the very marrow of his being. Not every Catholic is a whole Catholic; even among good Catholics there are grades of completeness. In the whole Catholic the man is absorbed in the Catholic.

Catholicism abounds in heights, depths, grandeurs, and elevations, mountain summits whence may be seen religious and mystical vistas into metaphysical domains of fantastic beauty. Such are the Catholic doctrines concerning God, Salvation, and the Sacraments, which, in spite of their objective untruth, captivate the mind and heart like beautiful legends and symbolic pictures. But it also abounds in doctrines that are narrow, petty, absurd, and revolting, abysmal depths of irreligion and ignorance. Such are the highly developed belief in the devil with all its horror and folly, the whole farrago of indulgences, scapulars, pilgrimages, and relics, and much else that is in violent opposition to common sense and common feeling. In a word, Catholicism includes religious and ethical contradictions such as are nowhere else to be found.

Yet the "whole" Catholic does not recognise them. In his eyes the sublime and elevating, and the absurd and degrading, are alike Catholic; in his daily life he makes no distinction between dogma, *i.e.* that which is absolute, and that which is not dogma, but only relative. All that the Church tolerates in the wide domain of inner

and outer life, in doctrine and form, in prayer and pious practices, is in his eyes good, beautiful, religious; and he loses himself in it, convinced that he is breathing the spirit of God and Christ in the depths as well as on the heights.

Such an one was my mother. There was nothing against which her intellect revolted so long as it bore the ecclesiastical hall-mark. She belonged to an endless number of fraternities, she wore and made us wear every sort of scapular and consecrated medal. The lives of the saints, crammed with the most amazing stories of revelations, visions, apparitions, ghosts, and devils, were regarded by her as devotional books. Among those she especially honoured were the "Revelations of St. Brigitta of Sweden," "Life of the Honourable Maid Anna Maria Taigi," "Revelations of the Blessed Catharine of Emmerich," "Revelations of the Blessed Maria Margareta Alakoque," books abounding in the crudest superstition, but approved by the Church. Even religious "literature," such as the monthly *Messenger of the Sacred Heart of Jesus*, whose wonderful stories of miracles and answers to prayer made the most incredible things seem commonplace, and other publications of the same description, were among the favourite reading of my highly intellectual mother.

In her medicine cupboard there stood, side by side with ordinary ointments and drugs, bottles of the miraculous water from La Salette, Lourdes, and the Ignatius water, so called from the founder of the Jesuit Order, and the oils of SS. Walburga and Apollinaris. These miraculous remedies were applied for sickness and injuries in the same way as court-plaster, camomile tea, or boric ointment. I remember distinctly how my father, when he lay unconscious from a stroke on his dying bed, was anointed again and again by my mother with St. Walburga's oil. During

thunderstorms she lighted a "consecrated" taper in the chapel to avert the lightning. Ordinary conductors of brass and copper wire were insufficient to protect the rambling buildings of my home with its turrets and lofty chimneys, but a consecrated taper and a prayer sufficed.

My mother's piety led her to even greater depths. The disgusting custom had been introduced from France into German Catholic circles of swallowing as remedies pictures of the Madonna printed on some soluble and harmless substance. These were sold in sheets like postage stamps, and my mother was among those who bought them and mixed them with her food and drink as well as ours.

Yet the Bible was very seldom in her hands. We children only saw it at religious lessons and divine service, when portions were read. We never saw it in our parents' house, and I cannot remember that my mother ever read it aloud to us, though she many a time read out portions of the above-mentioned "Revelations." This neglect of the Bible is typically Catholic, for Catholics go for teaching, help, and comfort not so much to the Scriptures as to the thousand books of devotion which the Catholic publishing world supplies in every shape and size. Non-biblical piety is an ordinary thing in Catholic circles. This is a matter to which I shall return later.

Still my mother's religious being was not entirely absorbed in such sordid ways, else, indeed, she would have degenerated into a creature of mere superstition instead of being, as she was, a woman of strong faith and courageous religion. Her faith and religion gave her a firm support against all the storms of life. Like all "whole" Catholics, she lived a religious double life, united into one by the bonds of ecclesiasticism and blind submission, which reconciled contradictions, elsewhere irreconcilable. This strange fact, with all its psychological mystery, of which

I was later to have experience in my own person, must also be dealt with elsewhere.

With unswerving fidelity and piety my mother obeyed the spirit and commands of her Church. Both in outward observance and in spirit she celebrated the whole of the Church year, with all its festivals and usages. Every other duty had to give way to religious duties, and in the fulfilment of these she thought no sacrifice too great. To her all pious observances—sacraments, prayers, masses, meditations, novenas, fasts, and penances—were the expressions of a real need. Instead of the yearly confession and communion enjoined by the Church, she confessed and communicated every week, and in later life even every day. She would often rise at earliest dawn and go alone on foot—no matter what the weather, in winter and summer alike—to the parish church at Guelders, though carriage and horses awaited her bidding, there to confess and communicate, if, owing to the absence or illness of the castle chaplain, there was no celebration in her own chapel. None of us guessed, when she afterwards presided at the family breakfast table, that she had been up since five o'clock, and taken this long walk in damp, cold, or heat.

While my father was a Catholic in intellect, my mother was devoted to religion with a passion that often amounted to fanaticism. The extremest demands of religious as of political Ultramontanism were those of her own heart. And since her Ultramontanism determined her politics too, she was anti-Prussian just as she was anti-Protestant. On two occasions she entertained William I. of Prussia with all becoming honour and splendour; many a time she sat at the table of the Empress-Queen Augusta, but her heart was never reconciled to the Protestant dynasty and kingdom of Prussia. There was no hypocrisy about her attitude; she merely submitted to existing circum-

stances. When opportunity offered she expressed her convictions in plain terms.

After my father's death (1874) the Emperor William sent my mother a telegram of condolence, which combined with genuine sympathy a gracious expression of regret for the reserved attitude he had shown towards the King during the last few years, *i.e.* since the beginning of the *Kulturkampf*. In her answer my mother expressed her dutiful thanks for the royal sympathy, but stated her emphatic conviction that my father, now that he had entered on eternal life, would be more than ever convinced that he had acted rightly.

All her political and religious dislike to Prussia was concentrated on the person of Bismarck. Had hate been permitted, she would have hated him. Ever since he overthrew Catholic Austria in 1866 he was, in her eyes, a persecutor of the Diocletian type. I am firmly convinced that if the King had desired to enter her house along with Bismarck she would have refused to receive the lord of the land. During the years of the *Kulturkampf* I heard her denounce Bismarck in terms that would have exposed her to certain condemnation for insulting his person. My father, too, was a rigid opponent of Bismarck. Owing to the difference in disposition, his dislike did not find as strong expression as my mother's, but there is no doubt that it was just as deep-rooted.

I must give one more instance of the political views of my parents and their antagonism to Bismarck. At the end of the 'fifties they went on several occasions to a little watering-place in the Taunus, Weilbach, near Frankfort-am-Main, and in 1858 and 1859 they took me with them. There was a good deal of intercourse between the visitors there and the diplomatic world of the Frankfort Federal Diet. It would have been natural that my parents, as Prussians, should have associated with the Prussian

deputy, Otto von Bismarck, but they took the greatest pains to avoid him; while the Austrian deputy, Baron von Kübeck, frequently visited them at Weilbach, and they in turn sought him out in Frankfort. I remember, too, that the French ambassador—whose name I cannot now recall—was often in the company of my parents.

Bismarck was, and remained, intensely disliked, if not hated, in our home. Not even his great achievement, the establishment of the German Empire, could moderate this feeling. I was the only member of the family who stood up for him, and in this, as in other respects, of which I must speak later, I differed from my surroundings and tradition.

This account of my parents must suffice for the present. In the course of my narrative opportunity will offer for the addition of other characteristics.

CHAPTER II

EARLY EDUCATION AND FAMILY LIFE

THE official beginning of the day in our home was the Mass in the family chapel, attended by masters and servants. Before this each individual had performed his own private devotions, on the regular observance of which my mother rigidly insisted. After Mass, which took place on weekdays at half-past seven and on Sundays at eight o'clock, came breakfast, often a lengthy meal, especially when guests were present, which, indeed, was almost always the case. At midday a bell, suspended from one of the turrets, rang the Angelus, and every one—my father as well as a groom or labourer—stood still, bared his head, and said the Angelus. One o'clock was dinner-time, before which members of the family and guests assembled in the "Cabinet" or the "White Room." At four o'clock we all took coffee together. At eight the bell again sounded for the Rosary, a private devotion at which my father said the rosary. This service concluded with the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, and the blessing spoken by the chaplain. Then followed supper, and the interval between this and bedtime was devoted to music, reading, and playing games, which often lasted till far into the night.

As long as we were little we were sent to bed early. Our mother said her prayers with us, and while she knelt on the faldstool we were grouped around her on the ground. It was a special privilege for one or other of us

Early Education and Family Life 19

to be allowed to kneel close beside her on the narrow praying stool. When we lay in our little beds this was the last prayer that she spoke as she bent over us :

“ At evening, when I go to rest,
There guard me fourteen angels blest :
Two at my head,
Two at my feet,
Two at my right hand,
Two at my left hand,
Two to cover me,
Two to wake me,
Two to lead me to heavenly rest ! ”

Within this frame, in spite of its savour of church and cloister, there pulsed a gay and happy life. Looking back over the decades, the early days of boyhood and family life seem aglow with golden sunshine. Few children can have a brighter childhood than fell to my lot. It was my parents who gave the tone to the household; the dignity of their position and disposition filled our home with comfort, joy, and a fine hospitality.

Everything that a large country estate can supply was afforded by my old home and its family life. Luxury was excluded on principle, but there was excellence and plenty, giving and receiving, with no lack or stint.

I grew up among four brothers and four sisters. Such a number of children alone was sufficient to ensure a lively household ; and house and yard, stable and garden, fields and woods, resounded with the life of happy childhood. Of course, we lived out of doors as much as in, and ranged in our games and wanderings through the whole neighbourhood. And as our house was the centre of a large circle of relations and friends, we had constant intercourse with families, for the most part related to us, on the neighbouring estates.

The monotony of ordinary life was varied by expe-

Fourteen Years a Jesuit

ditions on foot, horseback, or driving, visits to relations, picnics, hunting parties, and coffee at the farms (a special delight to us children). Visits often lasting several weeks were of frequent occurrence. So there was plenty of social life, and our long dinner-table was almost always lengthened still further, owing to the presence of guests.

But our society had one peculiarity—denominational exclusiveness. Protestants and non-Catholics were from our earliest childhood quite outside the pale of our lives. Except when the heads of the provincial government paid my parents official visits, there were, I fancy, but few occasions when a Protestant sat at our table, though many a convert to Catholicism was welcomed as a guest. Among these I may name Baron von Schrötter, Rochus von Rochow, Major of the 1st Prussian Regiment of Uhlan Guards, Michael von Michalowski, also an officer in the Prussian Guards, and Prince Alexander of Solms-Braunfels (step-brother of the last King of Hanover), who, at the end of a very stormy life, went over to Catholicism and married a kinswoman of mine, the Baroness of Landsberg-Steinfurt.

Of course, our life was not solely devoted to society, as is sufficiently proved by the daily routine already cited. We were kept hard at our studies by a tutor and governess, who taught us under the general supervision of my mother.

The pivot on which all the teaching revolved was religion, which exercised an almost indescribable influence over the whole of our outward and inward life. It was always present with us, not vaguely, nor yet as a mere human aid to education, working in conjunction with the hopes and ideas of another world. It was rather a supernatural force, closely linked about us, absolutely complete in every detail, which would tolerate no free and independent action, with a rule for every act, a formula for every idea, ready to direct—even dictate—every emotion of the soul.

Early Education and Family Life 21

The influence of this all-embracing, divine power working thus silently within us was not consciously recognised by us children, nor fully perhaps even by our elders, since we had all grown up in this ultramontane atmosphere, and lived and breathed in it without actually realising it. The religious conceptions familiar to us from the earliest awakening of our intelligence, beyond whose borders there was and could be no real and true religion, came to us by nature, not by learning or from without. They included every external observance which Ultramontane Catholicism demands of her votaries.

And how numerous were these! Our childish eyes, ears, lips, hands, knees, and feet were pressed into the service of religion from our very earliest years. Adoration of the Virgin, saints, and relics, the wearing of scapulars* and medals, the repetition of prescribed prayers, ritual observances (masses, meditations), took complete possession of us, and left no opportunity for individual religious action.

Yet I could not truthfully assert that all this struck me as in any way compulsory, unnatural, or exaggerated. Up to my tenth year, and even beyond, the Catholic sky above my head shone bright and cloudless, and my childish eyes looked devoutly upward to the lofty dome painted and adorned by the countless images and figures, gilded scrolls and gay arabesques, inseparable from the Romish religion, and without which Ultramontanism would lack both life and reality. My whole childish spirit entered

* A scapular consists of two pieces of woollen cloth, fastened together by string in such a way that the one falls over the breast, the other at the back between the shoulder-blades, while the strings lie on the shoulders. They must be of wool and woven, the colours are brown, blue, red, or white. With the wearing of these certain indulgences are connected. Special confraternities have been founded in connection with this practice. For a detailed account of the whole practice, see *Die Ablässe, ihr Wesen und Gelbrauch*, by the Jesuit Beringer, Consultor of the Holy Congregation of the Indulgences (Paderborn, 1906), 13th edition, pp. 406 et seq.

unhesitatingly into the sensuous metaphysical world of Ultramontane Catholicism, and found contentment there.

How, indeed, could it have been otherwise? This world had been mine from the moment of birth, and everything about me, both great and small, pointed in one direction. The speech and example of my parents, the order of our day, my companions, and the members of our household, our intercourse at home and abroad, the principles and methods of our education, all that we heard and read, the nursery and drawing-room—none of these supplied even the tiniest loophole through which a ray from another world could have entered, or a breath of alien air blown upon us.

We boys were very early taught to “minister” at the daily Mass in our chapel, *i.e.* to perform the duties of the Mass attendant, on weekdays in a black cassock with red buttons, but on Sundays and festivals in scarlet robes with white lace-trimmed surplices. Before we understood a single word of Latin we recited the responses of the Latin Mass read by the officiating priest.

Only those who know the theatrical nature of this ceremony, with all its minutiae, its liturgical utensils and vestments, its prayers recited now loudly, now in undertones, its gleam of tapers and ringing of bells, its mystical culmination in the transformation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, can realise the impression it makes on the minds of children who actually participate in the celebration.

But even this participation in the Mass did not suffice for my mother. One Christmas we received as a present a “Mass-game,” consisting of all the objects required for the celebration—an altar, vestments, missal, and all the utensils—chalice, wine- and water-cans, candlesticks and bell, which enabled us children to celebrate Mass in play, and occasionally to add to it a sermon. Even our sisters

put on the vestments, and, contrary to all discipline and dogma, said Mass and preached, in spite of the exhortation *Mulier taceat in ecclesia*. If other children came to visit us, we entertained them with a solemn service and choral High Mass, when our juvenile vivacity often led to drastic scenes between the officiating priests and the faithful congregation. As this "Mass-game" was not specially made for us, but was to be had by purchasing, it is probable that it is still played in many an ultramontane household.

Conceive of it: the very culmination of the Catholic religion, around which, in the words of theologians, all else revolves "as around the sun," the fearful mystery (*tremendum mysterium*), at whose celebration "worshipping angels attend," is turned into a children's game!

Does this not afford one more proof that ultramontane piety marches unsuspectingly over startling contrasts, making no distinction between the seemly and unseemly? Still, it also bears testimony to the energy which seeks to impress its piety on the earliest days of childhood.

The Mass at which we children ministered was read by the regular chaplains. They were, for the most part, good and worthy men, succeeding one another in this easy and agreeable position. But almost all had one characteristic—pride of position, emphasising the divine dignity of the priest.

Catholic priests, as a rule, come from the less cultivated classes; many of them are sons of peasants. If a peasant's son studies for the priesthood and receives consecration, he is regarded by his family as a higher being, who must be addressed by his father, mother, brothers and sisters as "Sir" and "Your Reverence"; his parents scarcely venture even to sit down beside their priestly son, and the "condescension" and "affability" which the consecrated son shows to his parents often assume a form

scarcely consistent with the fifth commandment or the dictates of good taste.

Of course, there was no scope for such condescension in our household. Still, the typical priestly conceit found other no less unpleasing ways of manifestation. One chaplain demanded to be served before anyone else, even my parents, on the ground that this was due to his position. With all reverence for the priestly dignity and their adhesion to the dogmatic mystic conceptions of the priesthood taught by Catholicism, my parents still retained the correct view that the priestly dignity was to be honoured on the domain of religion, and not at the dinner-table or in the drawing-room. They therefore consistently refused to allow this claim, thus arousing the annoyance and even the anger of the chaplain. Unfortunately, as will be shown, my parents departed from their correct attitude in the case of the higher grades of the hierarchy, such as bishops and cardinals.

Similar etiquette difficulties, springing from the same type of conceit, occurred on neighbouring estates, where there were chaplains in residence. One of these events may be described here, though it occurred much later. I had gone on a hunting expedition with my uncle, my mother's eldest brother, Count Max von Loë. After the last drive I accompanied him in an open carriage to his castle of Wissen, to spend the night. On the way we met two priests from a neighbouring village. Neither of them bowed to us. My uncle turned to me and said, "The stupid pride of these men! I am their chief benefactor. I pay many of them out of my own pocket the salary that the State withholds from them" (it was during the *Kulturkampf*), "and yet these clerical boors will not even bow to me; their priestly pride forbids it."

I was a particularly pious child. So, at least, I was repeatedly assured by my mother and other persons,

speaking with the best intentions but with what unfortunate results! And whenever I recall the earliest recollections of my childhood I find this encomium confirmed. I was at home in every kind of pious practice.

No one had a stronger influence over me in this respect than an old lady who, till the last day of her life, enjoyed the hospitality of our household, lovingly dispensed to her by my parents, and who, confined by gout to her bedroom or chair, lived a life wholly devoted to religious contemplation.

Dear old Fräulein von Meulen! How and in what capacity she first entered our home I do not know. She was the sister of two priests, who were held in great honour by my parents, especially my mother—the Rector of the priest-house at Kvelaer, and the Abbot of the Trappist convent “Mount of Olives,” in Alsace. All the bigotry and pious exaltation of her priestly brothers, the guardian of the miraculous Madonna at Kvelaer, and the President of the Trappists in their living death, had been absorbed by their sister, who, not being really educated, reproduced it in a coarser form. Her head and heart were crammed with tales of miracles and legends of saints, which she depicted with remarkable power of narration and represented as “facts.” She knew how to people heaven and earth with good and bad spirits, angels and devils, and to fill our eager, childish imaginations with fantastic or horrible creatures of light and darkness.

Many an hour I spent in her company, now playing, now listening to her stories, prayers, and pious exercises, especially telling the rosary, litanies, and the “Stations of the Cross.” Before I was eight years old I was immersed in a sea of mysticism and asceticism—or, rather, pseudo-mysticism and pseudo-asceticism.

Above all, the belief in guardian angels became strong and vivid in the invalid’s quiet room. Every Christian,

probably every human being, has an angel of his own, a guardian angel, appointed by God to accompany him from the cradle to the grave. So the Church declares. Naturally this doctrine, supported by pictures and prayers, takes a strong hold of a child always inclined to the marvellous. He enters into a confidential relation with his guardian angel, believes him near, even imagines that he can see him, and thus the supernatural becomes for him the natural. This appears in the prayer of the guardian angels, already quoted, which my mother used to recite when we went to bed.

Guardian angels and ghosts are closely connected. The "suffering souls"—*i.e.* those that still await their deliverance from purgatory—have become, in a sense, guardian angels. In return for prayers, indulgences, masses, and good works, by which we shorten their purificatory sufferings, they give protection in spiritual or physical dangers. Fräulein von der Meulen, my guide through the supernatural world of Ultramontaniam, of course took care to introduce me to the mysterious and gruesome world of the "suffering souls"; and I heard endless tales of true apparitions and their helpfulness to the living.

I think all this worthy of mention, not only for its own sake as an instructive extract from the religious education of Ultramontaniam, but also because this kind of sensuous transcendental mysticism supplies the best explanation of a phenomenon very common and deep-rooted in Catholic circles, the fear of ghosts.

Ghosts are, so to speak, the counterpart of the suffering souls, for they are the spirits of the dead condemned to hell. Apparitions of ghosts and devils are the terror of Catholic Christianity. Of course, it is for the most part saints who are persecuted by them, rather than the ordinary Christian; still, the belief and fear are common to all. Besides the "real" ghosts, the whole host

of angels and souls in purgatory find a place in the ghostly world. For though these are represented in theory as spirits of light, yet in fact the belief in them excites, especially in children, a feeling of terror connected with night and darkness. No doubt the fear of ghosts also exists in non-Catholic circles, but not to such a degree, for only here does it rest on a basis of dogma and religion strong enough to resist every attempt at instruction.

Indeed, stories of ghosts, devils, and suffering souls form a common subject of evening talk in ultramontane families, and childish spirits hang on these gruesome tales with shuddering curiosity. Here is one of many hundred stories which left an inextinguishable impression on my childish fantasy. I once heard one of our relations, Count Ludwig Waldburg-Zeil, Austrian general and private adjutant to the Archduke Charles Louis, tell a story of his own experience. In the castle of Zeil (Württemberg), his family home, one of the wings was haunted; indeed, there is scarcely a castle belonging to a Catholic noble which is not haunted. All prayers, exorcisms, etc., were unavailing, until the chaplain went from room to room carrying the "holy of holies" (the consecrated wafer in the pyx). When he came to the last room the windows suddenly flew open, and he, standing in the inner court, saw a black form, wrapped in smoke and fire, appear at the window, stretch out its arms threateningly to heaven, and disappear. From that time the wing ceased to be haunted.

Another event which occurred later may show how firmly the belief in ghosts is rooted in the Catholic Church. At Müffendorf, near Godesberg, there lived one of my uncles, Baron Joseph von Fürstenberg, with his two daughters, with whom we carried on a lively intercourse. In 1875 the eldest daughter, Mia, wrote in despair to my mother to say that their house was haunted; every night

a mysterious phantom figure was seen going up and down one particular staircase. She asked whether we could not give them help, since we had a Jesuit chaplain in the house, who could surely exorcise the ghost. As a matter of fact, ever since the expulsion of the Jesuits from Germany, we had always had a Jesuit chaplain, doubtless with a view to more literal obedience to the law. My mother actually did send this Jesuit, Father Platzweg, to Müffendorf with the consent of his Superior, and he watched the mysterious staircase for one whole night, offered up special prayers, and never again was the ghost seen.

The torments I endured, even into advanced youth, in consequence of these stories of angels, suffering souls, and devils, imbibed in my earliest years, are beyond description. And my experience was only in a greater or less degree that of every child brought up in this ultramontane atmosphere.

This childish piety of mine was intensified by a pilgrimage undertaken about this time by my parents to La Salette, in the south of France. According to the miraculous tale, two shepherd children, Maximin and Melasie, were tending their flocks on the mountain pasture of La Salette in the Department of Isère, on the 19th of September, 1846, when Mary the Mother of God appeared to them and revealed to each a special "secret" concerning the fate of France and the world, which they might only communicate to the Pope. When Pius IX. read these secret revelations in a letter, he shed tears at the prospect of the terrible fate impending over France and the rest of the world as a punishment for impiety.* A fountain gushed forth on the spot where the apparition

* The "secrets" were afterwards published "with the consent of Mary and the Pope." They contain mere rubbish. Cf. my book, *Das Papsttum in seiner sozial-kulturellen Wirksamkeit*, pp. 302 *et seq.* (5th edition; Leipzig—Breitkopf und Härtel).

was seen, and soon many thousand persons hastened to the secluded mountain village to seek a cure for their ills. The water from the spring was sent to all the ends of the earth. It penetrated to our home among others ; it was hoped that it would cure my father's blindness. When it proved ineffectual, my parents determined to set out for the miraculous place itself, where, of course, the same disappointment awaited them. Even this did not destroy their pious faith, and on her return my mother kindled my religious fancy by her enthusiastic accounts of all the glorious and wonderful things she had seen and heard. The "miracles and mercies" of La Salette attended the whole of my childhood, along with the "miracles and mercies" of Kevelaer, which affected me even more intensely because of their close proximity and the constant intercourse between our home and the celebrated pilgrims' shrine on the Lower Rhine.

Many hundred times as child, boy, and youth have I been to Kevelaer, and on each occasion I was seized and penetrated by the storm of religious mysticism that pervades all great centres of pilgrimage, arousing afresh all the inherited religious enthusiasm, the belief in miracle and the fanaticism which slumbered latent within me. At a later period it was this same storm that drove the dark cloud of doubt over my soul ; but during my early childhood, of which I am now writing, Kevelaer was the bright sunshine of my childish heavens.

It would take too long to describe the effect of the monster processions, the pomp of the services, the countless rich dedicatory offerings, the continuous song and prayers that rose day and night, of the torchlight processions, the unending rows of booths crammed with every kind of ware, sacred and profane, the mass benediction of rosaries, medals, and crosses, the noisy traffic in inns and hostels, the pomp which attended the pilgrim bishops and

abbots—in a word, the extraordinary mixture of worldliness and religion which filled the narrow village street of Kevelaer.

The main stream of this religious tide passes through the Kapellenplatz, where stands the insignificant Chapel of Mercy, with its little sordid miraculous image of Mary. From June to November a ceaseless stream of travelers from the Rhineland, Westphalia, Holland, and Belgium passes through it; unceasing is the flow of offerings, from the humblest to the greatest, dropped into the great funnel-shaped vessels which stretch out their greedy arms from the interior of the chapel into the surging crowd; hymns to the Virgin, in German, Dutch, Flemish, Walloon, often to strains more suggestive of dance-tunes than pious measures, rise unceasingly into the air, heavy with the odours of tapers, incense, and perspiration. Unceasingly the crowds press forward to the sacred image, and hand crosses, medals, and missals to the brother on duty, who consecrates them by laying them against the glass covering of the image. Unceasingly the surrounding tapers, of every size, shape, and colour, offered to the Madonna by the faithful pilgrims, sputter, flare, and smoke around her image. Unceasingly those who have found, or yet seek, healing adorn the exterior of the image—and, indeed, the whole chapel—with *ex voto* offerings, gold and silver legs, arms, feet, hands, heads, hearts, recalling the manifold ills of the body and mind. From earliest dawn till far into the night the pilgrim crowds press through the be frescoed Hall of Confession, where the confessionals stand side by side in double rows, and hundreds of thousands cast their sins away from them; while in the vast pilgrimage church next door dozens of priests are occupied serving the Communion, which is partaken in a single day by from ten to fifteen thousand persons. One High Mass succeeds another; the sounds of organ and choir never cease.

Early Education and Family Life 31

The combination of all these elements produces, at any rate from the Catholic point of view, an overwhelming, almost intoxicating, effect. And countless times was I subjected to the impression of this gigantic drama of ultramontane piety and religion; its outward splendour as well as its inner mystic effect are closely bound up with the earliest emotions of my soul.

I was, besides, under the impression of the example of my parents, brothers and sisters, and, indeed, all my relations, in whose eyes Kevelaer was a sanctuary of especial holiness. Think of the impression made on my childish spirit, when my father and mother set out on foot for Kevelaer, and there knelt down, in rain, snow, or sunshine, to pray and sing in all the dirt and dust of the street! The road from our house to the estates of my mother's brothers, whom we frequently visited, lay through Kevelaer. Every time our carriage passed through we slackened pace, raised our hats, and as we drove past the image saluted it with prayer. Often my father or mother stopped the carriage to say a prayer by the shrine. Any domestic event, whether sad or joyous, was an occasion for a pilgrimage to Kevelaer. In sickness we asked for cure or deliverance from our worst fears; all our sorrows and anxieties were carried to Kevelaer. When my sisters were betrothed, they presented their future husbands to the Madonna there. We children found a special consolation of our own at Kevelaer, for we never returned without a particular kind of gingerbread, with an imprint of the Madonna in sugar. It was excellent eating!

Among the many other religious customs and observances which influenced my piety, and by their strong appeal to the senses and their ceremonial mysticism enwrapped my awakening soul in an atmosphere of superstition, I may here mention two.

Every year, on the 3rd of February, the feast of

St. Blasius, the holy martyr-bishop of Sebaste, in Armenia, we children received the Blasius blessing. St. Blasius saved a boy from suffocation through swallowing a fish-bone, and thus became a helper in cases of throat trouble. The priest, while uttering the specially appointed prayers, holds two consecrated candles, fastened together after the fashion of a St. Andrew's cross, in front of the sufferer's throat. In spite of the regularity with which the formula of exorcism was pronounced over me, I was not delivered from my chronic throat troubles. Still, I never doubted the magic power of the taper blessing, and I always stretched out my neck as close as possible to their mysterious gleams.

With similar regularity we went every year to receive the cross of ashes on Ash Wednesday. On that day the priest takes some moistened wood-ash between his thumb and first finger (though in some places a special cork mould is used for the purpose), and with this marks a cross on the forehead of the faithful, while saying, "Remember, O man, that thou art dust, and to dust again shalt return." This cross of ashes is the outward token of the season of prayer and penance which begins with Ash Wednesday. Catholics of every grade of society set their hearts on getting this cross; to dispense with it, indeed, would be regarded as religious neglect. In places where the carnival is observed, men and women, who have spent the night of Shrove Tuesday in revelry, may be seen still wearing their masquerading dress, kneeling by the altar, to receive the impress of the cross. Those who retain it longest on their brows are the recipients of special favour. This led us children to employ various methods for making the cross permanent, such as putting glue over the ashes and refraining for days from washing our faces.

O sancta simplicitas! we exclaim; but more rightly: O blind and contemptible superstition, which the Romish

Early Education and Family Life 33

Church impresses even on the souls of children so deeply that it is all but ineradicable.

Two important events of my childhood have yet to be mentioned : the beginnings of Jesuit influence in our home, and my first confession.

I cannot be sure of the exact year when the Jesuit Order gained a footing among us ; it must have been in the fifties of the last century, and therefore in my extreme youth. At that time the Jesuits had founded a settlement, called a "Residence," at Cologne, whose superior was Antonius Maria Anderledy, afterwards General of the Order. As my parents often stayed at Cologne, and the sermons and confessionals of the Jesuits there were very largely attended, it was probably by way of sermon and confessional that they were first brought into contact with the Order. Thanks to my mother (though perhaps it is no cause for gratitude), this intercourse quickly developed into a close and general relation. In this particular, I feel sure, my father submitted to my mother's influence. Her hunger after Christian perfection and spiritual guidance made her seize with eagerness the opportunity of surrendering herself to the Jesuits, at that time at the height of their religious and disciplinary fame. And she did so with all her body and soul.

Gradually husband, children, house, and servants were placed under Jesuit influence. Before long the most influential members of the German Province of the Order, Fathers Anderledy, Roh, Faller, Pottgeisser, Roder, Zurstrassen, Hasslacher, von Waldburg-Zeil, Wertenberg, Brinkmann, Ryswick, began to frequent her house and to guide and direct everything there. To how great an extent will be shown later. Above all, the Jesuit Behrens, at one time Provincial Superior of the German Province, a tall, thin, bony figure, with coarse features, succeeded in winning an unbounded and mischievous influence over

my father and mother. They sought his advice in every detail, even to the dresses of my sisters.

I was, of course, too young to be conscious of the new intrusive influence, and in any case incapable of appreciating its significance. That it was I who was destined to succumb to it, that its final effect on me was to be the destruction of an old life and the laborious building up of a new, was what no one could have foreseen when the jolly Jesuit, Roh, took the little fair-haired seven-year-old boy on his knee and sang his native Swiss songs to amuse him.

My first confession was made in my seventh year. The fourth Lateran Council, held in the year 1215, laid it down that every Christian, "after reaching years of discretion" (*postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit*), must confess at least once a year. Gradually it came about, not without the conscious and powerful assistance of the hierarchic organs, that the word *postquam* was interpreted "as soon as" instead of "after"; at the same time the period of attaining to discretion—*i.e.* the power of distinguishing (*discretio*) good and evil—was pushed forward as far as possible. As a result children were taken to confession during their earliest years.

All manner of disciplinary reasons were given for this early confession. The true one is the hieratical determination that the Church shall take the children as early as possible under her training and under the supervision and direction of her priests.

The harm done both to religion and morals by this early confession is obvious to anyone who is not blinded by the dogmatic and hieratic conceptions of Ultramontaniam. All healthy and natural educationists are decisively opposed to it. It is most injurious to childish unconsciousness, for confession actually attracts a child to things, faults, and sins of which it hitherto had no con-

ception. In preparing for confession the child's soul is tortured by a fixed set of questions and inquiries; there is no end and no respite from the conscience searching. If he is of a delicate and timid nature, confession becomes a torment, a source of doubt and trouble; if made of coarser stuff, the mechanism of confession tends to destroy what little delicacy of conscience he possesses. Again it impairs the confidential relation with parents, above all with the mother. A child loses the habit of taking refuge with her when he has committed a fault or is troubled by doubt. A strange element—the priest in the darkness of the confessional—steps between mother and child, and all the “divinity” which attaches to it is incapable of replacing the childish naturalness and simplicity which formerly sent the little culprit full of shame and penitence to his mother to seek peace for his troubled spirit. For this he must now go to the sacrament of confession and the priest.

And what effect can this too early confession have on the child's religious relation to God, whom his mother has taught him to regard as a loving Father? Henceforth the conception is changed to that of an avenging God calling for penance. Definite prescribed outward forms are now required in order to obtain reconciliation and regain His friendship. In the intervals between confessions, the consciousness of unforgiven sin, of enmity to God, weighs down the childish soul.

That is one side of this religious medal. The other is even less attractive. A child learns to estimate the weight of a sin by the weight of the penance which the priest imposes and the amount of shame which he feels when confessing it. The deeper conception of sin as an insult to God's holiness, and in itself an evil, finds no place here. Instead, the wholly non-religious conception comes into the forefront, though at first, perhaps, not con-

sciously. "I can sin as much and as grievously as I like, for everything can be put right by confession." Thus the Church and the priest come between the human soul, only just awakened to consciousness, and its God. The personal and individual relation between God and man gives way to a mechanical sacramental and priestly mediation.

This compulsory confession when a child is just beginning to develop is a violation of the childish soul due to the Church's craving for rule—an unjustifiable attack on childish simplicity and naturalness in respect of morals and religion.

A "conscience-searcher" (known as the "Mirror of Confession"), from a popular "Little Confession Book for School Children" approved by the Church,* will justify my statements.

"Ask yourself which of the following sins you have committed, and take careful note of them. And also consider, at any rate about the grievous ones, how often you have committed them.

"Sins against God's First Commandment: I neglected my morning or evening prayers (from laziness or false modesty?); I omitted grace at meals (from laziness or false modesty?); I was ashamed to pray or cross myself; I prayed without devotion.

"Against the Third Commandment: I uttered the name of God and other holy names lightly; I used their names in anger. How often? I swore. How often? I uttered careless oaths.

"Against the Fourth Commandment: I was absent from Holy Mass on Sundays and festivals by my own fault. How often? I came to Mass too late through my own fault; I behaved badly in church.

Against the Fifth Commandment: I was insolent and

* Paderborn, 1901, 12th edition.

Early Education and Family Life 37

obstinate to my parents and teachers ; I was disobedient to them ; I made them sad or angry ; I omitted to pray for them ; I mocked at old people.

“ Against the Sixth Commandment : I abused, beat, kicked, and knocked down other boys ; I fought and quarrelled with them ; I enticed others to theft, lies, unchastity. How often ? I ill-treated animals.

“ Against the Seventh and Tenth Commandments : I meditated willingly on unclean things. How often ? I spoke of impure things. How often ? I listened with pleasure to unclean talk. How often ? I committed unclean actions (alone or with others ?). How often ? I permitted the doing of unclean actions. How often ? I felt a desire to sin against modesty. How often ?

“ Against the Eighth and Tenth Commandments : I have stolen (fruit, eatables, school utensils, clothes ?). I took money (how much ?—from parents, relations, or others ?) How often ? I found (what ?), and did not give it back ; I wantonly injured the property of others (books, clothes, trees ?). How often ? I felt a desire to steal. How often ? I felt a desire to injure the property of others. How often ?

“ Against the Ninth Commandment : I have told lies. I repeated the faults of others unnecessarily. How often ? I have borne false witness against them. How often ?

“ Against the commands of the Church : I have eaten meat on fast days deliberately. How often ? On the seven deadly sins : I was vain ; I was obstinate ; I was envious and grudging ; I was glad when others were punished ; I was immoderate in eating and drinking ; I was wrathful ; I was lazy (in getting up, praying, work, lessons ?) ; I was inattentive at school ; I did not learn my lessons ; I played truant.”

Here sins are invented for the tender and inexperienced childish conscience which are none in reality. The whole

searching of conscience concerning the First Commandment consists of such sins: omission of the morning and evening prayer, or grace at meals and the sign of the cross. In this way the child is inoculated with a false conscience. Henceforth the merest trifles—cribbing dainties, quarrelling, telling tales—weigh on his heart as “sins.” If he is ashamed to confess them afterwards, and this happens often enough, he believes himself guilty of unworthy confession—*i.e.* sacrilege—and the feeling of guilt and torment of conscience this can cause are known only to the Catholic soul.

There are other sins, too, which the Confession-book commits against the childish soul.

“If it is not yet your turn to confess, think upon this: Adam and Eve committed only one sin, and for this were turned out of paradise. And I? I who have committed so many sins? O God, what punishment must Thou lay upon me! The bad angels, too, committed only one sin; they rebelled against God, and for this were eternally condemned to hell. I have sinned so often. O God, if Thou hadst permitted me to die suddenly, whither must I have gone?”*

Thus the most terrible sins known to the Catholic faith, which brought into the world death, devil, and hell, the fall of the first man and woman and of the angels, are cast upon the tender conscience of a little child. “See,” they say, “your sins deserve a still worse punishment!” Must not his judgment become quite unbalanced? Must not his growing religious and moral conceptions fall into hopeless confusion, and must not a consciousness of inexpressible wickedness spring up in the little soul—a wickedness which henceforth will weigh on him like a mountain?

Again, the seven questions dealing with impurity and

* Paderborn, pp. 12 *et seq.*

immodesty are a sin against educational and religious truth which must bear grievous consequences. Instead of preserving the child's imagination as much as possible from such thoughts, the ultramontane teaching actually thrusts him into the mire. The great injury done by confession is the disproportionate stress it lays on the details of sexuality. This is closely connected with the error of which the whole of ultramontane morality, discipline, and education are guilty. Natural sexuality is distorted into something unnatural and sinful; innocent naturalness scarcely exists. Everywhere the Ultramontane Catholic suspects vice. In this way he either helps to cultivate it, or produces such unhealthy and tormenting ideas about the human body and its functions that all, especially young persons, in whose head and heart such unnatural, or rather perverted, views have taken root are greatly to be pitied.

In our family a comparatively healthy tone in the treatment of sexual matters prevailed. The intercourse between brothers and sisters was a natural one; at any rate, we were not driven by our education and religion to look upon ourselves as sexual creatures, and "immediate occasions for sin." Although the stork that brings the babies was not unknown in our family, his dominion was not silly and, above all, not poisonous. But even we had to pay our toll in some grotesque ways to the mischievous perversity of ultramontane morality.

At night we had to wear a closed night-dress made like a sleeping sack. This prevented us from even seeing or touching our naked bodies. And if one of us took a bath by himself in the bathroom, he had to put on a bathing costume reaching to his feet. Even when I had grown to manhood I should have thought it sinful—or at any rate morally wrong—to enter a bath unclothed, or to contemplate my own body. So strong was the influence of this training.

Yet I designate all this as simplicity, because matters were far worse in the homes of some of our relations. There even brothers and sisters might never play together without supervision, lest there should be any risk to their innocence and modesty.

Though the responsibility for this immodest "modesty" lies largely at the door of Catholicism with its confessionals and its morals, it would not be fair to make it bear all the blame, for a large measure of it belongs unfortunately to every shade of Christianity, which, while departing in respect of morality as well as of religion, from the teaching and example of Christ, transforms the natural into the unnatural, and the healthy use of the senses into unhealthy vice.

The human body with its sexual differences has been regarded by the zealots of all Christian denominations as something naturally sinful; to speak of it and the sex functions, and to enlighten children and young people about it is considered wrong. What corrupt ideas of God and Nature, what irreconcilable contradictions are implied by such ideas of modesty! Marriage, family and children are regarded as "sacred," a favour and gift from God; but all that leads to them, what God and Nature have themselves placed before these sacred things as the gate through which they can alone be approached—the difference of the sexes and the natural intercourse between them, to the end of founding families and begetting children—is a shameful thing that must not be mentioned. We are removed by our feelings as much as by our age not only from the doctrine of Christ, but also from His natural view of sex. The fact that a lawful, joyous, bright and happy use of the senses and of sex is permissible seems to be lacking to the consciousness of the Christian masses, leaders and followers alike.

Nowhere, perhaps, is the inconsistency of present-day Christianity more remarkable than in the treatment of

sex questions, and especially procreation. Here the doctrine and practice of Ultramontaniam present the worst inconsistencies and most irreconcilable contradictions. Surely that branch of Christianity which claims to embrace the whole world in the widest sense of the word "catholic," and to explain body and mind, natural and supernatural, this world and the next, as one single whole, ought above all to include the source of human existence, and therefore of the "world-riddle," in the harmony which it claims to have established in the universe.

Christianity—by which I mean in the first instance Catholicism (though in this respect orthodox Protestantism does not differ greatly)—teaches us as a dogma that at the moment of procreation God implants a soul in that which is created. Therefore the union of man and woman calls forth a creative act on the part of God—that divine function with which nothing can compare in greatness and power. For by this act man, as it were, compels God to exercise His highest activity. Just as, according to Catholic dogma, the priest, by uttering the words "This is My body," and "This is My blood," compels God to transform bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, the man and woman by their union compel Him to create an immortal soul. It is therefore an act of consecration, because connected with the highest activity of the eternal Deity, and because God by His act completes and perfects the human act. It would, therefore, be right and reasonable if Catholicism, which honours and elevates the priest because of his power of compelling the Deity to enter the bread and wine, were also to honour and elevate the procreating pair, because they set His creative power in motion. But instead, what happens? Christianity, both Catholic and Protestant, regards with contempt all that appertains to sex, and often pours shame on the act in which God's power is specially manifest.

The reason is that such Christianity lacks the power of seeing things as they are, or even as its own official doctrines represent them. Where Christianity ought to be logical, it fails us; and it offends against religion and morality, and sins against God and Nature, by taking its stand on crumbling ground, instead of on a rocky foundation.

That is why the men who grow from this crumbling ground are incomplete beings, with uncertain view and insecure outlook on the world and man, and are ashamed of that which, according to their own teaching, contains a divine element. The paths which have been blocked by false asceticism, false belief, false modesty, must be once more cleared. Not that they may lead to sexual licence and shamelessness, but in order that the human race may step onward in moral freedom, strength, and joy, and lose the contemptible and harmful sense of shamefulness in its origin.

Of course, such thoughts did not occur to me at the early age of which I am writing; it was long afterwards that they came to me. But as the first confession is usually the occasion when the child's attention is drawn to sexual matters, as it were, officially and under religious influence (by the "Mirror of Confession" and the questions asked by the confessor), this seemed a suitable place for explaining my views on it. I shall have occasion later to show how this extravagant and truly unnatural Christianity acts injuriously upon the psychological, ethical, and intellectual development of those who come under its dominion.

To return to the first confession. How often and how sadly did I in later years, when myself a confessor, note the evil results of this early confession, with its conscience-searching, so calculated to draw attention to evil, and this in quite different countries—Holland, Belgium, England, and Germany—thus proving how uniform are the

ill effects of ultramontane education and early confession. Little boys and girls of seven and eight reel off a list of possible and impossible sins with exact enumeration—*e.g.* “I failed in devoutness 567 times; I was disobedient 215 times; I laughed in church 122 times; I lied 435 times; I pushed or beat other children or pulled their hair 249 times; I stole cakes or sweets 84 times; I prompted other boys at school 110 times; I was unchaste 96 times”—though inquiry on this point generally discovers that this refers to mere trivialities or the satisfaction of natural needs. I have even heard from the mouth of children the words, “I have committed adultery so-and-so many times.” In a word, the child’s mind is a perfect whirl, a maze of numbers and sins that can scarcely fail to stifle any real religious emotion.

Fortunately for me, my first confessor was a very matter-of-fact person, Brühl, the pastor of Guelders, who did not worry me with questions, but settled matters in a short and business-like fashion. So my early confessions did me little harm. I cannot say as much for my later ones. One evil result was, however, inevitable—the priest must take the place of God. Man, in his search for peace and reconciliation with God, finds a man in His place, and soon ceases to seek after God at all. The most intimate and truly religious emotion of the soul, its reunion with God, becomes through the medium of secret confession a mere outward act, and no amount of prayers and penitentiary formulæ can avail to cover the inward lack of all true religion.

Though this injury to the religious life was not manifest to its full extent in my case, yet it inevitably begins in every child on his first confession, for this engenders the worm that gradually effects its secret destruction.

Again, the decree of the Lateran Council insists on annual confession. But ultramontane practice, in its lust

for rule, requires frequent confession. Now what can a child of six or seven know of a Lateran decree? The only decree, law, and duty he knows are those laid down by his parents, teachers, and priests; and they all bid him confess frequently. From the time of his first confession till his first communion—*i.e.* till his thirteenth or fourteenth year—he goes to confession every six weeks. After this children are expected to go even oftener—a procedure which is ensured by careful supervision and admonition. So the pious Ultramontane Catholic acquires the habit of confessing once a week, and many thousands, not content even with this, pay a daily visit to the confessional. This gives the priest a power over individuals and families to which nothing else can compare in strength and the extent of its influence. No longer a mere confession of sin, it becomes a directing influence in all the private and public affairs of the penitent. It is by means of the confessional that Rome directs the souls and bodies, the family and social relations, of the faithful. I shall have occasion to speak later of the good effects of confession. They are due, not to its religious and sacramental influence, but rather to its natural and human aspect.

In other respects, my early development was absolutely normal. I was a cheerful, amiable, and intelligent child, the delight of my parents and friends. No special difficulties were experienced in my education or in the instruction which I received at home from chaplains, tutors, and governesses. I was deeply attached to my numerous brothers and sisters.

Only one dark memory belongs to that period. A tutor, a pupil of one of the Catholic seminaries, behaved indecently to me, under the pretence of helping me, a child, to perform natural functions. In my unsuspecting innocence I related the circumstance to my mother. Next morning the miscreant had left the house. This event left

no injurious effects. It was many years later that I came to understand the danger which then threatened me. The atmosphere of our home was pure, and so was my childish soul. It is to show this that I relate the circumstance.

Apart from its religious foundation, our education was based on absolute faith in authority and unreasoning obedience. No doubts or objections, far less criticism, were permitted us. Everything that our parents said and did was right, true, good, just, because they said and did it. I seem still to hear the answer "Because" to my questioning "Why?" Now the words and actions of my parents were undoubtedly good, but, being human, even they were liable to error, and our perception of such errors, combined with their demand of unconditional and uncritical submission, often troubled my childish soul even then, and led in later years to many an inner and outer struggle.

Wise and excellent as were my parents, they, like many others, failed to realise that even a little child is an individual with independent thoughts, feelings, and judgments; that education is meant for counsel and direction, not for moulding characters on the same pattern, and should aim at development, not at mechanical drill. "Children have no will of their own," was a pedagogic maxim in our household. It is scarcely necessary to prove the falsity of this principle and the harm done by carrying it into effect.

Doubtless the great stress laid on authority and blind obedience was closely connected with the general views of my parents, the ultramontane doctrine of blind subjection of the inner and outer man. For the same reason they approved of corporal punishment. Still, our tutors and governesses were not allowed to strike us. While we were quite small my mother punished us herself; after-

wards this duty was undertaken by my father. It was always attended by a certain amount of solemnity; it never took place immediately after the offence—as a rule, only on the following day. My mother was always present. The whole procedure was calculated rather to produce a moral effect than to cause physical pain. It closed generally with the text of the father who chastises his child because he loves him. When I look back at these executions—which were quite free from any coarse or rough element—I still realise their absolute futility. Whatever the Bible may say, there is no true educational value in blows.

In our educational system there was no place for art. This is indeed characteristic of Ultramontanism, which instinctively keeps aloof from this as from every other manifestation of a free spirit. It recognises only ecclesiastical art, and compels literature, sculpture, painting, and even music, to keep within the bounds laid down by ecclesiastical dogma and morals. The development of a free human spirit in word, speech, or image is not permitted in Catholic art. And beauty, its very life, must submit to have her wings clipped by Ultramontanism. The basis of all these checks—one might almost call them castrations—to art and beauty is the unnatural and excessive fear of vice. For the cult of the senses, which it interprets as licence, is the bugbear which Ultramontanism opposes to every product of the liberal arts, whether expressed in colour or form, in word or sound. It regards the unclothed human body—especially the female—the very highest manifestation of art and beauty, as something sinful. The most that is permitted by its teaching is to find beauty in face or hands. A man who speaks of the beauty of a woman's leg or bosom, or the curve of her back, who takes pleasure in seeing them represented in pictures and statues, or who depicts human love in its

consuming passion, or takes pleasure in such a description, is regarded as vicious. This accursed Catholic "morality," closely related indeed to that of orthodox Protestantism, transforms God's fair world into something unnatural and vicious, and relates as edifying and commendable incidents out of the lives of its saints, that such a one, even as an infant, proved his love of chastity by refusing to suck at his mother's breast, while another in his youth would not even look at his mother.

How is it possible for any one holding such views to study the theory and practice of art? It was not till after my breach with Ultramontaniam, in my fortieth year, that I learned and dared to admire and study beauty in its various manifestations.

What does the Ultramontane Catholic do when he visits museums and art exhibitions? He goes timidly past the highest revelations of art, the creations of Michael Angelo, Titian, Correggio, for he is not permitted to gaze upon the glorious beauty of a nude female figure. He does not know the meaning of delight in beauty, thanks to the moral teaching with which he has been inoculated, and which always thrusts the notion of sexual desire into the foreground.

Those who have received this education do not seek for art on the heights, where the air blows fresh and the outlook is wide. Timidly slinking past all purely human beauty, and shrinking from the sight of nudity, their road leads downward into narrow places, lest they wander on forbidden ground. As children we often went with our parents to picture galleries, but we could never give ourselves up to free, unhampered enjoyment, on account of the "dangerous" pictures and statues that met us at every turn. To stand in front of the Venus de Medici or similar works would have been held immodest.

The beauty of literature was also hidden from us. No

classic work was ever laid on our tables at Christmas or on our name-day festival, nor were extracts read aloud to us. Although Cologne and Düsseldorf were within easy reach, and we were often taken there, the theatre and opera remained sealed books for us.

The closing event of my early childhood is the entrance of my eldest sister Luise into a convent, an event which in its consequences was to have a fatal effect on my life.

My two sisters, Luise and Antonia, were sent while very young to the educational institute of the Dames de St. André at Tournai, in Belgium. After completing her education at the age of seventeen, Luise took the veil there. After thirty-five years of monastic life she died in 1894. Her example, letters, and conversation when we visited her there almost every year, had a powerful influence on me during the years when the idea of escape from the world was taking shape in me. But for my monastic sister Luise it is probable that I should never have crossed the threshold of the novitiate house at Exaeten.

CHAPTER III

THE JESUIT SCHOOL AT FELDKIRCH

IN October, 1861, my life underwent a momentous change, for my parents sent me to the Jesuit school, "Stella Matutina" (Morning Star*), at Feldkirch, in the Vorarlberg, whither two of my brothers—Adrian, who died in 1864, and William, the present owner of the property—had already gone in the autumn of 1860.

Even at the present day Feldkirch, in Austria, is the educational resort of the German Catholic nobility. Though not, like some similar establishments, exclusively aristocratic—since, as a matter of fact, the majority of its pupils are not of noble birth—most of the noble Catholic families of Germany send their sons to be educated there. Indeed, its roll of alumni contains some of the most aristocratic names in the country.

A custom peculiar to German Ultramontanists is that of sending boys and girls of the better classes to be educated at religious establishments conducted by international communities in other countries, *e.g.* Belgium, Holland, France, and England. This circumstance, though a matter of common knowledge, is unfortunately not sufficiently recognised by public opinion. Yet it is of the first significance from the point of view of politics, economics, religion, and education, and supplies the key to many of the internal phenomena of Catholic circles.

For several decades thousands of German children have

* One of the forty-six epithets of the Virgin in the Litany of Loretto.

been sent out of the country to receive from non-Germans an expensive education and initiation into ultramontane principles. They return six or seven years afterwards thoroughly penetrated by bigotry and superstition, and animated by the crudest intolerance for all who do not share their views. Their sentiment of nationality has been weakened during the long years spent in foreign surroundings. They have been inoculated with that internationalism so typical of Ultramontanism. And their education, given in a foreign country by nuns, priests, and monks, if compared with the corresponding German instruction, appears both superficial and incomplete.

The evil influences of this custom are of the most widespread description. All the leading journals of German Ultramontanism (*Kölnische Volkszeitung*, *Germania*, *Schlesische Volkszeitung*, *Tremonia*, *Neiderrheinische Volkszeitung*, *Echo der Gegenwart*, etc.), at the beginning of every school term, publish columns of advertisements of Belgian, Dutch, English, French, Austrian, even Italian and Spanish convent schools; and hundreds of German families—especially from the Prussian provinces of the Rhineland, Westphalia, Silesia, and, next to them, Bavaria, Baden, Wurtemberg—respond eagerly to the appeal, sending both girls and boys away for years into a foreign land, to grow strange to the manners and customs of their own.

Of course, Ultramontanism is fully conscious of the end to be thus attained. These institutions are, above all, nurseries for the priestly order. A great number of the young people of both sexes educated here are led to become priests, monks, and nuns.* This kind of education also provides a similarity of type in men and women, who, returning to their families, and themselves in turn becoming parents, maintain and spread the ultramontane spirit.

* The "German" Province of the Jesuit Order owes a great part of its growth to its institute at Feldkirch. Several Feldkirch pupils join it every year.

The Jesuit School at Feldkirch 51

The thousands of youths and maidens who in the course of years have been educated in the convents of Belgium, Holland, France, and England, are true Ultramontanes, *i.e.* men and women in whose eyes Rome takes the first, and their German Fatherland the second place. There is no getting away from this; however much those concerned may object or complain of "libel," no matter how much German sentiment they possess, nor how eager they may be to rank as patriots, to a true Ultramontane it is impossible. For the Romish doctrine of the dominion of the Church over the State, the absolute and all-comprehending obedience due to the Pope, leave no room for a sound, sincere, and independent feeling of nationality. Ultramontane patriotism is, hard as it may sound, a conditioned patriotism; and the voice of Rome, when uttered with authority, always drowns the cry of the Fatherland.

This is the first effect of education in foreign convents. The second relates to the teaching given there.

The young people who are sent to these educational establishments come completely under the influence of ultramontane culture, the very foundation of which is lack of freedom in mind and thought. Such freedom is intolerable to Ultramontanism, which clips the young wings and holds them down with the leaden weight of ecclesiastical authority. There must be no independent thinking. This watchword gives the direction in which every personality, except under very special circumstances, must develop, a direction confirmed by Pius X. in his encyclical of the 11th of February, 1906, by the words, "As for the multitude, their only duty is to let themselves be led and to follow their shepherd as a docile herd."

On this foundation of intellectual bondage the education of the young is based. Of the treasures of our national literature the pupils at these foreign convent schools learn

nothing, except, indeed, in a distorted form ; while " good " Catholic literature occupies an inordinate place in their studies. The martial deeds of Germans which brought about the establishment of the new German Empire are, to put it mildly, not represented in the only permissible light of national advance and greatness. Anyone can picture to himself the history lessons on these and similar periods in the numerous French educational establishments at Brussels, Namur, Tournai, Paris, Angers, frequented by German Catholic children.

The stamp of all these establishments is international. Teachers and pupils present a perfect medley of nations and languages. What opportunity is there for the growth of any national feeling ? Even in those who naturally possess this, it is either destroyed or grievously diminished.

The actual instruction, too, is, as already pointed out, extremely unsatisfactory and quite inadequate for German requirements. Especially is this the case in the convent schools for girls. It is perhaps not quite so bad for boys, who will afterwards, to qualify for their future professions, have to pass examinations at a German gymnasium. This very necessity produces some improvement ; and recently, in the Catholic schools abroad, an attempt has been made to adopt the German curriculum. But in the girls' schools, conducted by nuns, the instruction, even at the present day, is extremely bad. The teaching nuns themselves lack all intellectual training. The young ladies who, after passing through their hands, return to their families in Germany, may chatter French or English, and are drilled in the most various and amazing exercises of piety, their imaginative heads and hearts are crammed with extreme and extravagant ideas about religion, Church, Protestantism, and heretics, but of real knowledge they have scarcely a conception. I saw this in the case of my

own sisters, who were educated in a Franco-Belgian boarding-school of a model type.

These evils, which I here sketch briefly in introducing the record of my own education and training in a foreign religious establishment, may help to throw some light on the psychology of German Ultramontanism. In its circles no one seems to realise what a confession of the weakness of their own national sentiment they make by sending their children out of the country to be educated. In so doing they treat German education and culture as inferior to that of a foreign convent. Such fathers and mothers never for one moment realise that there is any ethical value in a home education. The internationalism of Ultramontanism, which in the convents borders on anti-nationalism, has gained the upper hand in many German families, though rooted for many centuries in German soil. My parents too suffered from this ultramontane disease, and that is why my sisters migrated to a Belgian convent, and we boys were sent at a very tender age to the Jesuit establishment at Feldkirch.

Although Feldkirch is situated in Austria, it belongs not to the Austrian, but to the German Province of the Jesuit Order. Before the expulsion of the Jesuits from Germany in 1872, the *Stella Matutina* at Feldkirch was the only educational establishment in Europe belonging to the German Province. After the expulsion a second was founded at Ordrupshøj, near Copenhagen. But in its oversea missions (North America, Brazil, India) it has long maintained a number of important schools.

At the time when I went to Feldkirch, and during the whole of my eight years' stay there, the Austrian State High School (*Gymnasium*) was in the hands of Jesuits, who undertook the teaching in all eight classes. When it was taken from them for a while they established in their own school, the *Stella Matutina*, *Gymnasium* courses

adapted partly to Austrian and partly to Prussian requirements. The State school was, however, restored to the Jesuits some years ago.

The Stella Matutina consisted of two quite distinct departments, whose inmates only associated at lessons. These were the First Boarding House, with higher fees and corresponding better accommodation, and the Second House. In the two together there were at my time about 400 pupils. These were graded in "divisions," according to age and height. The first house contained three, and the second, two divisions. The smallest children were in the third, the next in the second, and the biggest in the first. Intercourse between the divisions could only take place by permission of the divisional prefect; each division had two such prefects. Even brothers in different divisions might only talk together by special permission.

The main portion of the buildings was a disused yeomanry barracks, to which a wing had been added. The foaming waters of the Ill washed one side of the rambling building; the other faced the little town, in full view of Schattenburg, the ancient castle of the Counts of Montfort, which rose defiantly from the neighbouring rock. The Stella Matutina has been greatly enlarged since my day. It extends across the Ill, and has twice the number of pupils.

The separate divisions had each their own dormitories, studies, and playgrounds. Only the refectory was common to all. The rooms without exception were light and airy, though of extreme simplicity. We each had a cubicle in the big dormitory, curtained off, with just enough room for a narrow bed and a little washstand, with a few drawers to hold what was absolutely necessary. The rest of our clothes and our boots were kept in the *lingerie*, under the control of one of the lay brothers. In each dormitory slept several prefects, Jesuit scholastics, who

were charged with our supervision. They had cubicles like ours.

The food was plentiful and good. At breakfast we had as many cups of coffee (euphemistically called "Mocha") as we liked, with plenty of good bread, and on special feast days excellent butter. Lunch consisted of a large piece of bread. For dinner we had soup, two sorts of meat, roast and boiled, with vegetables, salad, and potatoes. At four o'clock a large piece of "four o'clock bread," to which, if our pocket-money permitted, we might add chocolate or fruit bought from the "questor," while in winter, after the Tuesday and Thursday walks, we had coffee at four o'clock in the refectory; for supper there was soup and warm meat, or some sort of farinaceous dish (*Mehlspeise*) with cold meat. Our usual drink was light beer; on feast days we had red or white wine at dinner. The chief festivals were marked by a specially ceremonious and extensive meal, at which the *patres*—*i.e.* superiors, prefects, and professors—joined us, and the pupils' orchestra played its brass band. The solemn entrance of the *patres* into the refectory, with the Pater Rector at the head, was always greeted officially with deafening applause. These festival dinners were commonly known as "three-plate gorges," from the number of plates used by each person.

As a rule, we were not allowed to talk at meals. Two pupils of the first division, who bore the title "readers," were stationed at the lectern and read aloud from books of history, literature, or travel. On Sundays and festivals talking was permitted at dinner, but very rarely at breakfast or supper. This permission, which was given after grace by the sound of a bell, was known as *Deo gratias* (Thanks be to God). This designation comes from the convents, where the Superior announces the beginning of conversation by the words *Deo gratias*. "To-day

is *Deo gratias*” was a joyful announcement for us pupils.

The supervision at table was undertaken from three pulpits by the Chief Prefect and two sub-prefects. In our studies the first divisional prefects supervised, the second divisional and other prefects had charge of the corridors and staircases.

Only at recreation was talking allowed; at other times silence was the rule throughout the house, and even in the playground as soon as the second bell announced the close of recreation.

When the divisions passed through the house to go to chapel or to meals, or to the studies or dormitories, they marched in pairs, two leaders, appointed for half a year, going in front.

If any of us wished to speak to the Rector, Chief Prefect, class teacher, confessor, or any other of the Fathers, we had to write a note expressing the wish. These notes were collected by the janitor of each division at a fixed time and handed to the particular Father, who summoned the boys to attend on him during evening study (from five to seven).

At the head of the whole establishment, Jesuits and pupils alike, was the Rector. Under him the Chief Prefect had the supervision of the pupils. Our studies were under the direction of the Prefect of Studies, likewise under the general supervision of the Rector. These important offices were always filled by older priests, who had taken the final vows of the Order (either as Coadjutors or as Professed). They were assisted by a number of younger members known as “scholastics.” According to the constitution of the Order, these were only entitled to the designation Brother, but on disciplinary grounds we had to address them as Father. The Fathers who were concerned with the education and

supervision of the pupils were called Prefects, those who took charge of our lessons were *Magistri*. The domestic offices were performed by lay brothers, assisted by servants, who, though not belonging to the Order, were under the strict control of the Fathers. There were no females at the Stella Matutina; cooking, sick-nursing, and washing were all in the hands of lay brothers and men-servants.

Tuesday and Thursday afternoons were half-holidays. Then the divisions, under the guidance of their prefects, went for walks, marching in threes till the prefect rang a little bell, which he always carried in his pocket, as a signal to break up the ranks.

In summer there was a long excursion once a week, usually to the summit of some mountain. We would set out as early as three or four o'clock in the morning; and it was often seven or eight at night before we reached home. Each boy carried his own provisions—bread, eggs, sausages, and a flask of raspberry juice—and porters were sent on ahead, to a place chosen beforehand, with further supplies. There, near some mountain farm we made coffee, for which we obtained milk from the dairy. On their return all the divisions assembled in the playground, and to the accompaniment of the brass band sang the "O Sanctissima" before the image of the Madonna. It was an impressive sight, which many of the inhabitants of Feldkirch came out to witness.

These excursions to the beautiful mountains of Vorarlberg were a source of great delight to us. But undoubtedly walks of some ten hours' duration implied excessive exertion, especially for the younger children. Indeed, the days immediately following the expeditions were generally wasted so far as study was concerned on account of over-fatigue. There was also some considerable danger involved. We went up mountains—*e.g.* the Three Sisters, the Gallina—quite unsuited to such young

climbers, for some among us were no more than ten years old. And the two or even four prefects in charge were not enough for a party of thirty or forty boys.

Indeed, I nearly lost my life in an ascent of the Three Sisters mountain during the very first year of my residence. While climbing a very rough and steep path I was suddenly seized with giddiness, not surprising in a boy of ten, lost my footing, and began to slip down a steep incline towards the precipice below. Luckily, my descent was stopped by a piece of rock, to which I clung fast till Father Fallar, at that time Prefect-General, came up and took my hand to guide me, not down to the camping place, but up to the summit. But, unless my memory fails me, this was the last time we climbed that particular mountain, whether on account of my mishap I do not know.

Many a time since I have asked myself whether it would not have been well for me had my young life ended then amid the boulders of the wild Samina Valley—a question which arose in me again long afterwards on the occasion of another hairbreadth escape. Often I should have answered in the affirmative, at the time when the breach with my old life was impending. But now—and, indeed, for the last ten years—I answer unreservedly, No. Those who are engaged in the work of construction, in imparting knowledge to others, can but rejoice at escape from premature death. And when, as in my case, private and personal happiness is experienced, the joys of home and family, so long denied to me and even impossible of attainment, then surely it is a duty and privilege to welcome life.

Some time later a country house, officially known as the "Villa," was acquired, and the excursions became less frequent, as we spent most of our free time at the "Garina," where there was plenty of room for active games.

Very delightful, too, were the sledging parties on winter

holiday afternoons down a neighbouring hill-side. Each of us had his own sledge, and we trudged up in a long line, marching sometimes for a couple of hours. Then down we slid gaily in headlong course. The many little commemorative shrines we passed on our downward journey showed that this delight was not free from risk; and although, to the best of my recollection, there were no serious climbing accidents, this sledging, or tobogganning, as we should now call it, led to a number of mishaps, such as broken legs and arms. After my time even this sport fell into disuse, and the tobogganning was confined to the so-called "Russian mountains" in the playground, high wooden erections with an inclined slide, besprinkled with water, which, frozen to ice, offered a very fair substitute for the real sport.

Our daily routine, to the best of my memory after forty-eight years, was something like this:

We rose at five (the smallest children at half-past five), and had to wash and dress in twenty minutes. Then came morning prayers in the study. Then lessons till seven o'clock Mass, at which we joined in singing German or Latin hymns. At half-past seven breakfast and a short recreation. From eight to twelve lessons, with a quarter of an hour recreation at ten o'clock, when we ate our lunch. Dinner at twelve; recreation from twelve-thirty to one-thirty. Study from one-thirty to two. Lessons from two to four. Recreation and "four o'clock bread," four to four-forty-five. Study, four-forty-five to seven. Supper at seven. Then evening prayers and "conscience searching" in the studies. After prayers the younger ones went to bed, and the elder pupils had "free study" till eight-forty-five, which was utilised according to inclination or prescription, for reading light literature out of the division library, or for further study. At nine o'clock everyone had to be in bed.

We only had holidays once a year, from the 1st of August to the 1st of October. At Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas we observed only the Church festivals. It was no doubt the great distance of Feldkirch from the homes of most of the pupils that made more frequent and shorter holidays impossible.

Besides the two divisions of the boarding establishment, day-boys were also admitted. These lived in private houses in the little town, and had no connection with the boarders except at lessons, when the greatest care was taken to prevent any intercourse between regular and out-students. Still, even the day-boys were under Jesuit direction in other respects than instruction. Its nucleus lay in the Marian Congregations and the annual Exercises, in both of which the externs took part as well as the ordinary pupils.

The *Stella Matutina*, like other Jesuit educational establishments, had an international character, though the majority of the pupils were German or German Austrians. Swiss, French, English, Dutch, Danes, North and South Americans, Spaniards, Italians, Belgians, were to be found in varying numbers in the different divisions. Even more important, however, than the internationalism of the pupils was the mixture of race in the teaching faculty. As this was a special characteristic of the institution, it will be better to deal with it in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

THE JESUIT SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION

FOR more than three centuries Jesuit teaching has found many eulogists, from Bacon and Leibnitz down to Friedrich Paulsen. My own eight years' experience as a pupil at Feldkirch prevents me from subscribing to their praise, while my knowledge of the system of instruction compels me to pronounce it bad.

These eulogists belong to two opposite factions : those who in other respects adopt the anti-Jesuit standpoint and are enemies of the Order, and its sworn friends. Both praise what is obvious, the externals and the success they achieve ; but they scarcely touch on the system and its inner meaning. The opponents never penetrate to the kernel of the Jesuit system. The friends, too, are so ignorant that they cannot reach below the surface, or else they consciously misrepresent facts, or fail to bring their true meaning to light. Among the latter may be classed all the Jesuits who write of their own educational system.

Undoubtedly the Jesuit schools have met with a full measure of external success. As everything done by this Order with a view to outward show and the attraction of the masses is based on acute understanding of human nature, and carried out with considerable display and splendour, so this applies in a very special degree to its school system. Even at this day the scions of ruling houses, the nobility, and the most influential classes, fill its schools ;

the buildings are on a magnificent scale, and often architecturally beautiful. Musical and theatrical performances, to which great State and Church dignitaries are invited, and ceremonial processions of pupils, serve to establish the excellence of their educational system in the common estimation.

“ These ceremonies must be conducted with exceptional solemnity, and with as large an attendance as possible of our own members and men of learning and high position from other quarters. . . . On the day appointed (for the prize-giving), the names of the winners are to be publicly announced with all manner of pomp, and before a numerous audience. . . . The prizes are then to be handed to the winners amid applause and the sound of music.” *

An example of the “ exceptional solemnity ” prescribed above is afforded by the opening of the Jesuit *Gymnasium majus* at Munich, in 1576.

“ The students, dressed in Roman costume, acted a play entitled *Constantine*, and after the conclusion of the performance forty of them, clad in steel armour, accompanied the Emperor on horseback through the town, when he rode in triumph through the street in a Roman quadriga.” †

Similar love of pomp is evident everywhere in the educational system of the Jesuits. Kelle quotes from a codex in the Vienna Court Library ‡ the statement that a theatrical performance organised by the Jesuits at Vienna in the year 1654 cost 4,000 gulden (about £400), and this at a period immediately after the Thirty Years' War.

* Rule 12 for the Prefects of Studies, Regulations for the distribution of prizes pars. 11, 12.

† A. Kluckhohn, *Die Jesuiten in Baiern: Sybels. Histor. Zeitschrift*, 1874, Vol. 31, p. 387.

‡ Kelle, *Die Jesuiten-Gymnasien in Oesterreich* (Munich, 1876), p. 144.—Codex No. 8368, p. 19.

The Jesuit System of Instruction 63

No wonder such proceedings met with a popular "success." A further success was achieved in the acquisition by their pupils of such humanistic culture as the age afforded. But this is the very least that can be demanded of any educational institution. As the final result of Jesuit teaching capacity, it may be considered insignificant. When so large a community, organised with one conscious aim like that of the Jesuits, which for many centuries has been magnificently equipped with means and men, and has enjoyed the goodwill of the Church, State, and Family, designates education as one of its main tasks, surely great and astounding results should have been produced; this community, with its centuries of experience and practice, ought to have become a didactic pioneer, and new, original methods should have taken birth here. Instead, we find neither in its origin nor in its development one breath of creative spirit in the Jesuit educational system.

The Order utilises the educational achievements of others, but it never originates. From the first institution of the "*Ratio atque institutio studiorum Societatis Jesu*" in the years 1586-1591, under the General of the Order, Claudius Acquaviva, to 1832, when it was edited afresh under General John Roothaan, the Jesuits were only copyists, and bad at that.

Their Scheme of Study is an imitation of the schemes of the Universities of Paris and Louvain, of the flourishing schools of the "Brothers of the Common Life" at Liège, and the pioneer scholastic of Strassburg, Johannes Sturm.*

* The debt of the Jesuit Scheme of Studies to former schemes is so certain that even the Jesuits Pachtler (in the *Monumenta Germaniae paedagogica*, 5, vi.) and Duhr (in *Die Studienordnung der Gesellschaft Jesu*, pp. 6-12) acknowledge it, though they veil their admission in a mass of verbiage. Thus Duhr writes (p. 12):—"As many Jesuits attended the schools of the Brothers, and in any case their schools were well known to the Jesuits as the best of their age, it is easy to account for many resemblances in the school of Sturm and those of the Jesuits, without necessarily assuming a dependence of the Jesuits on Sturm." It is a most unfortunate circumstance that Pachtler and Duhr were invited to collaborate in the

On this mediæval foundation Jesuit education has remained as it were stationary, in spite of all changes of time and requirements.

If we compare the wording of the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum* of 1591 with that of 1832, in force at the present time, only slight changes are observable. The *Ratio* of the nineteenth century is as cumbrous, and bears the same weight of scholastic ballast, as that of the sixteenth. But the earlier scheme did not bear the stamp of isolation, since it embodied the essence of the prevailing methods of education. At the present day such a scheme is in the fullest sense an alien thing.

The fact that the Jesuit Order, with its Scheme of Studies unchanged in all the changes of time and circumstances, can still keep a place in the educational world, and that, even without the outward pomp and circumstance described above, it still attains by no means contemptible results, is in no sense due to the scheme, but rather to the change and progress in the world outside, which compelled it, in spite of and even in opposition to its *Ratio Studiorum*, to adapt itself to new needs.

Yet how slowly, how incompletely and unwillingly, did this adaptation proceed! For the space of two hundred and thirty years there is not even a mention of adaptation. During this whole period (1590–1832), when such momentous discoveries and revolutions were taking place in the domain of natural science, the course in physics set forth in the *Ratio* is as follows:—

Monumenta Germaniæ pædagogica, for both are among the most unscrupulous colourists of the Jesuit systems of instruction and education. I shall have occasion again to refer to their methods. Pachtler's literary forte is his attack on Freemasonry. On this subject he has written books which abound in absurdities, and are worthy precursors of the Taxil hoax. This circumstance alone should have prevented the directors of the *Monumenta* from inviting a writer of such extravagant fantasy, and with a power of invention undisturbed by any qualms of conscience, to collaborate in a work of serious erudition. But who among non-Ultramontanes knows anything about Ultramontanism and Jesuits?

The Jesuit System of Instruction 65

"In the second year (of the three years' philosophy course) the professor is to expound eight books of the *Physics*, the *de Caelo*, and the first book *de Generatione*. Of the eight books he need give only a sketch of the sixth and seventh, and those portions of Book I. that give the views of the ancients. In Book VIII. he need not touch on the number of Intelligences, nor on Freedom, nor on the unending power of the First Moving Cause. These should be treated in connection with the *Metaphysics* and on the lines of Aristotle. The text of Books II., III., and IV. of the *de Caelo* is to be taken in summary, and with the omission of parts. Only a few points about the *Elements* need be discussed, of the Heaven only the Substances need be mentioned, and its Influences. Everything else may be left to the Professor of Mathematics, or given in extract."* And Rule 12 contains the general admonition: "Great pains must be taken in expounding the Aristotelian text, which must be done as zealously as the discussion of the questions themselves. The pupils must also be admonished that those who pay no regard to the text of Aristotle can have but an incomplete idea of philosophy."

It was not till the year 1832 that additions were made to the *Ratio* which showed an advance on the scientific knowledge of Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas, and bore a more adequate relation to the nature and requirements of this important branch of natural science. Only once, in the fourth part of the *Constitutions* of the Order, where the educational system, on which the scheme of instruction is based, is expounded, is there any mention of natural science (*scientiæ naturales*), and then only in connection with the admonition that it should be taught with a view to theology, which it would have to serve (*inservire*). And the *Ratio* treats it in much the same fashion.†

* Rule 10 for the Teacher of Philosophy.

† Rule 1 for the Teacher of Philosophy.

But the following circumstance is decisive for the educational system of the Order and its power of adaptation.

The 23rd General Congregation, held in the year 1883 under the presidency of the General Antonius Maria Anderledy, resolved by its 16th decree :

“ Further, the Congregation declares that Decree 36 of the 16th and Decree 13 of the 17th General Congregations are still in force ; and that we must abide by that philosophy which is there declared to be of most service to theology. But in order that the teaching of the Professor of Metaphysics in accordance with its theses should not be overthrown by the Professor of Physics in opposition to the theses, this Congregation [held in the year 1883 !] decrees that in our schools experimental physics are to be taught in such a manner that nothing is stated in opposition to the system of the nature and composition of natural bodies which is there laid down [*i.e.* the peripatetic system of Aristotle]. This decree was presented by our very venerable Father [the General of the Order] to the Pope [Leo XIII.], who approved it greatly, and insisted on its exact observance.” *

Now the decrees of the 16th and 17th General Congregations (of 1706 and 1751), which were restated by the 23rd Congregation in 1883 as “ rules ” for the instruction of the Order, were as follows :—

“ Since the Society of Jesus has decreed the utility of the philosophy of Aristotle for the ends of theology, we are to adhere to it, in accordance with the regulations laid down in the statutes and in the Scheme of Studies, and this not only in Logic and Metaphysics, but also in Natural Philosophy, from which Aristotle’s teaching as to the nature and composition of natural bodies must not be omitted. If the Provincial Superiors discover that modernising persons deviate from this philosophy, either openly

* *Monum. Germ. paed.* 2, 118 *et seq.*

The Jesuit System of Instruction 67

or under specious pretences, and attempt to put other views in their place, they are to be deprived of their teaching office." *

"The Congregation resolves to teach and defend the Aristotelian system in the physical instruction generally." †

In mathematics the *Ratio* prescribes instruction in the Elements of Euclid for about three-quarters of an hour, ‡ and it was not till 1832 that they began to disregard an author whose methods are more than two thousand years behind the times. §

The attitude of the *Ratio Studiorum* to history reveals an excess of didactic confusion and stupidity. It declines to recognise it as an independent branch of study, and what could be more wrong-headed and stupid than the regulations laid down in the following:—

Part IV., cp. 12 of the Constitutions mentions History as a part of the Humanities, and the "new" *Ratio* of 1832 relegates it in a single word to "Rhetoric." || "The first known regulation for the systematic treatment of history" in Jesuit institutions dates from the eighteenth century, and even this "is only concerned with Biblical History." ¶ Even at the present day the Constitutions and Study Schemes of the Order recognise no systematic treatment of history. My experiences at the Jesuit College at Wynandsrade will suffice to show how history is taught in the "Rhetoric" of the Order.

Botany, geology, zoology are not even named in the scheme now in force. A science so important as chemistry receives but one single mention.

In the "higher faculties"—theology and philosophy—

* Congreg. 16, Decret. 36.

† Congret. 17, Decret. 13.

‡ Rules for the Teacher of Mathematics.

§ This criticism would scarcely be endorsed by English schoolmasters, many of whom viewed with regret the recent passing of Euclid.—*Translator*.

|| Rule 3 for the Teacher of Rhetoric.

¶ Rule 6 for the Teacher of Philosophy.

as in physics, Thomas Aquinas and Aristotle are still to be followed. No modern theologians or philosophers are even named. In regard to "philosophers who are hostile to the Christian religion," the "new" scheme characteristically states:—

"If anything good in them has to be mentioned, the teacher of philosophy must do so without any words of praise, and if possible show that it is derived from some other source." *

In exegesis the only translation to be considered is that sanctioned by the Church—*i.e.* the Latin Vulgate; and the original Hebrew and Greek texts "are only to be cited when any difference between them and the Vulgate requires to be reconciled, or when the distinctive expressions of the other languages contribute to the clearness or significance of the expression." †

A strange notion of scholarship! To permit the reference to the original text in two cases only, the condition of the one being the possibility of twisting the original into the interpretation of the incorrect translation. It would be hard to parallel.

For the teaching of Latin grammar even the scheme "adapted to the needs of the day" in 1832 only recognises a primer composed in the sixteenth century by the Jesuit Emanuel Alvarez. And at the present time the Provincial is instructed to provide for the use of a grammar in three parts on the lines of Emanuel's system. ‡

The enormous advance made by philology in respect of both matter and form is disregarded on principle by the *Ratio Studiorum*, which would, if possible, even at this day, "divide the Rules of Emanuel into three parts, so that each of the three Grammar Classes may have its

* Rule 6 for the Teacher of Philosophy.

† Rules 2 and 4 for the Teacher of Holy Scripture.

‡ Rule 23 (1) for the Provincial.

The Jesuit System of Instruction 69

own text-book.”* Indeed, wherever the Order is able to disregard external influences, such as are imposed by the State, it still continues, uninfluenced by philological considerations, to use Emanuel’s old grammar in all its schools. At the Jesuit College of St. Michael, at Freiburg, in Switzerland, it was still prescribed in 1843 for use in the third and fourth classes.† Its eventual disappearance from the Jesuit schools about the middle of the nineteenth century was due solely to external circumstances, which compelled them to adopt better methods of instruction.‡ Only under such compulsion will they swerve from their Scheme of Studies, faithful to the philological traditions of their Order, and adhering tenaciously to those Jesuit school-books which, in the opinion of experts, “abound in philological errors.” As an instance I quote the criticism from the *Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie* § of a Latin and Greek grammar in use at the Jesuit High School at Ragusa in 1868. After citing a series of examples testifying to the most incredible ignorance of grammatical etymology, it continues:—

“In the theoretical treatment of the Latin language it appears, to judge from the very sparse quotations, that the most recent book with which the author is acquainted

* Rule 8 (2) for the Prefect of Gymnasium studies, and Rule 12 (1) for the Teachers of the Lower Grades.

† *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 16, 540.

‡ Johann Kelle, Professor at the University of Prague (*d.* 1909), gives some quaint specimens of Emanuel’s learning in his two books, *Die Jesuitengymnasien in Oesterreich vom Anfange des vorigen Jahrhunderts bis auf die Gegenwart* (Prague 1873) and *Die Jesuitengymnasien in Oesterreich* (Munich, 1876). His criticisms annoyed the Order so greatly that a Jesuit, R. Ebner, was set to refute them in a volume of 715 pages, entitled *Beleuchtung der Schrift des Herrn Dr. Johann Kelle: Die Jesuitengymnasien in Oesterreich* (Linz, 1874), in which Kelle was accused of falsifying, distorting, etc. Kelle responded with a volume which contains material derived from original letters of Jesuit authorities (Generals, Provincials, and Rectors) in the Court Library at Vienna and hitherto unpublished, charged with accusations against the Order and its system of instruction. I shall have occasion to refer to this again.

§ Fourth year, Leipzig, 1858, pp. 143, 147.

is the Latin School Grammar of G. J. Vossius, Amsterdam, 1710. He also has recourse to Alvarus, de instit. Gramm., Venice, 1575 [the Jesuit mentioned above]. . . . The ignorance of the author [the Jesuit J. Gretser] of this Greek Grammar is so unfathomable that any attempt at sounding it, or finding a standard of comparison, is wasted labour. A schoolboy in his first year of Greek, even the stupidest, could not invent so many impossible grammatical blunders as the author of this book produces and sells to us for knowledge. . . . What must be the philological standard of a teaching staff that chooses such a book as a guide for its pupils ! ”

The history of education in Austria affords an excellent illustration of the worthlessness of the Jesuit curriculum, and the stupid obstinacy with which the Order, regardless of the needs and progress of the age, adheres to its foolish system of instruction. I deal with this in detail, because I was myself educated at one of the Austrian schools under Jesuit direction.

For a century and a half the Jesuits set their impress on Austrian education, an impress which remained even after the dissolution of the Order in 1773. It was not till sixty years later that the Imperial State of the Habsburgs began to reorganise its education. The criticisms passed at that time on the system of teaching, which was still so largely dominated by the Jesuits, furnish the strongest condemnation of the work of that Order. A report laid before an Imperial Commission on Education in 1840 says :—

“ At the present time the teaching is dissipated, the desire for knowledge stifled, in spite of great efforts little is achieved, and the young people know nothing of the delight of gaining fresh knowledge. In spite of all the Latin teaching and conversation—a point on which the Jesuit Scheme of Study lays especial stress—they are

The Jesuit System of Instruction 71

incapable, at the end of seven years, of writing a Latin composition. The language lessons are a mere dry scaffolding of explanations and rules. Their reading of the classical languages is confined to books of selections, short extracts from many authors of the most various styles. No attempt is made to study a classical author in his style and ideas. At the history lesson no historical maps are used. The mathematical teaching is beneath criticism. The simplest arithmetical processes are spread over six years, and yet treated in the scantiest fashion. In fact, arithmetic is unlearnt by the pupils."

Now began a fierce struggle against rooted prejudices. At last, in 1849, there appeared a "Scheme for the Organisation of Gymnasia," which was in the main adapted to the needs of a modern State. It was to be practically tested for eight years, then, after revision by a Commission, to become law. But when, in November, 1857, the conclusions of the Commission were published, progressive Austrian educationists discovered to their dismay that the findings betokened a relapse into the old Jesuit system.

After its re-establishment the Order had gradually won back considerable influence in Austria, and expected to take charge of a great many gymnasia. These were, of course, to be conducted on the lines of the *Ratio Studiorum*. The Jesuits strained every nerve to procure the alteration in all essentials of the objectionable new scheme, and in fact the Order and its *Ratio Studiorum* did win the day over the Austrian State and its scheme for the organisation of gymnasia. Gradually the schools were again handed over to the Jesuits, to be conducted on their old humanistic and didactic methods, instead of the State regulations. The Austrian Minister of Education surrendered unconditionally to the General of the Order, Peter Beckx. The correspondence between these two, the representative of the State desirous of

keeping in the van of educational progress and the Jesuit General who preferred to abide by the standpoint of the sixteenth century, is extraordinarily interesting, for every page bears testimony to the reactionary spirit, the revolt against State authority, the resistance to adaptability and progress, and obstinate insistence on the principles of the Order laid down three hundred years ago.

These peculiarities, so disastrous for education, are manifested in many ways. It is only for the last thirty years that the Order, impelled by necessity and not of its own free will, has consented to send young scholastics to be trained at the universities for the teaching profession and examinations, in accordance with modern requirements.

During my Feldkirch residence (1861-69), and for several years after, only two among the whole number of class teachers had any professional training. Of these, Georg Michael Pachtler, one of the collaborators in the *Monumenta Germaniae paedagogica*, had acquired his philological knowledge at State institutions before entering the Order. His possession of these qualifications was therefore merely accidental so far as his position as class teacher was concerned. The rest of the teachers were young scholastics with no special preparation, who had entered the Order as boys of fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen, from the second or third class of a gymnasium or an ecclesiastical seminary. For the two years of their novitiate their studies had been laid aside, and after this interruption they spent the next two or three years in the old cumbersome and very defective humanistic course of the Order, passing through the classes of Grammar, Humanity, and Rhetoric. This was followed by a three years' philosophy course, at the end of which they were dismissed as fully equipped for teaching in the gymnasia. In the fullest and worst sense their maxim was *docendo discimus*, for

The Jesuit System of Instruction 73

they were often compelled to acquire by strenuous exertion, in a few weeks before the beginning of a session, the whole of the subjects which they would have to teach during the coming year.

I well remember that we pupils were struck by the scanty knowledge of Latin and Greek possessed by our form master in the third class. He would continually make some pretext for postponing answers to our questions, and we soon discovered that he had first to seek information from some one else before he could answer. Another Feldkirch form master told me that he had been appointed to teach Greek without the slightest knowledge of the language, and what a grind it had been to prepare himself in the short interval between his appointment and his entrance into office.

Indeed, naïve expression is given to this auto-didactic principle in the *Ratio Studiorum* itself, even in the later edition.

“Care should also be taken to let our scholars begin their work as teachers in a class to which they are superior in knowledge, so that they may be able to pass on yearly with a large proportion of their pupils to a higher division.”*

Yet so wedded was Austrian clericalism to the old jog-trot methods that the Jesuits were allowed to continue for several decades giving instruction at the gymnasia after this fashion. Even here, however, the awakening of a State consciousness helped to arouse an educational consciousness, and Austria demanded of the Jesuits the minimum qualification for instruction, a complete professional training.

It is only since then that any professional training for teaching has been recognised by the Order. And even now it is an exception, and exists alongside of, but not as a part of, the educational system. It is not an essential,

* Rule 29 for the Provincial.

for officially the antiquated *Ratio Studiorum* still holds the field, and while recognising only the requirements of long past times and civilisations, stubbornly defends its old position.

A proof of this stubbornness is the unwilling recognition by the 23rd General Congregation of 1883 of State examinations and some adaptation to the requirements of modern knowledge, such as mathematics and natural science, yet with this admonition:—

“Care must, however, be taken not to interfere with the *Ratio Studiorum* of the Society, nor must any departure be allowed from the prescribed three years’ philosophy course for the benefit of mathematics and natural science.”*

This means that, while the Order can no longer avoid adapting itself to modern requirements, lest the countries in which it possesses public educational establishments should withdraw their licence to teach, it yet abides stubbornly by its out-of-date *Ratio Studiorum*. This must remain intact, and, at any rate in the training of its own young members, the newer sciences must give way to the old traditional three years’ philosophy course, in which the chief place is occupied by Aristotle and Plato, Averroes and Avicenna, Ollam, Peter Lombard, Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas, while for Kant and the whole of modern philosophy a few theses must suffice.

When, therefore, eulogists of the Order, especially its own literary members, from the fact that the *Ratio Studiorum* of the sixteenth century still maintains its position, deduce the marvellous excellence of the Jesuit scheme of instruction and education, which has survived unaltered for centuries and is as workable to-day as it was more than three centuries ago, we can but call this a not unusual Jesuitical distortion of facts. The very reverse is the truth.

These achievements, which by no means exceed the

* Decrees 21, 22, 23, *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 2, 122 et seq.

The Jesuit System of Instruction 75

average, are not to be placed to the account of the Jesuit system of instruction, for they are due to the beneficent influence of outward circumstances, which even the antiquated Jesuit system could not permanently resist. So, and not otherwise, can the results of the system be rightly estimated.

The following summary will give some idea of the retrograde methods of the Scheme of Study.

There are to be five classes for gymnasium studies; one for rhetoric, one for humanity, and three for grammar. The prefect is to see to it that the curriculum for each is kept distinct. He should make a division in three parts of Emanuel's Grammar, so that each class may keep to its own.

In the humanity class the time should be arranged so that in the first three-quarters of an hour every morning the rhetorical rules and the Latin author are to be heard by the decurions; then the teacher looks through the written work which has been handed in to the decurions and the marks given by them. Then follows an explanation on the rule. The next half-hour is devoted to the public correction of the written exercises. In the next three-quarters of an hour the last lesson is to be repeated and a new one explained. The last half-hour is to be given to the less important subjects or concertation. In the afternoon the first hour is devoted to rhetorical rules and the Latin author, and the master looks over the marks and corrects the exercises. Then the rules are explained and repeated. In the second hour a Latin poet should be construed, and on alternate days a Greek or vernacular author, followed by dictation. The last half-hour is given to concertation or minor subjects. The arrangements for the rhetoric class are very similar.* Surely a school with

* Rule 21 for the Provincial; Rule 8 for the Prefect of Gymnasium studies; Rule 2 for the Teacher of the Humanities; Rule 2 for the Teacher of the highest Gymnasium class.

such a division of classes, such a curriculum, and such methods, including the use of a sixteenth-century grammar in the present day, is no better than a fossil. It has no life of its own, and can infuse none into others. And yet we must not forget this fossilised scheme of study is intended for our own day. If it is not followed and its valuelessness not revealed, the credit is not due to the Order and its educational ability, but rather to other usually hostile factors; in particular, non-Jesuit didactics, which are despised by the Jesuits as far below theirs.

Of the *Ratio Studiorum*, as of so much else in the Jesuit constitution, it may be said that it exists on paper, but as regards essentials not in practice. To carry it out in its entirety proved disadvantageous for the Order, either generally or at certain times and under special conditions. And yet it is praised as though it were still fruitful and effective, as a sign of the eternal youth of the Order, a manifestation of the "supernaturally enlightened wisdom" of its founder Ignatius Loyola, who, overlooking time and space, appointed regulations which would never grow antiquated, but always renew their own youth.

Such praise has no foundation in truth, but it helps to build up the edifice of the Society's fame.

And the condemnation is the greater because the Jesuit system of instruction possessed capacities of development such as could nowhere else be found. I have already mentioned the almost inexhaustible means at the disposal of the Order, and the favours it enjoyed from Church and State. It is for this very reason that the success of the system when weighed in the balance is found wanting. We need only call to mind France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Bavaria, and the many German electorates and principalities where the Jesuit schools were quite specially favoured, and remember that for centuries they must have had under their hands the very best pupils of each country.

The Jesuit System of Instruction 77

Yet nowhere do we hear of any success surpassing that of other institutions. In size and splendour the Jesuit schools were unequalled. But in quality they never rose above the common level.

A system of study whose main regulations are not applicable to the present day, which can only maintain itself in appearance by contradicting itself in all essentials, must be accounted bad. There may have been a time when it was good, but it is long past. It may have an historical value, but from the practical and didactic point of view it is valueless.

Yet this is not the cause of the real badness—or rather worthlessness—of the system. This is to be sought in the principles which underlie it. For the system of instruction is the natural outcome of the Order, and shares in its fundamental vice, unlimited egoism.

Under the most polished smoothness of exterior, and under its religious and ascetic externals, the Order in every form of its activity conceals such a mass of brutal self-interest as is nowhere else to be found organised and systematised in one great community, within the two thousand years of the Christian era.

The typical egotism of the Order also dominates its educational system. In the first place, it is really a mark of this egotism that the scheme of instruction is not drawn up for the sake of the young people outside its ranks, but for those who intend to join the Order, the scholastics of the Society of Jesus, “our own” (*Nostris*), as they are designated in the Constitutions and Rules. All the wise directions and the careful consideration shown in the *Ratio Studiorum* are in the first instance directed towards the profit of the Order itself. The “external” students receive only secondary consideration. Their needs must be subordinated to a system meant to serve the interests of the Order; they are an addendum, not a principal object.

A proof of this is afforded by the fourth part of the Regulations, which are the basis of the whole system and its *Ratio Studiorum*. The introductory heading shows its exclusive reference to the Order:—

“Part IV. of the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus. Concerning the instruction in knowledge of those who are to be retained in the Society, and of other matters which help us to benefit our neighbour.”

In the introduction we find:—

“The Society takes over colleges, and sometimes also universities or general educational establishments; in which those persons, who have been approved in the houses* during their probationary period, but are not equipped with the education required by our Institute, are instructed in the various branches of knowledge and all else that is advantageous for the soul’s welfare. Therefore we shall treat first of that which concerns the colleges, then of that which concerns the general educational establishments.”

The explanation (*declaratio*)† appended to the introduction is particularly important. It gives in general outline the aim of the Order, and the manner of increasing, by means of various studies, from the lowest to the highest, the number of capable members suited to its needs. And it is the general character of the expression in this and the following seventeen chapters, touching only on the “work

* The Residences of the Jesuits, with the exception of those used for purposes of study and called Colleges, are known as Houses; in particular, novitiate and professed houses. Houses with only a few inmates, or Settlements, used chiefly as centres of spiritual activity, are also known as Residences. The term Convent is foreign to Jesuit terminology.

† The official preface to the Declarations and Explanations of the Constitutions of the Order (*Proœmium in Declarationes et Annotationes Constitutionum*) characterises the Declarations as of no less authority than the Constitutions (*cf.* the Prague edition, declared authentic by the 18th General Congregation, I., 357). I specially call attention to the authority of the Declarations, because Jesuits (*e.g.* Ebner) are apt to set them aside when anything is quoted from them which expounds the Constitutions in a manner displeasing to themselves.

and aim of the Society of Jesus" and the intellectual equipment of its own members, which shows that all the ordinances are in the first instance intended for "Nostri," and that the references to scholastic arrangements for "externals" must be considered from the point of view of the interest of the Order.

"Since the aim and motive that the Society sets before itself is to preach the Word of God, to hear confessions, . . . it appeared to us necessary, and in accordance with wisdom, that those who wish to enter the Society should be men of virtuous character and adapted for their vocation by intellectual training. And because it is rare to find men who are both good and learned . . . we recognised that it would be difficult to increase the Society by such men. . . . Therefore it seemed to all of us, who desire the preservation and growth of the Society, that another way was more suitable; the admission of youths . . . and the institution of colleges. . . . First then we must treat of that which refers to the colleges, then of that which refers to the universities."

In Chapter 2 it is laid down that if the Society takes over colleges, the profit which the Society of Jesus itself may derive from them must, above all, be borne in mind; and if in the course of time any college that has been taken over should prove burdensome to the Society, it is to be given up.

Chapter 3 treats of the scholars who are to be admitted to the colleges. But here "scholars" refers exclusively to the "scholastics" of the Society of Jesus, and not to external pupils.

"As to the scholastics for whose sake colleges are to be taken over, we must ponder in the Lord what manner of men they should be, that they may be sent and admitted to the colleges."

Above all, no one who suffers from any of the five

disabilities which exclude from the Society of Jesus may be included in the ranks of scholastics in any college of the Society. . . . Further, only those can be admitted as approved scholars who have been approved for two years in the houses or colleges, who during the space of two years have undergone the various experiments and probation (of the novitiate) and, having taken the vows and undertaken to enter the Order, are accepted as intending to remain in it permanently, to the glory of God.

“Also the studies may be pursued by certain youths, who before the end of the two years of the novitiate and the probation are sent from the houses to the colleges (because this may seem better in the Lord), or have been left behind in these; but they do not count as approved scholastics till, on the completion of the two years, having taken the vows and made that promise, they are included in the number of regular scholastics.”

A remark in the *Declaratio* emphasises still further the principle that the colleges were really only meant for the scholastics of the Society:—

“If the number of scholastics in the colleges of the Society, who have devoted themselves by their promise and their resolve to serve God in the Society, should not be sufficient, it is not contrary to our constitution, with the permission of the General and for as long as seems good to him, to admit other poor scholars, who have formed no such resolve.”

And even these poor scholars, with their knowledge, virtue, and edifying walk, are to serve the ends of the colleges, though only admitted as stop-gaps. For the *Declaratio* to Chapter 9 states:—

“In regard to the term of seven years [for which these scholastics have been admitted to the colleges of the Order], a dispensation may be given and the period lengthened, if these pupils by their walk contribute greatly to

The Jesuit System of Instruction 81

edification, so that they may help to further the service of God, or prove useful to the college itself."

Chapter 4 regulates the exercises of piety for the students, and here again no mention is made of any but Jesuit scholastics.

Chapter 5, with the superscription "Of the learning which the scholastics of the Society are to acquire," treats of the study of the classical languages, philosophy, and theology, and the time to be devoted to them. Even these directions, detailed as they are, make no mention of "external" students.

Chapter 6 treats of the "means of enabling the scholastics of the Society of Jesus to become proficient in the various branches of knowledge."

Not till we reach the short Chapter 7 do we find any mention of "the schools of the colleges of the Society"—i.e. schools in which external pupils were instructed. But even this chapter makes it clear that the main object of Jesuit instruction was the good of the Order. The very first sentence says:—

"With a view not only to the progress in knowledge of our own scholastics, but also the intellectual and moral improvement of the external students whom we have admitted into our colleges for instruction, public schools are to be established, where this can conveniently be done, at any rate for instruction in the humanities."

This shows that even when schools for external students are under consideration it is the progress of "our own" members that receives first consideration. Chapters 8, 9, and 10 are again solely concerned with these, and with the educational establishments intended for the Order.

The concluding Chapters 11 to 17 deal with the universities under the direction of the Jesuits, which will, of course, also be attended by external students. But, as

already pointed out, the Introduction and Declaration treat of all grades of study, and all kinds of educational establishments, whether colleges or universities, exclusively with a view to the profit which the Order may derive from them.

If the egotism of the Order appears thus prominently in the Constitutions when they deal with education, it is natural that the *Ratio Studiorum* which reflects their spirit should be no less egotistic. To prove this a single passage will suffice.

“Because the Society of Jesus undertakes the management of schools and universities in order that our own members may conveniently be instructed in knowledge and in all else that is profitable to the welfare of souls, and may be able to communicate to others what they themselves have learnt, the first endeavour of the Rector, after providing for religion and virtue, must be with the help of God to accomplish that end which the Society has proposed to itself in taking over the charge of gymnasias.”*

Surely it would be impossible to express more clearly the egotistic aim and purpose of the whole Jesuit system of instruction, and its much lauded altruistic labours in the gymnasias and universities.

Another egotistic practice is the exclusive use of Jesuit text-books, except, indeed, where compelled by the State to introduce books by non-Jesuits. No matter how much behind the modern methods such text-books may be, or how many mistakes they contain, it makes no difference; they are retained in use. For it is not the pupils' progress in knowledge with which the Order is concerned, but the retention of its own spirit, and the didactic routine which prevails in the Order is best expressed and propagated by grammars and exercises composed by its own members.

* Rule 1 for the Rector.

The Jesuit System of Instruction 83

An ordinance issued by the Provincial G. Hermann for the Upper German Gymnasia of the Order in the year 1766, recommends seventeen text-books, among which there is not a single one by a non-Jesuit author.*

This institution of Jesuit text-books is closely connected with their internationalism, for Jesuits recognise only the text-books of the Order, not those of a nation. In the ordinance just quoted fourteen of the books recommended are by foreigners, Italians, French, Walloons, and yet it applies exclusively to German schools.

But the egotism and false conception of education are most clearly revealed by the avowed aim of the Order to establish the same curriculum for all countries, and, so far as possible, for all ages. This desire is emphasised by all commentators of the *Ratio Studiorum*. Thus Pachtler writes :—

“To compose such a scheme of studies was no light task. It was to endure for centuries, and take into account the needs of the various countries and peoples among whom the Order taught and laboured. . . . An Order as strongly centralised as the Society of Jesus, which sends its professors from one country to another wherever the need is greatest, was absolutely compelled to establish unity in its school instruction and scheme of studies.”†

If anyone at the present day desired to publish schemes of study and instruction which should endure for centuries and satisfy the needs of various countries, he would be laughed to scorn. For international identity and temporal invariability are impossible in education, which is specially bound to regard the requirements and changes of times and peoples. Anyone who seriously seeks to accomplish such a thing must be impelled not by the desire to benefit the persons to be instructed, but by some other motive.

* *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 16, 54 et seq.

† *Ibid.*, 5, V. and 3.

And this motive is the Order itself, which desires to remain always the same, regardless of time, place, or people. Hence the uniformity and invariability of the *Ratio Studiorum*. The Moloch of egotism is in no way concerned with the weal and woe, progress and prosperity, of the objects of its international activity.

Of course, the Jesuits themselves are well aware of the egotism of their educational system, but they try in every possible way to disguise it, and emphasise the wholly undeserved reputation of the *Ratio Studiorum* as a deeply considered original and pioneer achievement, directed towards the school system as a whole.

For in composing it, we are told, the Order considered, not its own needs, but those of the young people. No one has more daringly distorted facts to prove this than Pachtler. In his explanations he states that "this or that passage [in the above quoted regulations] seems to refer in the first instance to the students or scholastics of the Order itself."* No less misleading is a remark made by his colleague Duhr, though even he is compelled to a partial admission:—

"In the *Ratio Studiorum* the distinction between external and Jesuit scholars is more difficult, but still it can easily be recognised by those who have made a careful study of the Institute [this is by no means a fact], because the *Ratio Studiorum* applies to both kinds of scholar."†

But there is another sort of egotism, less directly expressed, which might, indeed, be called indirect egotism. If anything, it is stronger and more lasting in its effects.

Properly regarded, teaching is a life profession. But in the Jesuit Order it is an experiment, mere practice to assist the development of the scholastics of the Society.

* *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 2, 8.

† *Ibid.*, p. 30.

The Jesuit System of Instruction 85

Magister and Prefect—*i.e.* teacher and educator—are mere steps in the regular development of the young Jesuit. For the sake of the Order, which requires members “who are practised in all things” (*in omnibus exercitati*), the youthful scholastic at a definite period of his apprenticeship is sent into the class-room, only to leave it at the end of another fixed period, and move on elsewhere in the course of his development, in accordance with the interest of the Order.

As a rule, a Jesuit is expected to get his practice in teaching at the end of his philosophy. After this, according to my own experience in the German Province, he is sent to Feldkirch in the Vorarlberg, Ordrupshoj in Denmark, or to a mission at Buffalo in North America, or Brazil in South America, or Bombay in the East Indies, where he becomes a class or subject teacher in one of the colleges. So long as it seems good to his superiors, two, three, four, or even five years he remains a magister; then the teaching experiment is at an end, and he enters on a new and final stage of his development, the study of theology.

All the while he is occupied in teaching, the young Jesuit knows that he is only passing through a transition stage, that he has not reached his goal or even the main occupation of his life. The goal of theology, the last stage of his training, is ever before his eyes, and every year he looks for the order of his superior which will transfer him from the *magisterium* to the theology course. It is obvious that the consciousness of the temporary character of his work does not stimulate the Jesuit teacher to fruitful endeavour.

Thus the staff of a Jesuit school is constantly changing. The scholastic Jesuits pass through the various classes at definite periods and definite intervals, and the masters change annually, for every year some end their teaching

labours and begin their theology, while others pass on from philosophy to teaching. It is impossible to become identified with the teaching profession, for just when the identification would begin after one, two, or three years, the scholastic is told to move on and make room for another, a new-comer such as he used to be. "Your time of practice in the class-room is at an end; it is his turn now."

Another unfortunate circumstance adds its injurious effect. The longer the scholastic continues his teaching labours, the greater is his dislike for the occupation. He is eager to pass on, to attain the goal of his own development.

During my four years' theology I heard the *magistri*—who every year passed from the various educational institutions into the theology course—express their satisfaction at their deliverance from the *damnatio ad bestias*, the slang expression for the teaching period, and rejoice that intercourse with the young pupils was over at last, and the desired goal of their own development at hand. Bitter dislike of an occupation, which is itself a compulsory experiment, not a self-chosen profession, is an evil counsellor and attendant. How evil we may learn from one who is well acquainted with the Order and also one of its warmest adherents.

Cornova was a Jesuit for seventeen years, and the bond of years was broken, much against his will, in 1773 by the suppression of the Order, to which he remained sincerely devoted to the end of his days, a devotion manifested by a treatise in defence of the Jesuit system of education. No one could have been better fitted for the task, as during his membership he had been almost exclusively occupied with the work of teaching. He says :—

"The rule that all Jesuits without exception must spend some time in the instruction of youth is undoubtedly open

to objection. Not everyone is suited for the work of teaching. . . . Of course, it was an advantage to the Society itself, for their work as teachers served as a school of morals for young Jesuits, since men never exercise more control over themselves than when they are compelled to control others. Still, even the advantage accruing to the Order did not exempt it from the obligation, incurred by taking over the public schools, to do the best in its power for the young people entrusted to its care. In reality it would have been right to exempt from teaching all those who had no capacity for this occupation.”*

Thus even a friend of the Order, and one whose own labours were almost exclusively devoted to teaching, realises that the basis of Jesuit instruction is egotism.

But the system insists on this practice, so long as it is free to act according to its own rule. Thus the *Ratio Studiorum* summarily lays down that:—

“ Our scholastics are not to be exempted by the Provincial from giving instruction in grammar and the humanities, unless on account of their age or some other definite reason it shall seem good to him so to do.”†

Accordingly all young Jesuits must become teachers and must for a period exercise their faculties on the abundant material afforded by the pupils. Whether capable or incapable, willing or unwilling, the Order compels its members to practise teaching and experiment with young persons. In a letter from the General Vincent Caraffa, sent on the 28th of July, 1646, to the Bohemian Provincial John Dackazat, and communicated by him to his Province, we read:—

“ Our Very Reverend Father‡ bids and commands me,

* Cornova, *Die Jesuiten als Gymnasiallehrer*, Prague, 1804, pp. 94 et seq.

† Rule 26 for the Provincial.

‡ *Admodum Reverendus Pater Noster*, usually written A.R.P.N., is the official title of the General of the Order.

as our Society does not assign any definite period for instruction in the lower schools, to employ for this purpose all without distinction, and particularly those who detest this occupation.”*

The Jesuit Order, then, appoints teachers who detest their occupation. They are to be utilised preferably for the work, and their appointment is an essential part of the educational system. Surely we are entitled to say that the Order is concerned not for the pupils but for itself, and the uniform working of its own mechanism, the uniform development of its own members.

This is how matters stood during my Feldkirch residence and down to the end of the sixties of the last century. Now they have altered, though only where the State insists on teachers with a Government certificate. There the Order must depart from its system, and those who have passed the State examinations are usually allowed to continue in their posts.

Yet even here there are exceptions. For everywhere and always the first law known to a Jesuit is obedience—*i.e.* the interest of the Order; everywhere and always the Jesuit knows that he neither has, nor is meant to have, an abiding place or abiding occupation. “One foot in the air”: this, according to our Master of the Novices, Father Meschler, was the attitude of a Jesuit in every position and occupation. No matter how many Government examinations a Jesuit may have passed, no matter how useful he may be to his class or the whole school, it makes no difference. If the interest and egoism of the Order require it—and of this the Superior alone is the judge—a Jesuit must leave his post at a day’s, or even an hour’s, notice. He turns his back on school, pupils, and classes, books and exercises, as though he had never been concerned with them. For he is not there for his own

* Vienna Court Library, Codex No. 12,029, p. 100, from Kelle, pp. 48 to 258.

The Jesuit System of Instruction 89

sake, nor for the things and persons to whose interest he is outwardly devoted, but solely and entirely in the interest of the Order.

This conception, which is clearly shown by the above considerations to be the correct one, is further expressed in the *Ratio Studiorum* :—

“ Care should be taken that those who show special ability for preaching are not retained too long in teaching, whether the humanities or philosophy or theology, so that they may not delay entering the preaching office till they have almost grown grey in those studies.”*

This instruction refers to Jesuits who have completed their training. Since there is no question of their further development, they might quite well continue to instruct in the humanities or philosophy or theology till they grow grey or even white, and their continuance would be to the advantage of their pupils. But in the Order preaching is of more importance than teaching, and that is why they are taken from the work of instruction.

Even before the compulsion exercised by the State examinations on the Order there were, at any rate at Feldkirch, Jesuits who were practically permanent in their posts. This does not, however, alter the fact that the mass of Jesuit teachers were in a state of transition and flux. In this stream the fixed portions were exceptions. And even these few were not firmly anchored to the teaching profession, since they might at any moment be ordered by the Superior to change their occupation.

It is impossible to attach too much importance to the consciousness, impressed on every Jesuit from the first day of his novitiate, of the uncertainty of his dwelling-place and the variability of his occupations. Of the utmost significance for the mobility and readiness of the Order, it has a harmful effect on the steady, calm labour of the

* Rule 26 for the Provincial.

individual Jesuit, producing, as it does, indifference—in the view of the Order holy indifference (*sancta indifferentia*)—to the nature of his occupation. Yet surely this is not the right frame of mind for the instructors of youth, especially as the Constitutions of the Order require inward detachment from the occupation for the time being. Attachment to places, persons, things, and occupations is to be combated by the Jesuit with all his power. Even as educator and instructor he is to be a fitting tool (*instrumentum idoneum*) in the hands of his Superior for the purposes of the Order, but only a tool, or as it is expressed in the Constitutions:—

“Every one must be directed and led by the Superior as though he were a corpse, which is carried hither and thither in any fashion, or as though he were the staff of some old man, which serves him who carries it [the Order] where and how he pleases.”*

But what can we expect from instructors of youth who are to be corpses and staves in their thoughts and actions?

Again, the internationalism of the *Ratio Studiorum*—i.e. its uniformity for all countries—is egotism and a severe hindrance to its fruitful activity.

For the international Order of Jesuits, which is essentially interested in uniformity, the extirpation of national differences in its members, a uniform international system of instruction is doubtless a primary condition. This is clearly expressed by the Seventh General Congregation of the Order: “Novitiate houses, colleges, and seminaries must not be occupied only by persons of the nationality of the country; it is better, in conformity with the universal custom of the Society, to introduce some members from other countries, lest differences of nationality should gradually make way among us, to the great injury of the Society.

* *Summarium Constitutionum*, 36, II., 73.

The Jesuit System of Instruction 91

Nor yet must it be permitted that in those towns where the Society has its own colleges and houses, the professors of theology, philosophy, or humanity be chosen solely from that particular nationality, still less the superiors, for this is directly opposed to the customs of the Society.”*

But a country ought to have its own system of education based on its own national requirements. Schemes of study which seek to level down national peculiarities are bad; and if they are directed towards the advantage of an international organisation instead of a particular nation, this levelling educational system can only be designated as selfishly international.

The force of circumstances has gradually compelled the Jesuit Order to accommodate its Scheme of Study somewhat to national requirements, as is shown by some of the ordinances of General Congregations, Generals, Provincials and Rectors. But the system, as such, retains its international character; and it never seems to have occurred to the final authorities to make any essential alterations in it. Rather they seek to imply that the modifications and changes which they had been compelled to make in national practice have been organically developed from its system of study. Though the actual wording of the *Ratio Studiorum* indicates its international character sufficiently to disprove such statements, Jesuits imagine, rightly enough, that very few even among the educated ever read the *Ratio Studiorum* or the Fourth Part of the Constitutions, which relates to their system of study. So its eulogists continue to refer boldly to Rule 39 for the Provincial, in proof that the system does recognise national differences. But they forget to mention that the differences there recognised do not concern really national peculiarities, but only externals and such matters as timetables, repetitions, disputations, and holidays. And even

* Decree 21 (3) from *Institutum Societatis Jesu*, I., 594 (ed. Prague, 1757).

in regard to these unessentials, emphasis is laid on the injunction "to follow as closely as possible the universal scheme of study."

Even here, then, we get glimpses of the international purpose.

Pachtler, in an unguarded moment, thus expresses the internationalism of the Order in education:—

"So strongly centralised an Order as the Society of Jesus, which sends its professors from one country to another, wherever the need is greatest, required absolute unity in its school system, methods of instruction and arrangement of studies"—*i.e.* a scheme of studies elaborated in every detail,* which, a few pages farther on, he calls "a work intended to endure for centuries in all countries." †

This is decisive. The strong centralisation of the Order, the uniform threads which stretch from a single nucleus over Germany, Spain, England, Italy, Austria, Belgium, Portugal, Denmark, Holland, United States, India, Canada and South America, show that an internationalism not even attained in the organisation of the Catholic Church is the motive for this unity in school systems, methods of instruction and arrangement of studies. But this centralised and intensified internationalism, which has developed into a gigantic embodiment of egotism, necessarily lays the foundation for a valueless system of instruction.

Where the lapse of centuries and fundamental differences of place and people no longer play a part, where intellectual nourishment is regulated and supplied with a view to the central point, with only secondary consideration for the dwellers within or at the circumference of the circle, there can be no question of healthy nourish-

* *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 5, 3.

† *Ibid.*, 5, 6.

The Jesuit System of Instruction 93

ment, suited to the intellectual needs of those who are to receive it.

Self, self, self! This is the cry which the Jesuit system of instruction sends forth through time and space to the individual and the nation alike.

Austria, the El Dorado of the Jesuits, is an instructive case in point. There the Jesuit Franz Wagner, in the year 1735, published a pamphlet containing the official instructions of the Order for the arrangement of its schools in Austria, Hungary, and the neighbouring lands. He says:—

“In order to attain a simultaneous treatment of the subjects of instruction in the different colleges, the timetable must be fixed and permanent, and regulated by the clock as closely as in the higher educational establishments. . . . The arrangement of studies here set forth will prove very useful in promoting uniform methods of instruction. It contains in detail the exercises to be undertaken every day, their method and sequence. The masters, therefore, are not forced to think it out, as the course for the whole year is prescribed in tabular form.”*

Of this arrangement of studies the “German” Jesuit, Francis Zorell, speaks somewhat critically:—

“The regulations are carried into such detail that all the Jesuit gymnasia of the Empire resembled a piece of clock-work, since they all on the same day and at the same hour taught the same thing in each separate class. . . . Whether it is really possible to carry out so mechanical a system of rules concerned with the smallest detail, and admitting of not the slightest disturbance, is a matter for others to judge of.”†

Still, the mechanical, clock-work system of Wagner

* *Instructio privata seu typus cursus annui pro sex humanioribus classibus in usum magistrorum Societatis Jesu editus.* Introduction, pp. 4 et seq.

† *Bibliothek der kathol. Pädagogik*, vol. X., p. 326.

is officially sanctioned by the Order. It is impossible to get away from that. And this scheme reveals not only the uniformity but also the mechanical character of the Jesuit system of instruction, which renders all really effective results impossible.

I have already shown how many ordinances contained in the Constitutions exist only on paper and are disregarded because their observance would be disadvantageous for the Order on this or that account, though the lifeless formula remained and was lauded as fruitful capital. A similar egotistic disregard of regulations exists in the Scheme of Instruction, and particularly—which makes matters worse—in the regulations for the training of the young Jesuit teachers. Yet even these non-observed regulations receive their meed of praise.

“In order that the scholastics may be better fitted to undertake the teaching office it is very necessary (*per necessarium est*) that they should acquire practice in a private academy. . . . In order that the *magistri* of the lower classes may not enter on their work without experience, the Rector of the College, which usually supplies the teachers of the humanities and grammar, should choose someone with considerable experience in teaching. Towards the end of their studies the future teachers are to go to him for an hour three times a week to be prepared for their new office in prelection,* dictation, writing, correcting, and discharging the other duties of a good teacher.” †

“All the scholastics are to have considerable practice in Latin composition, and there must always be someone who can correct them. . . . Every week one of the more advanced scholars delivers a Greek or Latin oration

* Prelection = *praelectio*, the “typical form of Jesuit instruction.” I use the word coined by Thomas Hughes, who discusses this passage and the meaning of prelection in general in his book, *Loyola and the Educational System of the Jesuits*, in the “Great Educator” Series (Heinemann).—Translator.

† Rule 30 for the Provincial and Rule 9 for the Rector.

during dinner. Every week one of the scholastics is to hold a discourse tending to the edification of the hearers . . . with a view not only to stylistic but also moral improvement. All who understand Latin must be present.”*

“The prefect of studies must give to all theologians and philosophers a book dealing with humanistic studies, and exhort them not to neglect to read it at certain suitable hours.”†

These regulations deserve no special praise; from the pedagogic point of view they are a matter of course. Still, it is well that the obvious necessity of preparation for teaching and practising the classical languages should be emphasised in the Jesuit system. But there is a reverse to the medal. The rules are not observed.

I speak in the first instance chiefly of the German Province, of which I was a member for fourteen years. Here, in spite of the number of educational establishments, these regulations existed only on paper. The scholastics, who at the end of their philosophy course were sent to Feldkirch, Ordrupshoj, Brazil, North America, or India, as class teachers, received no previous instruction for their new office from an experienced teacher; they had no special practice in Latin and Greek, and they did not receive books dealing with humanistic studies; private academies, where they could have practice in prelection, dictation and correction, did not exist. The scholastics of twenty-two to twenty-four entered on their teaching work at the gymnasium not only without any proper professional study, but also without any practical training.

Straight from the school-room in a condition of physical and moral dependence, such as is only known within the Jesuit Order, they are transformed into professors.‡

* Const. IV., 6, 13 and 16 (3).

† Rule 30 for the Prefect of Studies.

‡ A staff teacher at a German or Austrian gymnasium is entitled to be designated “professor.”—*Translator.*

contrary to the regulations of the *Ratio Studiorum* and the Constitutions.

Whence this disregard of the definite regulations as to the training of teachers? The Order no longer finds them convenient, because they would disturb or lengthen the scholastic's studies. The interests of the Order, the weal of "our own members," demand that the welfare of the outsider be sacrificed. How often have I heard the pious reflection: "The grace of God will supply what is lacking; what is done in holy obedience is sure of His blessing." Holy obedience to egotism ruthlessly thrusts aside holy obedience to the Rules and Constitutions. And they continue to praise Rule and Constitution, as though still in force, and brand as ignorant or calumniators all those who do not base their judgment of the system on the very regulations which the Jesuits themselves long ago cast aside.

A matter of great importance in estimating the Jesuit system of instruction is the place given in the scheme to Latin and to the mother tongue. There is no doubt that the *Ratio Studiorum*, like the Order as a whole, lays great stress on the study of Latin.

But it is equally certain that the reason is not so much the culture to be derived therefrom as the advantage to the Order itself, its internationalism and the development of its scholastics for its own special ends. Nowhere do we find a single allusion to the educational importance of Latin.

Now the eulogists of the Order say it is no matter if the Regulations contain no theoretical acknowledgment of the value of Latin, since its practical recognition in the Order and its schools suffices. And they try to prove their point by reference to the Rules. Thus Rule 8 for the Rector insists that the scholastics should use the Latin language in conversation and correspondence, and No. 18

The Jesuit System of Instruction 97

of the general rules for teachers of the lower grades says : "It is of special importance that pupils should have practice in speaking Latin. The master should therefore, at any rate from the highest grammar class upward, talk Latin and require that the pupils shall do the same, especially in the explanation of rules, correction of Latin exercises, in concertations,* and conversation."†

Finally, Rule 9 for the "scholastics of our Society" says, quite simply : "All, but especially students of the humanities, must speak Latin."

To this I reply : I have no intention of denying the stress laid upon Latin in the *Ratio Studiorum*, if only because, as already shown, it is really a sort of transcript of the medieval systems based on the humanities, and consequently laying stress on Latin. But the importance given to it in the Jesuit system, being based on imitation, cannot be regarded as a merit. Where its own individual estimate and use of Latin finds expression, I am confirmed in my opinion that it is put in the foreground mainly in the interest of Jesuit internationalism and, to some extent, for reasons of practical theology. This is clearly expressed in the first edition of the draft of the *Ratio Studiorum* of the year 1586 :—

"Our members require knowledge and practice in Latin chiefly on account of the intercourse with the different nationalities, and for the scholastic exercises of our theologians and philosophers, as well as for the composition of books and pamphlets and the right comprehension of the holy Fathers, who for the most part wrote in Latin, and

* Concertation, *concertatio*, the form given to disputation in the lower classes.
Translator.

† In the *Ratio Studiorum*, in force till 1832, Rule 18 stated that "the use of Latin was to be strictly observed, except in those schools where the pupils understood no Latin," an addendum which throws a curious light on what its eulogists call the special consideration bestowed on the Scheme of Studies.

also on account of their frequent intercourse with learned men.”*

This passage is the more remarkable that it occurs in the chapter entitled “Of Humanistic Studies,” in the very place where mention should have been made of the intrinsic merits of the Latin language. Of these there is not a word. We find only reasons of external utility; above all, the international intercourse which can be furthered by the use of Latin.

Again the practical use to which Latin is put shows no signs of real appreciation. The grammars used in the schools were thoroughly inferior compositions. Yet this grammatical rubbish would still be the philological basis for Jesuit instruction in Latin had not external circumstances compelled the Order to abandon Emanuel’s grammar and others of that type.

As for the Latin conversation among members of the Order, Jesuits have had the audacity to emphasise its importance, representing it as in the first rank of humanistic aids to education, and an excellent preparation for the young scholastic about to enter on his teaching labours. But who outside the Order can know what sort of Latin is spoken there? It is convenient and expedient, therefore, to boast of the educational and humanistic value of the Latin conversation in the Order. In reality the Latin spoken by the scholastics during their period of study is the worst type of dog-Latin, a language that meets no philological requirements and hinders rather than helps education.

In his treatise in defence of the Jesuit system Ebner frequently quotes the 8th Rule for the Rector, which requires the scholastics to compose Latin verses twice or thrice a year.† Those who, like myself, have spent seven

* *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 5, 144.

† Ebner, *Beleuchtung der Schrift des Herrn Johann Kelle, etc.*, pp. 200-202.

The Jesuit System of Instruction 99

years as students in the Order know how such verses are fabricated; how they are often composed without any knowledge of prosody, in almost mechanical fashion, by the help of a "gradus ad Parnassum"; that this vaunted verse composition is a mere philological farce, not a serious classical exercise; and we cannot refrain from indignation when a man who also knows the truth thus falsifies the facts.

Another educational farce is the manner in which Duhr seriously designates the Latin conversation as useful preparation for teaching, and, speaking of the novitiate houses, says:—

"The novices are obliged to talk Latin all day, except during the afternoon recreation. Often schools for Latin, Greek and the mother tongue are established during the period of the novitiate."*

If there is any period in the life of a member of the Jesuit Order where literary preparation is not systematically pursued—or, rather, is systematically neglected, not to say suppressed—it is in the two years' novitiate. Everything done then is done with a view to self-surrender, subduing and mortifying the individual will. . . . To this rule the literary training is no exception, and therefore it only supplies a pretence of knowledge. It, too, is included in the practice (*exercitium*) and experiment (*experimentum*), which the novice must undergo in order to be fashioned into a useful tool for the Order.

As for the Latin conversation, I may say that novice's Latin is a few degrees more barbarous than scholastics' Latin. For in his scholastic days the young Jesuit at any rate learns Latin grammar and reads Latin classics in his lesson-time; while in his novice days he neither hears nor reads good Latin, but stands entirely on his own linguistic feet, which, as a rule, have carried him as

* Duhr, *Die Studienordnung der Gesellschaft Jesu*, p. 38.

far as the second class of a gymnasium. Nor is anyone charged with the duty of directing the Latin conversation and correcting mistakes; at best this is done by the "guardian angel," himself a novice, whose knowledge of Latin is at the same or on a lower level than that of the pupil whom he directs. Thus my guardian angel was a youth of seventeen, who had reached the lower second class at Feldkirch. It is obvious that my Latin could not be perfected by such a teacher.

A criticism pronounced by the General Paul Oliva on the wretched Latin of the whole Order is especially applicable to the novices; any word with the addition of a Latin suffix passes there for Latin, and such expressions as "*debemus nos percutere*"—supposed to mean "we must fight our way through" (the world)—are among the linguistic treasures of novitiate Latin.

In the second year of my novitiate I was director of the "School for the mother tongue" (*praefectus scholae*), as Duhr grandiloquently calls it, and therefore know exactly what happens in such schools. A quarter or half an hour before the beginning of the lesson, sheets of paper were distributed on which a composition was to be written. Some of these essays were read aloud and commented on by the master, and occasionally grammatical rules were expounded. A similar course was pursued in the Latin and Greek schools. The character of the studies there is sufficiently shown by the fact that the teachers are novices, who in regard to age and education often stand below their pupils.

I shall have occasion to show later that untruthfulness in general, and especially in matters relating to the Order, is one of its worst and most widely spread faults—or, rather, vices. Particularly in self-praise, in lauding its own merits at the expense of truth, the Society of Jesus is a past-master. The Latin conversation of the Jesuit

The Jesuit System of Instruction 101

scholastics, as an educational instrument and a professional preparation for the teaching office, is an example.

My judgment on the quality of Jesuit Latin receives authoritative confirmation from a letter addressed by the General Paul Oliva, on the 11th of May, 1680, to the Provincial of the Bohemian Province, Father Wenzel Sattenwolf:—

“Every effort must be made to raise the standard of the humanistic studies, for I know not how it has come about that those who can preserve and strengthen the reputation, which the Society once enjoyed in this respect, are now so few among you. The fault lies with the teachers, not only of the external pupils, but also those who instruct our own members in the novitiate. For they seem to take for Latin anything which differs from their own tongue and can be twisted into a semblance of Latin. Words are adopted not only from philosophy and other difficult sciences in which custom has taught us to pardon the barbarity of expressions, but also, strangely enough, I could give instances even from modern Italian in letters written to myself, had I not too much else to do, or desired to show my fear that my words would not suffice for the statement.”*

The judgment of the General was the more significant as numerous specimens of the Latinity of the Order reached him almost daily in Latin letters, petitions, books and treatises, sent by members of the Order.

How, indeed, could the Latinity have been good if the decay of Latin had been one of the abuses of the Order long before Oliva's day? In the very first draft of the *Ratio Studiorum* under General Claudius Acquaviva in 1586 we find:—

“It is a matter of universal complaint that humanistic

* Codex of the Vienna Court Library, No. 11,953, fol. 78b, from Kelle, *Die Jesuitengymnasien in Oesterreich*, pp. 161 and 299.

studies have for the most part fallen into decay among our members, so that nothing is more difficult than to find a good grammarian, rhetorician, or humanist. . . . The confessors, too, are in trouble and difficulty when they have to hear a confession in Latin, and they can scarcely understand the homilies of the Fathers and the lessons of the breviary.”*

The eighteenth century also supplies a trustworthy testimony to the bad state of the Latin in the Jesuit Order. In the State Library at Munich there is a manuscript “Diary of an Indian Journey” (*Diarium itineris Indici*), by the German Jesuit Streicher, which contains confidential and very characteristic comments on the knowledge of Latin among his fellow members in Spain:—

“With the exception of the Father Rector (at Cadiz), there was scarcely a father who spoke Latin to us; only the Minister, who teaches rhetoric, and seems once to have got as far as the higher syntax, ventured to lisp a few Latin words. . . . Those who desire to become Jesuits learn enough to be able to pronounce this or that Latin word. . . . It therefore seems very probable that many of them do not understand the Mass, and certainly not the breviary. . . . Once, when in course of conversation mention was made of Plautus, one of our theologians inquired who this theologian might be.”†

It is not surprising that Streicher himself cautions against the publication of his letter. That his statements are true is evident from the indisputable testimony of two prominent Jesuits, of whom one, long before Streicher, and the other contemporaneously, bitterly lamented the neglect of Latin by the Jesuit Order.

Mariana, the Jesuit who defended the doctrine of

* *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 5, 144, 148.

† From J. Friedrich, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens*, Munich, 1881, p. 25.

The Jesuit System of Instruction 103

tyrannicide, wrote a most interesting book, *De Regimine Societatis* [Jesu], in 1625, in which he discusses with much freedom the abuses in the system of the Order. Of the humanistic studies he says:—

“The Jesuits have undertaken the conduct of humanistic studies in important towns. But there are great difficulties in the way . . . for the Jesuits are much in want of good teachers, so that those who neither know nor wish to know anything spend two or three years reading the barbarisms of the ignorant. There is no doubt that at this day there is less knowledge of Latin in Spain than fifty years ago, and the main cause of this is that the Jesuits occupy themselves with these studies. Nor do I feel the least doubt that they will be expelled from the schools by public decree when this evil is recognised.”*

Here is another piece of testimony supplied by the Jesuit, Nicasius Grammaticus, who was called to Madrid, in 1726, to teach at the *seminarium nobilium* founded by Philip V. He remarks, laconically, “Among our members, too, a barbarous Latin is prevalent.”†

Though these damning criticisms are exclusively directed against the Latin of the Jesuits in Spain, we must always remember that the official *Ratio Studiorum* was in force in that country too. The disgraceful state of Latin there must accordingly be laid to its charge.

If at this early stage of the Order, not much more than a generation after its foundation, its Latin was in this condition, and if, during the whole succeeding period, till the suppression of the Order, complaints of bad Latin never ceased, we cannot avoid the question: When and where did Jesuit Latin really flourish? That there were good Latinists among the Jesuits, too, I am not prepared

* Mariana, S. J., *De Regimine Societatis*, cp. 6, p. 60 *et seq.*

† J. Friedrich, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens*, p. 26.

to deny. But, in the words of Virgil, "*Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto.*"

Without doubt, then, Alexander von Helfert, a competent judge and friend of the Order, is right in the reproach he brings against its educational system:—

"In the very current of a time full of movement and life, it devotes itself almost exclusively to a dead language, and teaches even this in a fashion far removed from any real comprehension of the subject matter."*

Closely connected with the status of Latin is that of the mother tongue in the Jesuit system. While Latin is specially favoured as a medium of international intercourse, the mother tongue is regarded as an obstacle to internationalism, and systematically neglected. Thus Rule 18 for the teachers in the lower classes says:—

"The use of the mother tongue in matters relating to the school must never be permitted, and those who disregard this rule must be reprimanded."

Rule 8 for the Rector instructs him to see to it that the scholastics carefully observe the rule of speaking Latin at home. The only exceptions allowed are holidays and the hours of recreation, except where the Provincial considers that in some places the practice of speaking Latin might be continued even at these times.

"The Congregation determines that Latin shall be maintained as the vehicle of instruction in the upper classes. But as in some of our provinces the custom has taken root, which can be altered without any great injury to our schools, of teaching physics and mathematics through the mother tongue, the Congregation declares its wish that even in these branches of instruction the custom of speaking Latin should again be introduced. It is left to the wisdom of the most venerable Father General

* *Die Gründung der oesterreichischen Volksschule durch Maria Theresia*, Prague, 1860, p. 281.

The Jesuit System of Instruction 105

to decide what is to be done in each province in respect to this matter.”*

On this characteristic decree a “proposal for alterations in the *Ratio Studiorum*,” sent in by the German province in 1829, makes the equally characteristic comment:—

“The desire of the Congregation to retain the Latin language, even in the lessons in natural science and mathematics, is a general one, but in many places the use of the mother tongue has taken such root (*inveteratus*) that if the substitution of Latin were even to be suggested the schools would in a short time be deserted. Nothing definite and decisive ought therefore to be added to the scheme; everything had been provided for by the 19th decree of the last Congregation.”†

This is the attitude of the *Ratio Studiorum* towards the mother tongue. It is not affected by the allusions in it to the vernacular, nor by the modifications contained in the new edition of 1832. For this once more insists on Latin conversation, and recommends, in Rule 18 already quoted, “purity and correct pronunciation of the mother tongue” merely in the translation of authors.

Not till the first third of the nineteenth century does the mother tongue appear in the scheme of study as an independent subject. It is mentioned about twenty times, but only in relation to translation. One passage contains this addition:—

“Nor need the teacher of Humanity regard it as unsuitable now and then to express something in the vernacular, if such translation contributes greatly to its comprehension, or is specially distinctive.”‡

For ceremonial occasions—such as school performances

* Decree 19 of the 22nd General Congregation of the year 1829. *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 2, 111.

† *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 16, 397.

‡ Rule 5 for the Teacher of Humanity.

—only Latin or Greek poems, recitations, and speeches are recognised. Theatrical performances by pupils must be given in Latin; this is impressed by the Constitutions on the Provincial (Rule 58), and by the *Ratio Studiorum* on the Rector (Rule 13).* Prizes may only be given for achievements in Latin and Greek and a knowledge of the Catechism. The scheme recognises no national classics, only those of Rome and Greece.

Not till the year 1832 was there any departure from the shameful and systematic disregard of the mother tongue. And this, like all other improvements in the Jesuit scheme of study, was the result of pressure from without. They could not help themselves. Unless the Jesuit Order was willing to forfeit its position in the educational world, it was compelled to show some consideration for the cult of national tongues, which for generations had been mightily growing and thriving. That is why the new edition of 1832 at last, after two hundred and fifty years, consents to allot a definite place in its curriculum to the mother tongue, even to offer a prize for distinction in it, alongside of twenty-two prizes for Latin, Greek, and the Catechism. Reference is also made in three places to the “classics in the mother tongue.”

But even in the new edition it remains a Cinderella; ceremonial addresses, poems, and the like, are only recognised in Greek or Latin. Honours and titles for specially good pupils (a speciality of Jesuit schools) are still to be taken from Greek or Roman civil or military terms.†

* At the present day the stringent injunctions as to the exclusive performance of Latin plays are practically disregarded. Indeed, Rule 13 for the Rector, which treats of this, is omitted from the *Ratio* of 1832. During my nine years at Feldkirch I did not witness a single Latin performance, but only German plays with slight literary merit, but abounding in piety. Here, again, we encounter the Jesuit peculiarity of quoting, as though still in use, rules which are completely disregarded whenever it seems more convenient to do so, merely in order to prove the excellence of the Jesuit system (*Omnia in majorem Societatis Jesu gloriæ*).

† Rule 35 for the Teachers of Lower Grades.

'The Jesuit System of Instruction 107

The time-table for the Humanity class still allows no place for the mother tongue, and we still find in the time-table for the highest, middle, and lowest grammar classes, "the last half-hour in the afternoon is to be devoted to competitions, or the mother tongue, or less important subjects."

Now, I am well aware that an inordinate preference for Latin and neglect of the mother tongue was a peculiarity of humanism, which passed thence into the schools. But does this excuse the Jesuit scheme of study? Far otherwise. It only proves that here, too, the Order, with no comprehension of the progressive needs of the age, slavishly imitated the system of instruction prevalent in the schools at the time of its foundation in the sixteenth century; that it remained in this antiquated and ossified condition for centuries; that it subordinated, and still subordinates, the national development of the pupils committed to its care to its own international interests; that the slight amount of honour recently shown to the mother tongue in its educational establishments is due to compulsory adaptation, not to free and fundamental development.

Camoens, Calderon, Cervantes, Lope de Vega, Shakespeare, Milton, Corneille, Racine, Tasso, Ariosto, Lessing, Klopstock, Goethe, Schiller, and the mighty movements of national language and literature linked with these and other great names in the various lands where the Jesuits laboured in the schools, are practically non-existent for their scheme of study. Not the smallest spark of sacred enthusiasm for the national language kindled the arid and inflexible scaffolding, fashioned according to international schemes, and reeking with the mould of centuries, which the Jesuit Order calls its *Ratio Studiorum*.

But how is the mother tongue actually utilised in the Jesuit schools, and how does the Order treat the national classics and their educational value?

To this question I would, in the first place, reply : These young Jesuit scholastics, after entering the Order, have only received a mechanical, superficial drill in Latin and Greek, and before their entrance as pupils of the third, second, or even first class of the gymnasium, or at the episcopal boarding schools, have acquired but a meagre acquaintance with the literature of their own country, which they have had no opportunity of enlarging. It is impossible, therefore, that these young men, who are in every sense still learners and not teachers, should suddenly be equipped for imparting to the pupils handed over to them at a moment's notice the rich treasures of their own tongue.

Again, German classical literature is held in but slight esteem by the Jesuits ; German classics are seldom put into the hands of the scholastics, or at any rate only in expurgated " Catholic " editions. How can a young Jesuit teacher inspire his pupils with enthusiasm for Goethe or Schiller when he himself has been trained to regard them with disapprobation, apart from the fact that he lacks any real knowledge of his own literature ?

During the year which I spent in the rhetoric class as a Jesuit scholastic, the " classics " expounded to us were Eichendorf, Brentano, and Oscar von Redwitz, which we read in selection, on no account in a complete version. We also used the two books of anthologies selected by Heinrich Bone, the late director of the Mayence Gymnasium, "*Dichterperlen*" (Poetic Pearls), and "*Das grosse Lesebuch*" (the great reading-book). A survey of German literature of the scantiest and most partisan character was administered to us. And everywhere warning posts were erected bidding us beware of the " poison of enlightenment " and the " licentiousness " of the German classics.

I had already completed my legal studies before joining the Order, and had read the German classics with

The Jesuit System of Instruction 109

much enjoyment (a fortunate circumstance, since the "poison" remained in my system), and I greatly missed the contact with my own literature during my period of study. Again and again did I bewail this lack to Father Helten, Prefect of Studies at the College at Wynandsrade, where I took my rhetoric course. Of course I met with no sympathy, and on one occasion, when I was speaking enthusiastically of Goethe and quoting his fine saying: "*Alle menschliche Gebrechen sühnet reine Menschlichkeit*,"* dwelt on the marvellous fashion in which Goethe expresses the human element in both good and evil, he reproached me severely, and warned me against the "heathen Goethe, whose naturalistic epicureanism thrust religion on one side."

In fact, Helten, who also lectured to us on German and æsthetics, shared the Jesuit estimate of Goethe as a licentious man of the world, and protested against the ordinance of a Prussian Minister of Education, to study his works in all the schools.

This contempt for national literature is quite in accordance with the *Ratio Studiorum*. The 34th Rule for the Provincial says: "Even greater caution must be observed in regard to national writers where they have to be read in school. They must be very carefully selected, and no author should be read or praised, whose works the pupils cannot admire without risk to their morals and faith."

The comprehensive wording of this ordinance really renders it a declaration of outlawry against the German classics, since from the Jesuit standpoint they are all, without exception, dangerous to morals and faith. It was perhaps not a mere accident that this ordinance was added to the *Ratio* in 1832, the year of Goethe's death, and the significance of its fundamental bias is thereby enhanced.

After all, why should Jesuits require classics? Their

* From a poem written in the album of the actor Krüger in 1827.

own authors can do everything far better. This is the point of view emphasised by Ebner, the official apologist of the *Ratio Studiorum*, who proceeds to expound the superiority to Lessing of a Jesuit writer, Possevin. Klopstock and Wieland are treated in similar fashion, and are to be replaced by writers whose fame has never penetrated beyond the bounds of the Order.*

In regard to the systematic neglect of German and its literature by the Order, we can cite a witness for the Crown who, with admirable frankness, gives the true reason for this neglect. For Cornova writes:—

“The second fault was the complete and evidently intentional neglect of German literature. For there were two difficulties in its way, the *ignoti nulla cupido* (for who knew anything of German literature in those times, when the Jesuits who took the lead at the period of the revival of taste were brought up?) and the religious prejudice, since this field was then only worked by Protestants. ‘*Si auctor libri est hereticus, jam liber eo ipso nihil valet,*’ I heard these words uttered by an approved Jesuit teacher of the higher studies, though, on the other hand, he almost canonised the heathen writer Aristotle.”†

And a historian like Helfert, another warm friend of the Order, subscribes to Cornova’s criticism, adding that it is perfectly just.‡ The evidence for the neglect of the

* The author here quotes a passage from Johannes Oppelt, “a poet of the Society of Jesus,” whose work was published in 1749, a time when Klopstock was engaged on his “*Messias*,” as a sample of the Jesuit substitute for Lessing, Klopstock and Wieland. Here are the first lines:—

“*Kann der Gesang nicht Nutz und Hülfe bringen,
So heisst es nur koachsen und nicht singen.
Gelbgrüne Sauffer-Zech, in den beschülften Backen,
Wann euch zu raten ist, so höret auf zu quacken.*”

Ebner’s criticism on this poem is the Horatian “*omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci.*”

† Cornova, *Die Jesuiten als Gymnasiallehrer*, Prague, 1804, p. 70.

‡ *Gründung der oesterreichischen Volksschule durch Maria Theresia*, Prague, 1860, p. 278.

The Jesuit System of Instruction 111

mother tongue is, indeed, so strong that even Duhr lets slip the admission:—

“Henceforth this principle remained in force: Practice in the mother tongue is desirable, but it should not be treated as a separate subject.”*

Duhr evidently approves the sentiments of his brother member, Father Maximilian Dufrene, who wrote in 1765, when the classical period of German literature had already been inaugurated by Lessing and Klopstock:—

“To treat the German language as one of the chief subjects in these schools would undoubtedly be their ruin, as we could easily prove.”†

And though I do not in all respects agree with Raumer’s criticism of Jesuit instruction, I approve of his general conclusion, that “with a view to the advance of Latinity the Jesuits suppressed the mother tongue.”‡

Indeed, he might have added that the furtherance of Latin served to further Jesuit internationalism and egotism, and that this was its real aim.

Nor is it only the official scheme of study which passes over the mother tongue in favour of the international Latin of the Church and the study, for the educational writers of the Order do the same. To prove this point I may refer to three of the most distinguished, Francis Sacchini (1570–1625), Joseph de Jouveny (Juvencius, 1643–1719), and Francis Xavier Kropf (1694–1746).

Their writings on education are regarded in the Order as standard works, and the German Jesuits Stier, Schwickerath, and Zorell republished them as Vol. X. of the *Bibliothek der katholischen Pädagogik* in 1898. What do we find in this tome of nearly five hundred pages, which contains the deposit of Jesuit views on education from

* *Die Studienordnung der Gesellschaft Jesu*, pp. 107, 108.

† A. Kluckhohn, *Die Jesuiten in Bayern*. Sybel’s *Histor. Zeitschrift*, 1874, vol. 31, p. 411 (1).

‡ K. U. Raumer, *Geschichte der Pädagogik*, I., 335.

three centuries and three countries, Italy, France, and Germany? The most detailed directions as to learning and speaking Latin, and hardly a word about the mother tongue.

Above all, the treatise by Kropf, *Gymnasial-Pädagogik*, which, in the words of its latest editor, Zorell, bears an official character, is very instructive in this respect. This German scholar Kropf is so much of a Latinist that in his eyes language and Latin are interchangeable terms. He would even like, violently and systematically, to replace German by Latin in ordinary intercourse outside the school. In the section on the methods of perfecting Latin conversation and correspondence, he writes:—

“The teacher should dictate Latin expressions such as are used for greeting, congratulation, requests, excuses, apologies, thanks and the like, with the various titles by which dignitaries should be addressed, and encourage the pupils to pronounce them respectfully, and accustom themselves to their use in after-life. . . . Whenever possible, opportunity should be sought and utilised to address other boys in Latin [apparently not only his pupils], whether individually or in groups, either during a walk or a vacation. They should be asked various questions, especially to name the Latin for particular objects.”*

But Kropf even goes further, and suggests another method for perfecting Latin.

“Those who distinguish themselves in the use of Latin should be praised and occasionally rewarded, while those who show themselves negligent should be reproved. A boy who says anything in the mother tongue should be made to wear some mark of disgrace, and pay some slight forfeit unless he succeeds, either in the morning or afternoon of the same day, in passing on this badge to some other boy whom he detects in the same fault at school

* *Bibliothek der katholischen Pädagogik* (Freiburg i. Br.), Vol. X., p. 427.

The Jesuit System of Instruction 113

or in the street, so long as he has at least one witness to help convict him.”*

Here we observe not only that the mother tongue is pilloried, but also the educational position. The Jesuit scholar rids himself of the disgrace of speaking German by denunciation of a comrade.

Only the French Jesuit Jouvancy retains sufficient national feeling to devote to his own tongue a special though short paragraph, in which he recommends the master to speak to his pupils of “the beauties of their own tongue and the sins committed against it.” But, as though afraid of having said too much, he adds this warning:—

“We must take this opportunity of calling attention to a snare which is especially dangerous to young teachers [apparently it is not the pupils who are in question], that of reading too much from works in their own language, especially poetry. This not only wastes much time, but may also lead to spiritual destruction. Therefore, everyone should inform the Director of Studies, or the Rector of the College, what he means to read and for how long; and let him remember this: If from preference for the mother tongue or weariness of difficult labour he uses the time set aside for the more difficult and important languages otherwise than is well and wisely appointed by the rules, he is guilty of a grievous fault.”†

Speaking of Germany we may mention this in addition to the facts already adduced.

An Austrian Court decree of the 25th of July, 1725, lays it down that at the Jesuit schools “in future no young masters, but . . . Father Professors sufficiently grounded in pure German orthography are to be appointed.” Apparently the young masters of the Jesuit Order were not

* *Bibliothek der katholischen Pädagogik* (Freiburg i. Br.), Vol. IX., p. 420.

† *Ibid.*, p. 229.

sufficiently grounded in German orthography. It was only the intervention of the Empress Maria Theresa in 1752 that obtained for German a place in the time-table of the Jesuit schools in Austria. But even in 1770 the Minister, Count Pergen, who himself had been educated at Jesuit schools, complained in a memorial addressed to Maria Theresa on the 26th of August:—

“That the pupils of the Jesuit schools at the end of their laborious career cannot write a good letter or other composition, or compose a suitable speech in their own tongue, or express themselves appropriately without committing grave errors.”*

Kelle states that the library of the great Jesuit College at Prague, one of the most renowned of the Order, in the year 1772 did not contain a single work of German literature.

The time-table of the Jesuit gymnasium of the Upper German Province at Bamberg for 1742–43 does not once mention German, and the same applies to the curriculum of the Upper German Province for 1736.†

Yet this was a period when the German language had already entered on the stage of its finest development, and the greatest German classical writers had already helped to mould its beauty. All this leaves no trace on the Jesuit Order. Its Latin internationalism remains untouched by the German revival of the national language.

And this explains the literary phenomenon that the Order, during an existence of nearly four hundred years, has neither in Germany nor in other countries produced any writers or works qualified to hold an honourable place in national literature. The Order itself fills folios and volumes with the names of writers, and extols the matter and form of their works.‡ But non-Jesuit criticism is

* Helfert, p. 203.

† *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 16, 30–39.

‡ Cf. Sommervogel, S.J. (*Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*. Bibliographie Bruxelles—Paris, 1896), and R. Ebner, S.J., pp. 250 and 301.

discourteous enough, so far as their achievements in the mother tongue are concerned, to class the majority of Jesuit authors among those of whom twenty-four go to a dozen.

I have spoken in such detail of the Jesuit contempt for the mother tongue because it is one of the most essential characteristics of the non-patriotic disposition which prevails throughout the Order. I shall have occasion later to treat of its attitude towards *belles-lettres* in general, since it is of importance in estimating the degree of its culture.

There is another peculiarity of the educational system which is always mentioned by its apologists as one of its special glories. Though it is a question of externals, it is of importance for the general estimate of the Order.

One of the chapters in Duhr's pamphlet on the Jesuit Scheme of Studies is headed, "Of the Gratuitous Nature of the Teaching." He says:—

"Knowledge and the imparting thereof were not to be a source of income to the members of the Society of Jesus. One of the fundamental rules of the Order runs, 'All who are under the rule of the Society must bear in mind that they are to give gratuitously that which they have received gratuitously; accordingly, they must neither demand nor accept a fee or an alms, whereby . . . any labour, which according to the rule of the Society we are allowed to perform, may be compensated, in order that in this way we may go forward with the greater freedom and edification for the faithful in the service of God.' This fundamental rule was observed in teaching. Its gratuitous character gave greater sanctity to the teaching office; classes were conducted, not for profit, but out of love for God and our neighbour."*

In all this there is not a word of truth, and Duhr

* Duhr, p. 46.

knew quite well that his statements were false. Gratuitous instruction is unknown in the Jesuit Order. It takes heavy fees for teaching, either from the State, when it is in charge of official institutions, or from the parents of the children entrusted to its care. The fees charged at Jesuit boarding schools are very high. I can no longer be sure of the Feldkirch fees, but they certainly were not low. At Stonyhurst they amounted, if I am not mistaken, to £120, besides a number of extras. Kelle states* that the Jesuits who taught at Feldkirch received annually from the Austrian Government at first £840, then £945, after that £1,058 8s., then again £945.

I do not blame the Jesuit Order for taking money for its services, but, in view of such annual grants, to speak of gratuitous labour, and to boast in consequence of the disinterestedness of the Order, which holds classes not for money but out of love for God and our neighbour, is a strong but not uncommon piece of Jesuit deception. True, the rule already quoted prescribes gratuitous instruction. But, as I have already shown, and shall have occasion to show again, it is a peculiarity of the Order—and no doubt a calculated one—to have fine sounding rules which not only are not observed, but which are the exact opposite of their practice. To these belongs the fundamental rule cited by Duhr (Rule 27 of the *Summarium Constitutionum*) on the “gratuitous character of the labours, which according to the Institutions of the Society we are allowed to perform.” If it ever was in force—which I greatly doubt—it has long ago fallen into disuse, and to such an extent that it might be said that the Jesuit Order understands to perfection how to make money out of its intellectual labours; no one engaged in earning his own living can surpass it in skill and in greed.

* Kelle, *Die Jesuitengymnasien in Oesterreich*. Prague, 1873, p. 242.

The Jesuit System of Instruction 117

Therefore, Duhr's chapter on the "gratuitous character of the instruction" is a daring misrepresentation of facts, an attempt to deceive the unsuspecting Catholic public, which venerates and honours the Order even more for its supposed disinterestedness. The chapter, therefore, does represent a fundamental rule of the Order, but an unwritten one—the end sanctifies the means.

To these theoretical expositions of the Jesuit system of instruction I may add experiences of my own, taken from my boyish days at Feldkirch and afterwards from my time as scholastic in the college at Wynandsrade.

At Feldkirch I went through all the classes from the Sixth to the Upper Second, and this at a time (1861–69) when the Feldkirch gymnasium was entirely under Jesuit direction, and the Order conducted the teaching quite independently of the State.

Although a very good pupil, I was but a moderate scholar. Though I never missed my promotion, it was only with pain and grief that I was dragged from class to class. My ill success was not due to idleness or lack of ability. It was the system which failed to draw out of me, as out of many other industrious and gifted pupils, the talent latent within me; it was the system that failed to arouse love and zeal for study. And undoubtedly this was due to that part of it which I have already emphasised, which from lack of vitality could itself give forth no life, the inadequacy of the teachers' own knowledge.

The drill in philology, a term far too complimentary, with which the young Jesuits came forth meagrely equipped from the *scholasticum* to be let loose on us Feldkirch pupils, with almost annual changes, could not produce relations between teacher and pupils calculated to arouse living knowledge. Such teachers can bear no educational fruits.

It happened that among my masters were several prominent members of the Order; the present General Francis Xavier Wernz was my class teacher in the important Third and Fourth Classes; among the teachers of special subjects were some of the celebrities of the Order in physics, natural science, and mathematics—Fathers Frink, Kolberg, Bötzkes; and I received my first grounding in Latin from a future Rector, Father Knappmeier. But *ex nihilo nihil fit*; and a minus in the teacher's special knowledge cannot produce a plus on the side of the pupil. I have previously spoken of the ignorance of my old form master. Seven years later, when I left Feldkirch to pass through the two divisions of the First Class at the Mayence gymnasium, I had the greatest difficulty in passing the entrance examination. Of course my knowledge attained a higher level at this State institution, but the systematic faults which had taken root during my seven years at Feldkirch hindered me even here from making vigorous progress, and acquiring a real love of study.

My experience was that of most boys who went from Feldkirch to a gymnasium. With pain and grief, if at all, they succeeded in entering the class which, according to Feldkirch standard, was the one for which they were suited. My elder brother Wilhelm, now member of the Upper House, and my younger brother Klemens, had experienced the greatest difficulty in keeping up with their class at Paderborn and Vechta, where they attended the gymnasia on leaving Feldkirch. And if ever the transition was effected without friction, we never heard the last of the Jesuit teaching methods "which triumphed even over hostile systems of State education." For a favourite device was to put down the failures of Feldkirch pupils on entering other establishments to the hostility towards the Jesuits entertained by them and the State in general.

The Jesuit System of Instruction 119

Jesuit instruction was, and remained, perfect. This was repeated by our teachers so often and so emphatically that we grew firmly convinced of it, and thought and spoke with contempt of all other institutions. But in reality Feldkirch was on the footing of all those establishments which achieve few results and have acquired the reputation of *refugia peccatorum*. While gymnasia which are abreast of their work can count among the long lists of their old pupils men who have won distinction in science, pioneers, and explorers in every domain of knowledge, the list of the pupils that have gone forth from the Jesuit gymnasium at Feldkirch in the course of fifty years can show only mediocrities, not one man of eminence. The condemnation is the greater because Feldkirch has for fifty years received an *élite* of pupils. The fault is not in them, but in the teachers and their system.

Since then the standard of teaching at Feldkirch has been raised. But this is due not to the Jesuit system of instruction, but to the compulsion exercised by the State. They offered the Order these alternatives: either the teaching scholastics must receive a professional training and pass the State examinations, or the licence to teach would be withdrawn. Of course, in its own interest the Order chose the former, and this led to the raising of the standard at Feldkirch.

Eleven years after I left the Feldkirch gymnasium I again returned to the scholar's bench. After the completion of my two years' novitiate the Jesuits sent me to their college at Wynandsrade (near Limburg, in Holland) to pass through their own course in Humanity. I may therefore supplement my account of the Jesuit teaching at the Feldkirch gymnasium with some notes on the philological studies of the Order at Wynandsrade.

On account of my age (I was at that time twenty-eight) and my studies before entering the Order (I had

matriculated, passed my State examination in law and practised for two years), I was exempted from the Grammar and Humanity courses and admitted at once to the highest, or Rhetoric, course. But as the scholastics of Grammar and Humanity were not separated from the Rhetoric students, my experiences and observations apply also to the other two courses.

Most of my fellow scholastics were very young men, not much more than children, of whom, besides myself, two perhaps had matriculated; the rest, about thirty in all, had at most reached the Upper Second before entering on their novitiate. They were now at Wynandsrade to receive the Jesuit training in the humanities as well as the preparation for their work in teaching at the Jesuit schools. But the teaching given was below the standard of the first class of a gymnasium.

Our professors were: for Grammar, Father Diel; for Humanity, Father Busch; for Rhetoric, Father Drecker; the Prefect of Studies and Professor of Greek, German, and Æsthetics was Father Helten; the History Professor, Father Brischar. Of these not one had received any professional training. But, half or wholly untrained as they were, they acted as "professors" to their young brothers in the Order.

In the Rhetoric class we did Latin and Greek exercises, construed Virgil, Homer, and Sophocles, and learnt Latin and Greek grammar from the text-books of Zumpt, Schulz, Buttman, and Curtius. In short, our linguistic studies were such as are pursued by boys in the second and first classes of a gymnasium. But the humanistic instruction given by the Order to its own scholastics hardly reached the gymnasium standard, let alone exceeded it. There was scarcely a scholastic equipped with the linguistic training of Wynandsrade who could have passed the matriculation examination at any State institution.

Yet the Rhetoric course was the highest rung of the linguistic ladder, and these young scholastics went straight from its class-rooms to the teacher's desk at Feldkirch, or one of the other Jesuit schools, though the majority before entering the Order had not passed beyond the second class, some not even beyond the third, as not a few who came from Switzerland, Denmark, North America, or Holland, had entered from schools where a minimum of humanistic teaching was given and Greek absolutely wanting.

The Latin lessons given by our Rhetoric professor, Father Drecker, were anything rather than humanistic. We laughed a great deal, but learnt very little. How, indeed, could this jolly Westphalian, who was readier with coarse jokes than with rules of grammar, and who had spent most of his life in the Order as a popular missionary and confessor, have known how to teach Latin? It was Saul among the prophets!

The regular language teachers were Fathers Helten and Busch, and I cannot deny that they had a quite respectable knowledge of grammar. But even they were self-taught, without any professional training, though, if I am not mistaken, both had attended philological lectures at Bonn, but not passed the final examination. The state of their general knowledge has been already indicated by the attitude of the Jesuit system towards national literature.

A curious specimen of a professor was the excellent Father Brischar, who taught us history. He deserves this epithet, because of his kindly, inoffensive disposition and his sincere piety. But as professor of history he was beneath criticism. His conceptions of history were positively grotesque. On his historical stage all the characters were angels or devils, with Providence to play the parts of stage manager and prompter. A good Catholic was

counted among the angels, though he might be an Alexander VI., Philip II. of Spain, Alba, Henry IV. of France, Queen Mary I. of England; those who were not good Catholics were classed with the ranks of Satan. Pragmatic connections, human developments, psychological explanations were unknown; everything in history is guided and directed by God with a sole regard for the Church and Papacy. In German history Father Brischar recognised only the Habsburg Emperors, and the most bigoted of these received the most detailed treatment. Although most of us were Prussians, we never heard any mention of Prussian history, except the circumstance that some of the writings of the "infidel" Frederick II., who, of course, lacked his designation "Great," had been placed on the Index of forbidden books.

As a student at Bonn I had attended the lectures of Heinrich von Sybel, and at Göttingen those of Georg Waitz and Otto Mejer, so my appreciation of Brischar's lectures may be imagined. But at that time my religious volition, my inherited and acquired ultramontane prejudices were still so strong that the inevitable comparisons fell out to the detriment of the German historians.

It was impossible for such studies to widen the intellectual horizon of the scholastics, for their sign-manual was systematic narrowness. The discipline and piety of the Order were the motive power and goal even of the humanities and rhetoric. At the same time, the linguistic achievements of the Order, the learning of its members—especially of the professors for the time being—were exalted to such a degree that the young scholastics, of whom the majority had entered the novitiate from Jesuit schools, and who knew nothing of any philological achievements outside the Order, were firmly convinced that there was no science or philology beyond its ranks.

Try as I might to become a genuine Jesuit and look

at the world and everything in it with Jesuit eyes, I could not entirely wipe out all I had seen and experienced before entering the Order, and it was much against the grain that I listened to the depreciation of everything non-Jesuit, even in the domain of knowledge. The foolish talk of my young and ignorant fellow-scholastics, utterly removed as it was from actuality, was to me a severe trial of patience, to which I sometimes succumbed. When a worthy Saxon, Brother Kade, who, being quite uninfluenced by any knowledge of the subject, maintained as an indisputable fact the monopoly of the Jesuits in the domain of knowledge, and especially—amazing as it sounds—in philology, I could no longer restrain myself, but exclaimed, “You are an ignoramus; all great achievements in philology are the work of non-Jesuits.” The credulous, ignorant youth, who must have been about eighteen, looked at me horrified; such views were almost heretical. The result was a denunciation to the Rector and Prefect of Studies, and a reprimand from both. I bore this brother no grudge; on the contrary, at that time endurance of blame and humiliation were welcome stones in the Jesuit tower of perfection (*turris perfectionis*).

The Greek exercises given us by Father Helten were German translations from some Greek author to be rendered back into Greek. That the extracts dictated to us were from Greek classics was at first unknown to us, still less from which authors. One day, when looking up some word in Passow's larger lexicon, one of us accidentally discovered that the author of the extract was, I believe, Thucydides. This gave us a hint for tracking the others too. Some specially prominent word was looked up in Passow, which usually directed us to the particular author, and the discovery of the whole passage, which we copied, but with slight variations and errors, lest the lack of mistakes and too great purity of style should lead Father

Helten to suspect its origin. And, indeed, he never noticed anything, but praised our excellent versions. On the days when we had to do Greek composition Passow was passed from hand to hand, and what one failed to find was discovered by another.

Tout comme chez nous, I seem to hear from many a boy in the second or first class at school. Of course, and this school-boy trick within the strict enclosure of the Order's discipline has its attractive side.

Very different, however, is the attitude of the master of the gymnasium from that of the Jesuit Prefect of Studies, who in the highest class of linguistic preparation for the teaching profession gives out work in such fashion, and himself never notices that the versions are simply transcribed. Such mechanical procedure—for it can scarcely have been indolence—such lack of imagination and foresight on the part of the teacher, could scarcely continue for long at a gymnasium.

A word about the "æsthetics" on which Father Helten lectured. It was dry, narrow theory, based on the dry and narrow text-book of æsthetics of a Jesuit writer, Jungmann. There were interminable disquisitions on the Platonic and Aristotelian ideas of beauty; no attempt to reveal real beauty in flesh and blood.

Indeed art, which might be called embodied æsthetics, never came near me during the whole of my Jesuit life in the houses of the Order. Those who have made no previous acquaintance with painting and sculpture will learn nothing of either while in the Order or through its means. Representations of nude beauty, whether by Correggio, Titian, Michael Angelo, or da Vinci, are inducements to sensuality. Their strong and ennobling beauty was kept from us on principle. The æsthetic objects set before us were sentimental and monotonous Madonnas and saints by Deger and his school, and inferior but

pious productions of good Catholic lithographic and xylographic establishments. I shall have occasion later to show the absurd lengths to which the fear of beauty carries the Order, although in its studies of moral theology it acquaints its young scholars with the most repugnant sexual details. My only object here is to show how the Order teaches æsthetics not only without emphasising beauty, but even denying it. Not one of us received the least help from the year's course in æsthetics in purifying and improving his taste and sense of beauty.

Great stress is laid by the *Ratio Studiorum* on academies—associations of scholastics under a prefect elected by themselves—the purpose of which, according to the words of the regulation, is “the advancement of the various branches of study, Rhetoric, Humanities, Grammar, and afterwards Philosophy and Theology, by means of exercises such as speeches, poems, and the defence of theses.” My own experience of academic achievements was of the poorest quality. Everything was subordinated to polish and outward form; there was not the slightest attempt at thoroughness in knowledge, or independent research on any subject connected with the school curriculum. Everything was planned out beforehand; the particular professor pulled the wires, there was no question of freedom for the scholars.

Among the achievements of the academies were dramatic representations or, rather, the performance of selected scenes from plays. Not, of course, classical plays, whether in German or any other language. Schiller, Goethe, Lessing, Shakespeare and Calderon found no place here. If my memory serves, Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman furnished the material of the dramatic performances during my whole Rhetoric year by scenes from his religious drama, *The Hidden Gem*.

The whole scheme of humanistic studies in the Order,

to judge from my own experience in the German Province, which intellectually, at any rate, is regarded as one of the most progressive, cannot stand comparison with the work of the State gymnasia in the middle and upper classes. Yet these humanistic studies were the only professional preparation with which the Jesuits equipped their scholars for their whole work at the gymnasia.

Here, then, is my comprehensive judgment on the Jesuit system of instruction. The good in it is not original, but taken from other systems; for centuries it has kept stationary and aloof from all progress and development; only under compulsion will it accept reforms; much that is excellent exists only on paper; its successes are the successes of the whole world, such as are attained by every educational establishment, and a closer inspection reveals corresponding abuses, due to its mistaken curriculum and the inadequate intellectual preparation of the members who are utilised for the work of teaching. The Latin on which so much stress is laid does not come up to classical requirements; the mother tongue and the treasures of national literature are shamefully neglected. The whole is organised with a view to display and outward show.

CHAPTER V

THE JESUIT SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

IMPORTANT as is instruction, education is of still greater value. Only those who are educated in the full sense of the word can control the intellectual faculties developed by instruction, and the self-control thus obtained fashions our true individuality and forms our character.

How far are these results attained by Jesuit education? Here, as before, an unsatisfactory answer must be given.

The educational system of the Jesuits is mechanical and superficial, concerned with externals rather than what lies beneath; it polishes the surface, but penetrates no further. Even its main object, the suffusion of a man's inner being with religion, is not attained. The religion which it does foster is in part weak sentimentalism, in part a mass of formulæ, in part superstition. But its worst effect is spiritual bondage in the widest sense of the word.

The Jesuit pupil never learns to stand on his own feet, but leans on the crutches of external authority—Church, confessor, spiritual director. His freedom and independence of thought are enslaved. And everywhere internationalism, though not always shown openly, is present, because it springs from the innermost nature of the Order, and keeps down patriotism, that mighty instrument of education.

To realise the worthlessness of the Jesuit educational system as a whole, we must bring before our eyes the universal and lasting failure which its labours of four

hundred years have everywhere encountered. Although the Order undertook the education of practically the whole Catholic youth—particularly the higher and more influential classes—in Austria, Germany, France, Belgium, Spain, Italy and Portugal, it was nowhere able to delay by a single day, still less permanently check, the anti-clerical or revolutionary political movements in those countries.

Even the attack, to which the Order itself temporarily succumbed towards the end of the eighteenth century, was actually strongest in those countries where it had for generations had the almost exclusive direction of education—*i.e.* Italy, France, Spain, Portugal and Austria. The young generation brought up by the Jesuits could do nothing to stem the tide; for the most part, indeed, they never attempted resistance; and many former Jesuit pupils—who were not, as the Order asserted, Judases, but men awakened to the realities of life and facts—were among the leaders of those who emphasised the harm done by the Order, particularly in the domain of education, and demanded its exclusion from this occupation.

Where, indeed, was the dyke built by the Jesuit Order when in France—to quote the most striking instance of failure—the flood of encyclopædic enlightenment overspread the land, to be followed by the storm of revolution? In spite of the numerous Jesuit schools which during three centuries had sent forth thousands of pupils, the transformation so disastrous to Church and the Order, so full of blessing for the world, was accomplished.

The gravity of such facts is scarcely regarded, and yet it is crushing. Moreover, the influence of Jesuit education in these countries was not confined within the walls of their colleges. For these and the other very numerous settlements of the Order were centres and foci of large spheres of activity extending throughout the land. By means of

the pupils committed to their care, the Order not only made its way into their families, and there gained power and influence, but its crowded churches, encircled with pulpits and confessionals, propagated this influence and power among millions of all grades of the population.* But this influence could not withstand the counter-currents; it was an illusion of power. The magnificent Jesuit institutions, with their blocks of sandstone and marble, were as houses of cards, which the wind overthrew, dispersing their educational harvest like chaff.

Judged from this universal standpoint, the result of the Feldkirch education, too, was valueless. For more than half a century thousands of boys and youths of all classes have passed through the magnificent Stella Matutinal with its splendid equipment; but not a single really great Ultramontane is to be found among the ranks of its old pupils. They were but average goods, and at best occupied leading positions within the Centre party. Yet no one would seek to maintain that among the many boys and youths sent to Feldkirch there were none that could be moulded into ultramontane celebrities. The fact is that Jesuit education does not aim at greatness, but at uniform mediocrity. As the Order itself is a huge factory of good "tools" fashioned uniformly by the machine, not a master's studio for individual art, so its schools for external pupils are wholesale institutions for mass production.

The educational results of the Order bear the impress that stamps its labours on every domain, a brilliant

* To give an idea of the diffusion of the Order, the number of its institutions and the consequent extent of its influence, I quote some figures. Créteineau-Joly, in his "History of the Society of Jesus" (V., p. 278), enumerates for the year 1762, 22,787 members, of whom 11,010 were priests; 39 provinces of the Order; 24 houses for the professed; 669 colleges; 61 novitiate houses. Pachtler, S.J. (*Monum. Germ. paed.*, 9, IX.-XVIII.), mentions 200 colleges for the territory of the German Empire down to the time of the suppression of the Order in 1773, and 36 colleges for the German, Dutch, Austrian, and Belgian Provinces after the restoration of the Order in 1815.

exterior and inward hollowness. But the advertising genius of the Order succeeds again and again in deceiving the ultramontane as well as the non-ultramontane world by the glitter of its show. One very common means of deception is worth mentioning.

The Jesuits have in readiness a long list of celebrated names, intended to show the excellence of their educational results. Behold, they say, these great men are all Jesuit pupils. In France especially this kind of testimony is in favour. But these records of fame do not state how many of these great men spent only a short time at a Jesuit establishment; nor the fact that the most celebrated owe their celebrity to their adoption of a road running counter to that prescribed by the Jesuit system. Again and again we find the names of Condé, Turenne, Descartes, Molière, and Voltaire and the like; who knows whether a future age may not add those of Passaglia and my unworthy self!

The Jesuit Order is the most consistent and successful advocate of the boarding-school system, which removes children from their home and family and country.

But the natural soil for a growing child is that of his own family; only under very exceptional circumstances should the young human plant be transplanted to foreign soil. The Jesuit Order has succeeded in making the exception the rule, and has induced thousands of parents of all nationalities to send their sons away for years, and place them under the charge of the Order. The harm thus done is not small.

Just in those years of development when the family life is so very important and the influence of mother and sisters so beneficial in helping to form a young man's disposition and character, the boy is taken from the influence of home and introduced to surroundings where, removed from all family ties and contact with women,

The Jesuit System of Education 131

he finds himself in an atmosphere but little suited to boys, who come from families and intend to spend their lives in them. And what is the object to be attained? It is more advantageous for the Order to mould the future men, fathers, politicians, writers, etc., for years in their own spirit, unhampered by any influences from without. Therefore, on the very first step of the Jesuit system of education, we encounter the typical Jesuit egotism.

Again, the members trained in the spirit of the Order are bad educators. This is not, of course, the deliberate purpose of their training, but they lack qualities indispensable to good educators, and they possess others which unfit them for the work.

In the first place, they have no sense of nationality; their thoughts and feelings must be international—not national.

The Constitutions say:—

“Everyone who enters the Society must follow the injunction of Christ, and must forsake father, mother, brothers, sisters, and all that he has in the world, and he must believe that this saying is intended for him: ‘If any man come to me, and hate not his father and his mother . . . yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple.’ He must, therefore, endeavour to put aside all natural inclination towards those who are connected by the ties of blood, and substitute for it a spiritual affection, loving them only with that love which charity enjoins upon us, so that, being dead to the world and self-love, he may live for Christ our Lord only, and set Him in the place of parents, brothers, and all else.”

And the authentic *Declaratio* adds:—

“In order that the mode of expression may assist the feelings, it is a holy counsel that they should accustom themselves not to say that they have parents or brothers, but that they had them, thus indicating that they no longer have that which they have forsaken, in order to put Christ

in the place of everything. This should be particularly observed by those who seem more in danger of being troubled by some natural affection. This is more frequently the case with novices.”*

From this foundation naturally springs a regulation saturated with internationalism:—

“In the Society no inclination towards any particular party should exist, or allow itself to be felt in any dispute which may arise between Christian princes or lords. [Instead, a kind of universal love should prevail, which embraces in the Lord all parties, even if opposed to one another.”†

How could teachers with such non-national and international disposition arouse, transmit, or maintain national feeling?

This internationalism is, if possible, increased by systematically combining various nationalities in the teaching staff and among the pupils. I have already quoted the decree of the General Congregation which prescribes this mixture in order to prevent the difference of nationalities making itself felt. As far as Feldkirch is concerned, I can testify to its observance, for Germans, Austrians, Swiss, Italians, French Alsatians (it was before 1870) were all among the teaching staff. For many years the office of Rector was filled by natives of French Switzerland—the Jesuits Minoux and Billet, and the French Alsatian, Father Faller, who for a time was also General Prefect. Thus the most influential posts, on which the general conduct of the German establishment at Feldkirch depended, were filled by foreigners, both of whom spoke only broken German, and were thoroughly French in manner and bearing. Even in the 'eighties Father Karl Schäffer, who, after his father's early death, had been educated by his English mother in accordance with the

* *Examen generale*, IV., 7, Declar. C.

† Const. X., 11, *Summarium Constitutionum*. 43.

The Jesuit System of Education 133

ideas of her country, and was more of an Englishman than a German, at one time filled the post of Rector, at another that of General Prefect. As I was his fellow-pupil for some years at Feldkirch, his "German national sentiments" are well known to me.

The pupils, too, came from various countries. Scarcely one European nationality was lacking, and there were many pupils also from beyond the seas. Our numbers included Germans, Austrians, Frenchmen, Swiss, English, Irish, Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutch, Belgians, Danes, Hungarians, Poles, Russians, Chilians, Peruvians, Brazilians and North Americans.

Now I do not deny the advantages of international intercourse, which helps to destroy prejudices, widen the horizon, and improve the knowledge of languages. But the years of early boyhood are not suited for the enjoyment of these advantages, for this can only be done at the expense of still immature national feeling. Only when this has grown strong can international influence be beneficial; before that, it can only have a levelling effect. But, of course, this mixture of teachers and pupils is a principle of the Jesuit system, one of the pillars on which it rests. Accidental or even intentional contact with internationalism, if it occurs at the right age, is helpful; but systematic and fundamental saturation with it is mischievous always and everywhere.

A festival pamphlet, published in honour of the jubilee of the Feldkirch school on the 20th of June, 1906, which bears an official character, lays special stress on the international character of the institution:—

"Flags and arms of European and many non-European countries, symbolic of the international representation of the different pupils, . . . served as a greeting and welcome to each new arrival."*

* *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, of June 23rd, 1906.

Fourteen Years a Jesuit

Here a German educational institution for German boys boasts of its internationalism.

Secondly, Jesuit discipline makes it impossible for a Jesuit to be a good educator.

Abandonment of the world, detachment from all earthly affection, surrender of the will and reason to the Superior, are fundamental principles of Jesuit discipline. But from the point of view of an educator they are injurious.

The systematic abandonment of the world has reached its highest point in the Jesuit system through the hermetic seclusion of its own education in the novitiate and scholasticate. A Jesuit leaves this seclusion, whither no suggestion of the political or intellectual life of his nation has penetrated, in order immediately to take his place as educator among a troop of boys and youths who come from the world which to him is inaccessible, and are destined to live and work there in future. He is to be their guide and counsellor in matters for which he himself lacks knowledge and comprehension.

A good educator must be able to establish confidential relations of love and affection with his pupils. But Jesuit discipline forbids all attachment to things, places, and persons. If he feels the beginning of any closer tie, he must destroy the delicate fabric, for he is to be animated by sacred indifference (*sancta indifferentia*). The Jesuit must know neither sex nor fatherland; he must be a creature without emotion or feeling.

There is no point on which Jesuit discipline lays greater stress, and to which it devotes greater energy, than the annihilation of self by complete subjection of reason and will to the will and reason of the Superior. The highest aim of the Jesuits is dependence of thought, feeling, will, and resolution. The highest aim of education is independence, development of our own personality, training of our own feelings, thoughts, will and resolve.

The Jesuit System of Education 135

These few remarks and contrasts will show how ill-fitted for the work of education is a Jesuit who follows the directions and the spirit of his Order. Men who allow themselves to be handled by others as corpses and staves, who may never on any question resist the judgment of another (except in a case of open sin), are incapable of moulding youth, which must go through life on its own feet.

But the *Ratio Studiorum* does contain a system of education of distinct pedagogic value. So the Jesuits and their eulogists maintain. What are the facts?

Of a system of education contained in the *Ratio* it is impossible to speak. Here and there religious and pedagogic commonplaces are interwoven in it. That is all.

The sciences are to be taught in such a way that our fellow-creatures may by them be aroused to the knowledge and love of their Creator and Redeemer.* The scholars should make as great progress as possible in leading a worthy life to God's glory.† The special attention of the teacher should be directed on suitable occasions, both during lessons and at other times, to leading the pupils to the love and service of God, and the practice of those virtues by which we may become well-pleasing to Him, and to influencing them to direct all their studies towards this end.‡ He should realise that he is elected in order zealously, and with all the means in his power, to assist the Rector in the conduct and direction of the schools, in order that the pupils may progress both in knowledge and in a virtuous life.§ The boys who have been entrusted for education to the Society should be instructed in such a fashion that they may acquire not only knowledge, but also a truly Christian character. When a good oppor-

* Rule 1 for the Provincial.

† Rule 1 for the Prefect of Studies.

‡ Rule 1 for the Teachers of Higher and Lower Studies.

§ Rule 1 for the Prefect of the Lower Schools.

tunity offers in the lesson hours and at other times, too, his chief endeavour should be to win the tender hearts of youth to the service and love of God, and to make them susceptible to all virtues well-pleasing to God. . . . On Friday or Saturday he should also give half an hour to pious exhortation or expounding the catechism; above all, he should admonish them to pray to God daily, especially to recite the rosary every day, or the Hours of Mary, to conscience-searching at night, to frequent and worthy observance of the sacraments of penance and the communion, to avoidance of bad habits, hatred of vice, and finally to the practice of all virtues worthy of a Christian.*

This is a sample of the system of education to be found in the *Ratio Studiorum*. It is surely a matter of course that a religious order should dwell on the encouragement of virtue, the love of God, of a reputable life, the avoidance of bad habits, hatred of vice, and represent these as the goal of its education. From the point of view of distinct religious education, such educational principles are the most ordinary commonplaces. They assert everything and nothing, and their presence in a religious scheme of education claiming to be the result of centuries of thought and experience gives an impression of poor and hackneyed phrases.

Indeed, these principles are so general that even Duhr admits, in regard to the above quoted third rule for the Teachers of the Higher Faculties, which is worded in a less general manner:—

“These requirements and wishes are not peculiar to the Jesuits, but are the requirements made by the whole Catholic Church from all who earnestly and faithfully seek to lead a religious life.”†

* General rules for the Teachers of the Lower Grades, 1 and 5 (cf. also Const. Part IV., cp. 7, 2; 16, 4; and Rule 3 for the Teachers of the Higher Faculties).

† Duhr, *Die Studienordnung der Gesellschaft Jesu*, p. 32.

But the few definite educational precepts which appear in the *Ratio* alongside of these commonplaces are, like all else contained in it, neither original nor good and desirable.

In the first place, there is the universal, police-like supervision, which extends even to pious practices and the fulfilment of religious duties. Rule 9 for the Teachers of the Lower Grades prescribes :—

“ He must see to it that no one omits the monthly confession, and give them cards, with Christian and surname and the number of the class, to be handed to the confessors, so that on looking them through afterwards he may see whether any have been absent.”

Here a large and important part of religious life, and a duty which by its very nature should be voluntary and personal, is placed under compulsion and supervision. Confession, from the religious point of view regarded as the reconciliation of man with God and the unburdening of the sin-laden soul, is an act that must proceed from free impulse and individual determination. Compulsory confession under official control destroys all the good, and degrades it into a means of educational discipline. And, in fact, this is the object of the Jesuit rules, as I shall show later when speaking of the rules for confession and the “ conscience account ” (*ratio conscientiae*) within the Order.

Nor is the Jesuit pupil free to choose his own confessor. Every year the Order appoints some fathers for this office. These, and no others, must hear the pupil's confession, no matter whether he has confidence in them or not.

The external supervision, too, is very strict and suggestive of a reformatory. Whether at meals, study, or play, whether asleep in bed or at prayer in the chapel, a pupil is never alone. Not the faintest degree of trust is placed in his moral responsibility. Day and night, in

every place and at every hour, he knows himself observed. On the staircases and corridors, which he must traverse hurriedly to get from one room to another, stand prefects of the *atrium* invigilating. This is in accordance with the 44th Rule for the Prefect of Gymnasium Studies:—

“During the whole school time he should be stationed in the corridors or in a room from which he can overlook them.”

Besides the official supervision by the teachers, there is to be mutual supervision among the pupils.

In each class, in accordance with the tradition of the country, the prefect is to appoint a pupil as public censor, or, if this title is displeasing, a head *decurio* or *praetor*. In order to give him importance in the eyes of his fellow pupils, he must enjoy some special privilege and possess the right, with the teacher's consent, to demand the remission of punishment for small offences. He is to notice whether one of his fellow pupils loiters in the courtyard before the signal for school, or enters another school, or his own, or leaves his place. Every day he must report to the prefect the absence of any pupil, or the presence in the class-room of anyone not belonging to the school, and any breaches of rule that may have occurred in the absence of the teacher.*

“In every class *observatores* are to be appointed who are to write down and hand to the teachers the names of boys who fight in the street, throw stones, or insult others, treat anyone disrespectfully or abusively, loiter on the way to school, use indecent language, and in summer play truant in the water, in winter on the ice. In the three lower classes ‘deans’ are to be appointed . . . whose duty it is to report all those who deserve to be punished.”†

These regulations imply something very different from

* Rule 37 for the Prefects of Gymnasium Studies.

† School regulations of the Society of Jesus of the years 1560-61. *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 2, 161 et seq.

the ordinary functions of a monitor; they are an official sanction of tale-bearing, and in order to make the institution acceptable to both parties and establish it more firmly among the pupils, a right of pardon is also conferred on the tale-bearer. This is supposed to set at rest the young mind, which naturally revolts from tale-bearing. And the privilege of pardon also serves as an inducement to apply for the post of censor.

Espionage and tale-bearing appear to prevail even out of school, to judge from the 11th Rule for the Prefect:—

“He is to enter in a book whether any of the pupils are acquainted with the house [of some new pupil].”

And the 36th Rule for the Teachers of the Lower Grades:—

“The teacher must also appoint the *decuriones*. Their duty is to hear the lessons, to collect the written work for the master, and to note the number of times a boy answers wrong or neglects his written work or omits to bring his notes, and anything else which the master may direct.”

This last clause clearly shows that denunciation was part of the *decurio's* work; for after enumerating everything that might naturally come within the scope of a monitor's duties, it extends the range of his denunciatory activity to anything “which the master may direct.”

In former times this system was carried even further. The old *Ratio* contained the sentence:—

“Every teacher must have his own open and secret censors and a chief censor, through whom he may make inquiry (*inquirat*) as to the moral character of the others.”*

Does not the word “*inquirat*” point to an organised system of inquisition and denunciation? True, this particular wording has disappeared from the *Ratio*. But its presence in the first draft after many years of consideration

* Duhr, S.J., *Die Studienordnung der Gesellschaft Jesu, Bibliothek der kathol. Pädagogik*. Freiburg, 1896. Vol. IX., p. 53.

and probation, in which the General and his assistants, the superiors and provincial and a specially appointed commission took part,* shows the spirit which is intended to animate the whole. The deletion of the words is a prudent piece of tactics, but the spirit which animated them is unchanged. This is proved by the explanatory treatise by Kropf on the educational principles of the Order, where he openly recommends denunciation.

It is, indeed, impossible to deny the denunciatory spirit of the Order, which must be borne in mind when dealing with the passages of the *Ratio* which speak of censors, decurions, and the like.

In an official letter of the Bohemian Provincial, Father Stanislaus Bieczynski, we read :—

“ How great a value we set on denunciation as the true eye of the Society must be known to everyone (*quantum pupilla Societatis delatio a nobis aestimata sit, neminem latere autumo*). Nor do those err who suppose that the greater part of the annoyances to which the Society is subject spring from neglect and disregard of denunciation. It is therefore particularly enjoined upon all, as loving sons of the Society, to pay due regard to a matter of such importance, and putting aside all considerations, in accordance with the spirit of our institution, truly and faithfully to report to the Superior everything which they judge in the Lord should be reported. They may be assured that they are performing an office both grateful and advantageous to the welfare of the Society, if they zealously strive after that which the safety of our Order requires of all in this respect. But in order that the brotherly denunciation (*fraterna delatio*) sacredly enjoined on us by our holy Patriarch [Ignatius Loyola] may not be carried to extreme by misuse, and thus through our fault

* Duhr, S.J., *Die Studienordnung der Gesellschaft Jesu, Bibliothek der kathol. Pädagogik*. Freiburg, 1896. Vol. IX., p. 19 et seq.

transform into poison that which should be a means of healing, or rather the very salvation of our Order, all are most earnestly exhorted, before reporting anything to their Superior, mindful of our institutions, to pray, and not to appeal superficially to God, but read carefully through the directions concerning writing, in particular par. 21, that they may not, carried away by their disapproval, exaggerate, and instead of wholesome reporting and brotherly denunciation, distort the doings of others, and calumniate and insult them. How greatly the chief leaders of our Order have detested this plague [of insult and calumny] is evident from the words which were recently, on the 30th of March, 1653, addressed to our province: 'I beseech your Reverence to exhort all in very serious terms not to weary themselves nor their superiors with calumniations, and not to take up their pens hastily, nor foolishly, nor too boldly.'**

We observe in this interesting document (1) that real denunciation (*defero, delatio*) is in question; (2) that it is the eye (*pupilla*) and salvation of the whole Order; (3) that it is wrapped in religious garb, with prayer, invocation of the Deity, etc.; (4) that the denunciation appointed by the Constitutions has developed by means of calumny into a veritable plague.

I shall have occasion later to return to the "eye" of the Order.

Another method of supervision, not mentioned in the *Ratio Studiorum*, is connected with the correspondence of the pupils. Even a boy's letters to and from his parents are read by the Jesuit to whom this duty is assigned, usually the General Prefect or the Rector. Though, of course, complete freedom of correspondence is impossible in an educational institution, supervision of letters to and

* Codex of the Vienna Court Library, No. 13,620, p. 10, from Kelle, pp. 185 and 301.

from parents is a mischievous practice. It leads the children to look down on their parents, since their letters are regarded with suspicion, and just where they should be most natural and original they are subjected to external control, and their tenderest thoughts are exposed to the spying gaze of unsympathetic readers; for how should a Jesuit understand the family!

And this practice, harmful as it always must be, is absolutely insulting in Jesuit establishments. For the parents and families of the pupils are well known to the authorities, and are almost all Catholics in a good position. But Jesuit education, whether for the members of the Order or the other pupils committed to their care, rests largely on mistrust. This is the soil from which spring all those rules and regulations which surround and spy upon the individual and the community with a system of Argus eyes. The principle of Jesuit education is not to give confidence for confidence, but to requite the confidence of pupils and parents with mistrust on the part of the teachers.

Why then do parents submit to this insulting supervision? Because the blind belief of Catholic Ultramontanes in everything done by the Jesuits stifles their individual judgment. Here, as of the Papacy and the Church, it may be said: Everything that proceeds from this source, no matter what its nature, is good.

But the worst type of supervision is characteristically clothed with the garb of religion. The prefects, assistants and counsellors of the Marian congregations are official denunciators, as I shall show presently when dealing with these congregations.

Another questionable educational method is the excessive appeal to ambition. Though of itself a strong and harmless impetus to industry, it is injurious when carried to the lengths laid down in the *Ratio Studiorum*,

because it tends to over-stimulate the sense of honour. And the form it takes is often so childish and mechanical, so exclusively directed to mere externals, as to destroy every masculine and natural quality.

One of these incentives to emulation is the "concertation," thus described in the *Ratio* :—

"It is usually conducted in such a way that either the teacher asks questions, and the pupils vie with one another to give the correct answer, or else the rivals ask one another questions. This method is of great value, and should be adopted whenever time permits, in order that a noble rivalry, that powerful inducement to industry, may be promoted. This contest may be conducted by single pairs or by groups, chosen especially from the dignitaries of the class, or one pupil may challenge several. One ordinary pupil may challenge another and one dignitary another, sometimes even an ordinary pupil may challenge one of the dignitaries, and in case of victory may claim his office or some other reward of victory. . . . Once a month or every two months the dignitaries of the class are to be chosen. . . . The most industrious pupil receives the chief office, and those who come nearest to him the next highest ; and in order to add to the learned aspect of the proceedings, their titles are to be taken from Greek or Roman civil or military terms. With a view to promoting the spirit of rivalry the class may be divided into two parties, each with its own dignitaries opposed to those of the other side.* The dignitaries of the two parties take the places of honour."†

Everything in this is unhealthy, and calculated to evoke not a noble spirit of rivalry, but petty and mean spite. The distinction between ordinary scholars and dignitaries, the division of the class into hostile parties,

* At Feldkirch the classes were divided into Romans and Carthaginians.

† General rules for the Teachers of the Lower Grades, 31, 35.

the rewards of victory and the places of honour, all alike are pernicious. These unhealthy conditions are increased by the theatrical pomp of the prize-givings, the public proclamation of the names of the winners, and the applause and musical honour with which they are greeted.*

The distribution of offices to the pupils in the Jesuit schools is also calculated to over-stimulate ambition. Among these I may mention the "leaders," two to each division, who march at the head of the lines; the janitor, who sits near the door of the class-room, and has to answer the knocks; the questor, who has to provide the requisites for games and to conduct the sale of chocolate, fruit and other dainties; captains of the games; *servi Mariae*, whose office it is to deck the statues of the Madonna placed in each of the class-rooms; chief acolyte, who leads the acolytes at Mass. The offices are assigned afresh every half-year.

Besides the honour, these office-bearers enjoy some material advantages. Official suppers take place several times in the year, at which wine, beer, coffee and other delicacies are served. This combination of honour with the gratification of the appetite is a peculiarity of the Jesuits which cannot be approved. It encourages greed, and places its satisfaction side by side with honour. Jesuit education never encourages the doing of what is good and right for its own sake, but always holds out some other inducement. The desire for sensuous pleasures and enjoyment, which Jesuit ethics condemn in theory, is in reality the very foundation of their education.

The practice of reading out marks every Sunday acts as a stimulus to ambition and a means of supervision, reward and punishment. The General Prefect and his *Socius* go through the class-rooms of the different divisions,

* Cf. Regulations for the distribution of prizes, 11, 12, quoted on p. 62.

The Jesuit System of Education 145

and read aloud the marks awarded to each of the pupils in the past week for piety, industry, attention and conduct.

The mere reading out of marks, with short comments of praise or blame, would be open to no objection; but the manner in which it is done, and the personal remarks with which it is attended, amount to the most brutal kind of public branding or laudation, for even the adulation of the good pupil may be brutal. But the brutality was, of course, more marked in the case of the bad pupil. I have assisted at readings of marks, especially during the general prefectship of Julius Pottgeisser, which broke every record for coarse vulgarity. Even passages from letters written by anxious parents to the head of the establishment were sometimes read out; this happened two or three times during my stay. The object was to deepen the impression of the anxiety expressed by the parents of the particular boy. It never seems to have occurred to the teachers that it was an act of meanness, likely to deaden our sense of delicacy. The comments also tended to create in us a sort of false conscience, since copying, prompting one another, and the like, were represented as grievous moral sins which God would punish. The exaggeration of the wickedness of such ordinary school crimes is doubtless common to all schools, even at the present day; but in religious establishments, which boast of a purer morality and reasoned educational methods, such exaggeration is a sign of weakness.

Rule 29 for the Prefect of Gymnasium Studies contains this admonition:—

“He should assign more comfortable seats to the aristocratic pupils, and no important alteration must be made here without his knowledge.”

How thoroughly characteristic of the Order! Everywhere special regard is paid to worldly advantages, rank,

money, power, influence. Similarly, we find in a treatise prepared for the benefit of Jesuit scholastics (*tractatus de magisterio*, cp. 9):—

“Pupils from noble families in particular must not be caned except for some very serious cause; and it will be wiser for the master to submit the matter to the Prefect of Studies and seek his advice.”*

But the middle-class pupil may be caned without any such measures of precaution. The new edition of 1832 retains the regulation, with addition of the words “where it is customary.”

At Feldkirch, the aristocratic pupils did not have more comfortable seats, but the boys of the first boarding house, where the fees were higher and there were many sons of the nobility, always sat in front of those in the second boarding house, alike in the class-room, church and at entertainments. The spirit of the regulation was observed, too, in the custom of allowing only pupils of the aristocratic first house to take part in musical and theatrical performances. And the differences in rank and income were carried even into the Marian congregations, by giving the members of the first house more elegant and expensive badges, medals and flags than those of the second house.

A report addressed by the Austrian Minister, Count Perglen, on the 26th of August, 1770, to the Empress Maria Theresa calls attention to this weak point in Jesuit education, the exaltation of rank and wealth and the repression of poverty and humility. It says:—

“The children of the lower classes who cannot pay special fees for the instruction which is so generously supported out of public funds, are often completely neglected, though intellectually well endowed, and rarely

* Codex in the Vienna Court Library, No. 10,578, from Kelle, *Die Jesuitengymnasien in Oesterreich*. Munich, 1876, pp. 222 and 304.

The Jesuit System of Education 147

meet with the attention which their industry deserves.”*

Cornova, too, blames the neglect of the poor scholars, who, from educational considerations, should receive, if not greater advantages, at any rate similar treatment.

“ If, therefore, the parts in the school plays were almost exclusively given to the children of wealthy parents and scarcely ever to poor scholars, it was just those, who most needed the opportunity for developing their bodies and losing their shyness, to whom it was denied. The son of the rich house already possessed both advantages, thanks to his more careful education.”†

Thus it was and still is. Wealth and display are the favourite spheres of Jesuit activity, and consideration for both a characteristic of Jesuit educational methods.

If ever the Order does anything for the poor and humble, and admits poor scholars of the lower classes, it is either done with great ostentation and parade of benevolence, or in a fashion calculated to wound the poor recipients, such as the erection of houses, boarding-schools, libraries for the poor (*domus pauperum, convictus pauperum, bibliothecae pauperum*), or else—and this is the main reason—out of the crassest self-interest, for the poor scholars are to serve the interests of the Order.‡

The poor scholar had his poverty impressed on him ; he was also plainly shown that what he received was alms ; and his support was often made dependent on his pledge to join the priesthood or the Order. An ordinance as to the feeding of poor students at Vienna begins in this characteristic fashion :—

“ Of the broken victuals (*reliqua ciborum*) to be dis-

* Helfert, *Die Gründung der oesterreichischen Volksschule durch Maria Theresia*, Prague, 1860, p. 203.

† *Die Jesuiten als Gymnasiallehrer*, Prague, 1804, p. 122.

‡ P. 80.

tributed to poor students at the gate of the professed house of the Society of Jesus at Vienna.”*

The ordinance goes on to speak of the evil custom, which is to be abolished, of letting the poor scholars, in return for the broken victuals handed them at the gate, perform menial services in the Jesuit houses.

And the festival report of the Jubilee of the Feldkirch school (20th of June, 1906), gives the preference to money and rank:—

“In the name of the pupils, a scholar of the highest class, Count Ferdinand von Bissingen, welcomed the guests in eloquent verse. Count Max von Droste-Vischering, as president of the Committee of Preparation, explained the aim and intention of the Jubilee celebrations.”†

Only nobles, counts and the like speak in the name of the scholars, though the great majority have no titles, and, as a rule, the pupils of the second house are better and more able scholars. But then they are inmates of the socially inferior house.

The regulations for the discipline of the pupils are characteristic of Jesuit education. The only method recognised by the *Ratio Studiorum* is corporal punishment.‡

In my own view, notwithstanding the Bible and the

* *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 16, 245.

† *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, June 23, 1906.

‡ English readers cannot fail to be struck by the very close resemblance between the Jesuit schools as here described and the English public schools—*e.g.* the boarding-school system, the participation of the boys in school government, the employment of untrained teachers, many of whom (in the past, at any rate) were destined for the ministry, the close connection between Church and school, corporal punishment, compulsory games, public prize-givings, and the weekly marking. These would seem to point to a common origin, whether the connection between them be direct or indirect. Of course, similarity in the mechanism does not by any means indicate similarity of spirit. Indeed, it is instructive to observe to what different ends the same instruments may be put. The means employed in the English public school to secure independence and initiative seem to be utilised by the Jesuits for purposes of espionage, and to secure unreasoning dependence on the part of the pupils. No motto could be less appropriate to the English public-school boy than *perinde ac cadaver*.—*Translator*.

wisdom of our forefathers, blows, from the educational standpoint, are a mistake. The teacher, as a rule, resorts to them because his educational methods as well as his patience have given out. I have been confirmed in this view since I have had children of my own, and realise that all true education depends on training the will. Where the aim is to cause recognition of the fault and a cheerful determination to correct it, there is no place for corporal punishment. And surely a religious system of education, which recognises no other means of punishment than the cane (for admonitions do not rank as punishment), bears testimony to its own educational bankruptcy.

Rule 38 for the Prefect of Higher Studies runs thus:—

“For those who are deficient in industry and good conduct, and who cannot be influenced by words and admonitions, a master of discipline is to be appointed, who must not be a member of the Society. Where such an one cannot be found, some other plan must be devised for inflicting the proper punishment on the culprits, either by one of the scholars or in some other suitable fashion.”

Could anything be more uneducational, detestable, or characteristically Jesuitical? The punishment is to be inflicted by a salaried master of discipline or a fellow-pupil. In one of the school regulations of the Society of Jesus of 1560–61 we find:—

“The number of strokes for ordinary faults (*peccata*) is six. In the case of serious offences the teachers should consult the Prefect. The boys who are punished are to be held down by other boys.”*

This is, however, immediately followed by a prohibition of punishment inflicted by fellow-pupils. But thirty years later, in the official *Ratio Studiorum*, binding on the whole Order, this recommendation is omitted, and the pupils become masters of discipline for their comrades.

* *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 2, 160.

During my time in Feldkirch the master of discipline was one of the men servants at the boarding house. He was a lusty young peasant, named Stieger. We coined a verb from his name, and said of those on whom his disciplinary powers had been exercised, "He has been stiegered."

Corporal punishment inflicted by the teacher—who, after all, stands in the father's place—does not injure a child's honour and self-respect, but it would be hard to imagine anything more degrading or better calculated to deaden his sense of dignity than blows from a hired servant. And, indeed, the boys who underwent this discipline were "morally dead" in their own eyes and ours.

I still vividly remember two pupils whose lives were thus ruined, one an Italian and the other a native of the Vorarlberg. As often as three times a week they were "led to the stieger," with the inevitable result of their deeper degradation. The effect of this treatment on a young Prussian was the drawing of a knife in self-defence, which, of course, availed him nothing. But his behaviour thenceforth was such that he was soon expelled.

What part, then, does the Jesuit educator play in the infliction of corporal punishment? He remains in the background. "The master of discipline must not be a member of the Society." But either blows have educational value in the Jesuit view, or they have not. The rule shows that they are supposed to have it. In that case the teacher himself should inflict them. If he avoids doing so in order to escape pollution, he is acting counter to his own educational instructions, and is guilty of a pedagogic crime, through the egotism of the Order, lest the duties of a master of discipline should bring odium upon it. Therefore, in order to avoid an educational obligation, it hands the pupils over to paid hirelings for punishment.

The Jesuit System of Education 151

The extreme and final penalty was expulsion. On this, too, the Jesuits managed to set their own impress by contriving to ruin the reputation of the expelled pupil. Not that they made public the special offences which had brought it about, but an expelled pupil was represented as an almost lost soul, who had forfeited the great grace of Jesuit education, and, therefore, ran the risk of everlasting destruction. I shall show later with what intensity their arrogance and untruthfulness led them to blacken the reputation of those who voluntarily, or under compulsion, left the Order.

What might almost be designated as a negative educational method was the strict prohibition of friendships.

“Particular friendships,” as they were officially designated, were represented as something pernicious, a grave danger to morality, and immediate occasions for sin. Here, too, the Jesuit spirit distorts the natural into the unnatural, and finds base results in a noble source. Everywhere else friendships between pupils are approved and fostered, because they often sow the seed of a rich harvest for after life. But the Jesuits, with their besetting dread of immorality, denounce them, and thus turn a boy’s imagination to things that would otherwise be unknown to him.

Yet this dread of immorality is not the only—or, indeed, the chief—reason for the prohibition of particular friendships. It is only another means toward their main object. No one must possess the confidence of the pupil except those specially appointed by the Order, the confessor, president of the Congregation, prefect, and other officials. But if two pupils are united in friendship, they form a separate unit into which the feelers of the Order cannot penetrate; it finds itself confronted with a little world which no longer revolves solely around itself, because centrifugal forces may arise in it leading away from its centre. The single pupil, with no friend at his side, is

entirely under Jesuit influence, and that is why he must be maintained in isolation, and why the noblest possession of youth—friendship—must be ruthlessly suppressed.

This crushing down of the emotions of friendship in young hearts exercises a destructive influence even beyond the boundaries of the school. It is not common for Jesuit pupils to form friendships in youth or manhood. The road to this most precious possession has been blocked by Jesuit training. I myself had to clear the road with labour and effort.

I have already dealt with the curious distinction between pupils and scholars in the Jesuit schools. The good pupils are seldom good scholars, although guidance and supervision of study are part of the function of boarding-school education. The centre of gravity of Jesuit education is outward good conduct, the observance of rules and pious practices. It has no profound effect on mind and will, yet it is in their depths that lie the powers which can overcome the difficulties of learning and the struggle for knowledge.

This view is confirmed by an observation I made when at Feldkirch, though at that time I did not realise its cause and significance. The day-boys were always the better scholars, and usually at the top of their class. Now, it was they who came least under Jesuit influence; they did not live in the boarding houses, and were, therefore, comparatively free in their private life. Even within the precincts of an establishment entirely under Jesuit direction—as was Feldkirch, in spite of its day boys—it would appear that the further removed from Jesuit educational influence, which aims mainly at producing “good” pupils animated by a “good disposition,” as was constantly impressed on us in private and public exhortations, the better the scholars.

School libraries are important educational factors.

Though not recognised by the *Ratio Studiorum*, even in the 1832 edition, they have been introduced in modern Jesuit institutions.

At Feldkirch, each of the three divisions had its own library, which was open during our free time, 8 to 8.45 p.m. and 2 to 4 p.m. on Sundays. The contents of the cases were extraordinarily meagre both as regards quantity and quality. A moderate-sized cupboard contained all the literary treasures of the first division, to which the elder boys, including the first class (eighth form) pupils belonged. Of course, none but one-sided ultramontane literature was represented, but even that was for the most part rubbish. Among the gems were historical works by Annegarn von Weiss, and novels by the Countess Ida Hahn-Hahn. Goethe was not represented, nor yet Schiller, Lessing or any other classic in a complete edition. To compensate, there were numerous editions of the *opera omnia* of the Jesuit Antonio Bresciani, which I can only characterise as blood-curdling but pious sensational novels, directed against freemasons and the foes of the Church. The amazing tales of the Carbonari and apparitions of the devil far exceed the bounds of the permissible, and cannot fail to have a most pernicious effect on youthful minds.*

These tales of Bresciani's—which wise educators would carefully keep out of the way of their pupils—were greatly esteemed at Feldkirch. Not only were they to be found in our library, but some of the masters read portions of them aloud to us during our lesson hours. In the fifth and sixth forms (corresponding to the Lower and Upper

* Bresciani's most important works were two historical novels, *The Jew of Verona* and *Glimpses of the Roman Republic, or the Voluntary Exiles and Lionello*. They were first published in the official Jesuit journal, *Civiltà Cattolica*, and afterwards republished for the benefit of the Catholic world in cheap editions in a variety of languages. The German edition of this book contains a long extract from a German translation of one of these sensational novels.

Second of the Gymnasium) my teacher of religion was Father van Aaken, afterwards General Prefect, and one of our most respected masters. It was his custom to read aloud to us in the last lesson before the holidays, and frequently he selected for the purpose chapters from Bresciani's novels. This preference for Bresciani on the part of the teacher of religion and apologetics was, as I have since realised, not without motive. These books had a value from the point of view of religious apologetics, since they revealed the cruelties and abominations of the foes of the Church.

I may add that, thanks to our teachers, we credited the most amazing tales about freemasons, and stories *à la* Bresciani, emanating from the *Patres*, were current among us.

The prefect of the infirmary was an old Frenchman, Father Dumont. How many a time did he entertain the sick boys, in his broken German, with the "devilries" of the freemasons. He had, as he assured us, known a French colonel who, when a freemason, carried about with him a consecrated host in a little box, which, in accordance with the ordinance of freemasonry, he bespat and pricked every day with a needle. The colonel himself had told him this. "*Que le diable les emportent!*" was the epilogue to his gruesome freemason stories.

It was a natural result of the spirit imbibed at Feldkirch from these Bresciani tales that a Jesuit, Father Hermann Gruber, who had been my fellow-pupil at Feldkirch and thence entered the Order, should have translated from the French Léon Taxil's works on freemasonry, and so made this mass of obscenity and absurdity accessible to the people of Germany.*

Even witchcraft and magic were formerly recognised

* Cf. my book, *Das Papsttum in seiner sozial-kulturellen Wirksamkeit*, I⁵, pp. 343-379.

in Jesuit establishments. Among the Jesuit documents of the Munich State archives there are detailed "ordinances for the procedure against pupils who are suspected of witchcraft and magic." For instance: "In order to get at the truth, no punishments other than the customary ones must be resorted to in our schools, nor must there be any threat of torture or any other severe penalty except for those on whom grave suspicion rests. [For these, apparently, torture chambers were appointed!] Those who insist firmly on their innocence are to be most carefully watched to see how they conduct themselves, and with whom they hold intercourse."*

These documents, which, after all, form a part of the Jesuit schemes of instruction and education, are carefully omitted by Pachtler and Duhr from their "complete" collection of documents concerning Jesuit schools, published in the *Monumenta Germaniae paedagogica* (Vols. 2, 4, 5, 9, 16).

I have purposely dwelt at some length on this point. For my aim was to destroy the legend that the Jesuit Order was a foe to superstition and religious phantasmagoria. If we say "promoter" instead, that would be nearer the mark. Jesuit literature of all ages and all kinds abounds in the follies and abortions of perverted religious imagination.

The general atmosphere of Feldkirch was one of outward order and discipline, but in some respects there was a remarkable lack of control.

We boys were allowed, unproved and unpunished, to indulge our appetites in the most extraordinary fashion. This was particularly the case with the morning coffee, and the pancakes with apple sauce which were served twice a week at supper. The amount of "mocha" and

* J. Friedrich, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens*, Munich, 1881, p. 85.

bread, pancake and apple sauce we contrived to devour is beyond description. Bets in chocolate were taken as to who would consume the largest quantity. And these *tours de force* were accomplished with the cognisance and in the presence of the supervising prefects, even the General Prefect, who presided in the refectory during meals. Among the achievements noted were eighteen large pancakes with the corresponding amount of apple sauce, and some of the mocha-drinkers got as far as nine large cups. There was, indeed, no attempt to induce self-control or decency in eating. On the other hand, we were often exhorted to refrain from food in honour of Mary or one of the saints. False asceticism was kept in view, but not decency.

Another objectionable practice that occurred in the refectory took place on Saturdays, when the dinner napkins were changed. Then the dirty ones flew all over the room, and would remain hanging on picture frames or curtain rods till the waiters fetched them down with ladders. Or else they were twisted and knotted and used for hitting neighbours at table. This practice was at its height under the prefectship of Fathers Faller and Schweden. Their successors, Pottgeisser and van Aaken, took measures to stop it. But the inordinate consumption of mocha, pancakes and apple sauce continued as before.

An excellent institution was the compulsory games, in which everyone had to participate. And the games themselves were for the most part unobjectionable. They were football, racquets, prisoner's base and a sort of football on stilts, which was not without a dangerous element, as injuries to the legs were not infrequent through striking the ball with the heavy stilt.

But incomprehensible from the educational point of view was a game, running the gauntlet, introduced by the General Prefect, Pottgeisser. For this purpose pieces of

The Jesuit System of Education 157

heavy cloth were specially provided, with which the pupils, ranged in a double row, mercilessly struck at the pupil whose turn it was to run. Unpopular boys received a severe beating. This game was a direct challenge to vent spite and dislike in a coarse and brutal fashion. It was afterwards abolished.

Before dealing with the chief educational instrument of the Order, the cultivation and expression of piety, I must touch on a question of the greatest importance for the purity of the system, particularly on its religious side. Do Jesuits seek to induce their pupils to enter the Order?

It would be strange indeed if, with its robust and unscrupulous egotism, the Order were to neglect this excellent opportunity. And, indeed, it uses it to the full.

In the first place, the schools of the Jesuits are the nurseries of their own novitiate houses. Hundreds of boys pass from one to the other. In my novitiate days there were at least ten other Feldkirch boys among my comrades. And this is what happens every year.

But apart from the fact, we have to consider the system. Rule 6 of the General Rules for the Teachers of the Lower Grades runs :—

“In private talk, too, he should insist on religious practices, but in such a way as not to appear to entice any into our Order. Where he finds an inclination towards it, he should refer the boy to his confessor.”

That seems innocent enough, but two points must not be overlooked. Firstly, the confessor to whom the Jesuit teacher is to refer the pupil who shows an inclination to enter the Order is a Jesuit too. Though the teacher must not “entice,” the rule does not say what the confessor may do, nor, above all, what he does. Secondly, even the teacher is not actually forbidden to entice the pupil. He

must only not appear to entice him (*nullum . . . videatur allicere*). We may be sure the words were carefully chosen.

I do not blame the Jesuits for their propaganda, but only for wording the rule in such a fashion that, while professing with noble disregard of self to refrain from proselytising, its inner meaning permits its regular and energetic pursuit among the boys entrusted to the Order for purely educational purposes.

Cornova candidly admits the proselytising:—

“The Jesuits as teachers of Rhetoric and Philosophy also made a special boast of promoting to the Society capable pupils . . . yet such failures [referring to the admission of unsuitable material] were not so frequent but that in every levy of new recruits [from the public schools conducted by the Jesuits to the novitiate of the Order] by far the greater number had good abilities. Even the enemies of the Order admit the excellence of the selection; indeed, it is one of their grounds of complaint that the Society takes away the best brains from the State service.”*

Of the particular kind of proselytising known as “Choice of Vocation,” I shall speak later.

Of course, piety plays a great part in Jesuit education. The *Ratio Studiorum* itself does not go beyond general commonplaces, and it is only in the daily life of the educational establishments that we find it used as a means of education.

The pious exercises of the Jesuits are of two kinds—those that are common to all Catholic Ultramontanes, and those peculiar to the Jesuits. To the former belong morning and evening prayers, grace at meals, mass, sermons, vespers, benediction, communion. To the latter annual exercises, May devotions, and, above all, congregations.

* Cornova, *Die Jesuiten als Gymnasiallehrer*, Prague, 1804, pp. 21, 24.

Even the pious observances of the ordinary Ultramontane Catholic bear a Jesuitical impress, for they lack the voluntary element which alone gives them value. Besides being compulsory they are surrounded by such a mass of adjuncts as to suggest a theatre rather than a church, and a craving for spectacles and sensation rather than real inward edification.

I have already spoken of compulsory confession and the supervision exercised over it. Closely connected is compulsory Communion, which is equally reprehensible, since the real union of the soul with Christ, which, according to Catholic doctrine, takes place in the Communion, ought to be the outcome of the most intimate longing of the heart. The daily Mass, too, is compulsory, so that the three fundamental practices of Catholic piety—Mass, Communion and Confession—are the compulsory habits of a Jesuit pupil, observed from no inward need, but as a matter of routine and rule. Obviously this must diminish the ethical value of individual piety and its intimate character. Other compulsory practices are morning and evening prayer, grace at meals, vespers, and benediction, a service held before the exposed sacrament.

But how is it possible in an educational establishment to dispense with such compulsion? It ought to be possible, since religion and piety are not needs that can be satisfied by large numbers in common and according to the clock, like lessons, eating, drinking, sleeping. An educational system which recognises the true nature of religion and piety should be content to offer scholars the opportunity of taking part in them, without setting "Thou shalt" in front of each of these pious practices.

Individual piety has, in fact, no place in Jesuit schools; every thing and person is cast in the same mould; at the sound of the bell they must pray in set, prescribed prayers; the sound of the bell sends them into church or dismisses

them again. Except at these times, they are forbidden to enter church or chapel, although, according to Catholic doctrine, God and Christ are actually there in the flesh; and surely a pious individual would sometimes feel the desire to visit and greet Him there.

Another aspect of Jesuit piety which has its dubious side is the pomp of the services and all that pertains to them. There is a sickly sweetness about the whole, and a lack of robustness. The music supplied by the pupils' choir—of which I was a member—was a styleless mixture of French, Italian and German compositions, with a predominance of the operatic element. The regular masses were unobjectionable, although here, too, a strange medley of styles prevailed, ranging from Palestrina to Nickes, a new composer. But the chants and hymns were of a different character, for here the shallow compositions of the Jesuit, von Doss, played the chief part.

The decoration of the chapels and altars was showy, tasteless and tawdry. The statues or altar pictures of the Madonna and saints in the class-rooms were of the most insipid character, mere anæmic dolls' faces. A flood of light from candles, artistically grouped, shone from the altars at special High Masses and Benedictions, and the effect on our piety was to make us ask one another after service how many candles each had counted; and if the results of the various calculations at the morning service did not tally, the counting was renewed in the afternoon.

At Christmas a crèche was erected in front of the high altar in the chief chapel, with life-size figures effectively illuminated by reflectors. As a theatrical representation, with its camels, Moors, sheep, shepherds and kings, it was an effective show-piece, but scarcely calculated to evoke true piety. Even the Most Venerable, the Host exposed in the golden monstrance for adoration, "Christ present in divinity and humanity, in flesh and blood," was

The Jesuit System of Education 161

not spared the illumination and the reflectors—a practice which even then was repugnant to me, as seeming to degrade the chief mystery of religion into an effect of illumination. This theatrical effect must surely have hindered genuinely pious emotions in many a soul.

Even more theatrical and objectionable is the whole business of the acolytes. They are the lay assistants of the priest at the altar, and it is considered a privilege to be admitted among the number. On solemn occasions we were dressed in red or blue robes with shoes and caps of the same colour, and at a signal from the chief acolyte, had to form artistic groups in front of the altar, swinging silver censers and wielding tapers. Vanity and love of display were concealed under the red, blue and silver garb, and there was a material side to the office, as the acolytes were treated on certain occasions to afternoon coffee with wine, cake and fruit.

The May Meditations, too, which as a Marian institution are closely connected with the Congregations, bear marks of an unhealthy piety.

May is the Month of Mary—at any rate in Jesuit institutions, and Marian services with song and sermon are held there every evening. In Feldkirch it was also customary to place in front of the specially adorned image of the Madonna in the class-room a little basket, in which the pupils put folded papers, on which they had entered the virtuous practices which each intended to perform, “out of love for Mary.” These *flores mariani* or *majici* (Flowers of Mary or May) were read aloud for the general edification, with the omission of the names, an educational measure which tended mainly to stimulate ambition and foster untruthfulness. How flattering to the vanity to hear our own acts of virtue recited, even though the name be omitted! How easy it becomes to practise virtues by merely writing them down! My prefect in the second

division, Father Filling, gave special solemnity to the reading of the virtuous practices by a preliminary address. But, if I remember rightly, he never took as his text Christ's exhortation, "Take heed that ye do not your alms before men to be seen of them."

Among the specifically Jesuitical observances the Spiritual Exercises and the Congregations take first rank.

Of the Spiritual Exercises, which originated with Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Order, I must treat later. I will now only indicate briefly the effect they had on us as pupils.

These Exercises were held every year, soon after the beginning of the session (end of October), and lasted for three days. They were to lay the religious foundation of the school-year, and to imbue us with the spirit of Jesuit education.

Four addresses were given every day. Silence, even during the hours of recreation, though not compulsory, was "regarded favourably," and observed by most of us. Whether lessons were also omitted I can no longer be certain. The whole proceedings culminated in a General Confession, extending over the whole of our lives or a definite period. The addresses were concerned with what were called the "Eternal Truths" and "Last Things," such as Death, the Judgment, Hell and Heaven, as well as Sin, Penance, Confession and the duties of our station.

If the disturbance of the childish spirit by the haunting dread of death, the judgment, hell, and the devil may be described as a good effect of religion, the Exercises were successful to the extent of producing strong, nervous excitement among the pupils, which often manifested itself in a condition of terror. But those who do not hold this unhealthy conception of piety can but condemn the Exercises and the manner in which they are conducted as unsuitable and even injurious for children. ¶

The Jesuit System of Education 163

It was particularly unfortunate that these addresses were given by old missionaries, Jesuits who for many years had been accustomed to belabour hardened sinners, drunkards, and libertines, with the strongest and most drastic preaching methods, and to drive terror into their souls. It was all but impossible for such a Director of Exercises to adapt his tone and manner to the spiritual and mental vibrations of innocent boys. We learnt to shudder, but not to lift our souls upward to the serene heights of simple, natural piety. Here, too, the Jesuitical straining after effect, and the external accompaniments of piety, played their part. The discourses on the Last Things, Death, the Judgment, Hell, were given in the dim evening light in the scantily lighted chapel. It was natural that fear should seize on our souls.

The conclusion and goal of the Exercises was the General Confession. Our souls had been worked upon and stirred to their very depths. Things long past and long forgotten confronted us threateningly. In torturing anxiety, a boy would search through the years since his first confession, and even earlier. Did his soul and conscience then find peace in the confessional? In most cases surely not. For a short time after the confession an outward calm came over him. Then he was again possessed by the painful impression which could not fail to spring from the raking up of past sins and transgressions, and goading of the soul by the Exercises. "Did I really confess all my sins?" "Did I give their number quite accurately?" "Did I feel genuine repentance?" Such and similar questions did the Exercises raise in the childish soul, to the exclusion of peace and calm.

It is usual to speak only of "Marian" Congregations, but in Jesuit establishments there are two other kinds, introductory to the Marian—the Congregations of the

Guardian Angels and of St. Aloysius. Their scope and arrangement are modelled on the Marian Congregations, but they are of far less importance. They are intended for the juniors and youngest children; only the seniors, the pupils of the first division, who are on the eve of their departure, take part in Marian Congregations, which alone are official, confirmed by the Popes, richly provided with indulgences and privileges, and extending to all classes and professions.

The significance of the Marian Congregations for Jesuit influence is considerable. What the Third Order of St. Dominic and St. Francis signifies for Dominicans and Franciscans,* the extension of their influence among the laity, this and much more even is effected for the Jesuit Order by the Marian Congregations. I deal with them here in detail, because they are not merely intended for the young people brought up in Jesuit establishments, but have been developed by the Order into a universal educational means for all Catholics, male and female, throughout the world. In all towns and countries there are Congregations for maids and mothers, men and women, school-boys and school-girls, merchants and labourers, noble and simple, learned and unlearned.

The founders of the Marian Congregations were two Jesuits, Sebastian Cabarassi and John Leon, teachers in the College at Syracuse and afterwards at Rome, who in 1560-63 formed a community of their pupils "for the special adoration of the Holy Virgin."

"Besides his own young pupils at the Roman College, youths from other classes soon gathered round Leon, and in 1563 he was able to give a definite form and status to a community of seventy members. It passed now beyond the walls of the college and into the public church, where

* Dominicans and Franciscans have three classes of orders. To the first belong the monks, to the second the nuns, to the third laymen and laywomen, who are associated with these Orders under certain conditions.

it held solemn entry and took the name ' Congregation of the most blessed Virgin Mary, with the designation of the Annunciation.' ”*

I do not for a moment doubt that the aim of the founders, Cabarassi and Leon, was simply to lead their pupils to a pure, moral life under the pious protection of the Virgin, on the basis of their own religious conceptions ; and that they had no far-reaching plans for transforming the Congregation into a comprehensive instrument to further Jesuit aspirations for rule.

But behind and above them stood on a higher outlook-post the central government of the Order. It instantly grasped the immense value which this innocent religious foundation might have in spreading the influence of the Order, if it could be transformed, with enlarged statutes, into an organisation officially confirmed by the Church and favoured by the Pope. This became the conscious aim, and it was accomplished.

On the 5th of December, 1584, Gregory XIII. confirmed the Marian Congregation at Rome by the bull *Omnipotentis Dei*, gave it a canonical status, and designated it as the " First and Mother Congregation " (*Prima Primaria*) of all future congregations to be founded throughout the Catholic world. The example of Gregory was followed by Sixtus V., Clement VIII., Gregory XV., Benedict XIV., who conferred a store of indulgences and privileges on the Marian Congregations.

" As the child Moses from his cradle of rushes developed into the people of God, so the troop of happy lads from the Roman schoolroom marched forth into a thousand colleges, universities, ministries, courts of law, armies, cottages, and palaces, to the thrones of the world and the apostolic chairs of the Church. Once more God had elected the weak

* Löffler, S.J., *Zur Jubelfeier der marianischen Kongregationen*, 5 Dez., 1584—5 Dez., 1884. From *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, Freiburg i. Br., 1884, p. 8.

to initiate great changes in the life of mankind. From the Roman spring flowed a new stream of life, which poured its waters with marvellous speed over all the lands when its first silver drops had refreshed a few tender blades.”*

In the whole of this wordy eulogium, so characteristic of Löffler's style, the only true statement is that the Congregations quickly girdled the world, and took possession of universities, ministries, courts of law, armies, and thrones. But it was not a troop of happy lads and children who spread the net and achieved conquests of such political and religious value. The motive power was the dominant, calculating spirit of the Jesuit Order, which here, as elsewhere, made the Papacy serve its own ends, concealing itself cleverly behind the “Vicar of Christ” and the Church, with their enormous authority, though really bringing them into the field for its own sake.

The third Order of the Franciscans and Dominicans originated in an awkward and cumbrous attempt to maintain, in the midst of a lay world, the influence of a monastic system still moving on medieval lines. The “up-to-date” Jesuit Order created in the Marian Congregations a marvellously pliable implement, which could be adapted to all circumstances, supplying it with the key to every home and carrying its spirit into all offices and positions. The Jesuits reject the notion of a “second” or “third” order; the Order insists that it stands alone, and has no connected or affiliated organisation; it declares proudly:

“The block of granite, the law of whose nature says ‘Thus or not at all,’ cannot be worked into a subordinate shape. An army corps, whose ranks must be closed like iron for the energy of its actions, and which yet must

* Löffler, p. 9.

play the part of a light flying column like the riders of the desert, must neither let itself be dissipated nor surrounded with unwieldy masses."

All this is true only according to the letter and the outward appearance. In truth and reality the Marian Congregations are affiliations and secondary formations, a second and third order, or whatever name we may give to the arm which, while organically connected with the Order, yet extends into all the affairs of social, civic, economic, industrial, and political life.

"For the purpose common to all, by the same law of organisation, and directed by the same guiding hand (that of the Jesuit Order), there were quickly established congregations among all classes, of the higher and lower clergy, the nobility, the official class, military, artistic, mercantile, middle class, artisans, sailors, fishermen, apprentices, servants, etc. The Tassos and Lambertinis, Fénelons and Bossuets, Lipsius and Rubens, Visconti and Farnese, Tilly and Turenne, Oliers and Eudes, Leopold and Juan of Austria, Emanuel of Savoy, and Sigismond of Sweden, Archdukes of Austria and Dukes of Bavaria, Cardinals of the Holy Church, as well as nuncios, bishops, and prelates, the Lord of the Holy Roman Empire, as well as its electors, margraves, and barons, piety and genius, the majesties of the throne and the glory of war, the forces of science and art and the horny hands of toil and labour, the children in and out of school, the powers of land and sea, the races of the rising and setting sun, of noonday and midnight—all were united under a single flag, a single law, a single name, in communities, conducted by a simple member of the Order."†

The "simple member of the Order" is in reality the Jesuit Order itself, which in Löffler's words claims to be "the ultimate aim of the Congregations."

* Löffler, p. 12.

† *Ibid.*, p. 38.

“Reform of all classes and thus of the world,” he writes; and elsewhere, “The aim in establishing the Congregation was to collect its members into an army which would range over every side of social life, which from the countless centres where it had been trained and where it could always seek for new strength, under their direction and impulse, could wisely and impressively pursue the Christian reformation of the separate social groups.”*

Reformation, of course, on the lines of Roman Ultramontane universal dominion. How far-reaching was this attempt at reform, even on secular domains, we may learn from Löffler:—

“In Seville a congregation of lawyers undertook to reform the whole legal code.”†

Not only in Seville, but in Germany, too, there is a “Catholic Lawyer’s Union,” and its members are for the most part Congreganists.

Some idea of the diffusion of the Congregations may be obtained from the numbers quoted by Löffler. At the time of the Suppression of the Order there were Congregations in over a hundred German towns, and in the individual towns as many as three to eight “Marian sodalities.” “In twenty towns the number of the Congreganists far exceeded 60,000, of whom 36,000 belonged to the higher or learned classes, 18,000 to the married middle class, 6,000 bachelors, 4,000 students. To the three German provinces of the Order (Upper German, Upper Rhine, Lower Rhine) belonged at least 400,000, to Germany and Austria at least a million men and youths.”‡ When the Order was restored in 1814 the Congregations were also resuscitated.

Further on Löffler writes: “We have seen them in

* Löffler, S.J., pp. 14 and 17. † *Ibid.*, p. 50.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 39 *et seq.*

our own Germany, and they have been allowed to show themselves flourishing their lists of names and works, all down the Rhine into Westphalia and southward into Swabia and Bavaria. In each town from three to six Congregations were established for men, young merchants, young artisans, apprentices, university men, technical students, and schoolboys. When the modern struggle with Rome, after an interval of scarcely twenty years, forcibly broke up the establishments of the Society of Jesus in Germany, a priesthood, zealous for the welfare of souls, grasped the abandoned rudder of the Congregations, and continued to steer it with equal skill and blessing. . . . The Society of Jesus rejoices at seeing the Congregations in the strong and capable hands of the German priesthood, which has acquitted itself so gloriously.”*

But these hands are so strong and capable because they are the hands of the mighty Jesuit organisation. For, as Löffler himself says :—

“ We find their main features sketched in the bulls of the Popes, especially of Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V. They assign the Congregations constitutionally to the chief direction of the general of the Society of Jesus for the time being, and give him plenary powers, and the duty of framing laws suited to conditions of time and place. . . . The Congregation is anchored to the apostolic Order of the Society of Jesus, and its Head has also been appointed by the See of Rome to be the legislative head of all the Marian Congregations.”†

Thus a Jesuit himself, for many years a leader of Congregations, and speaking with knowledge, expressly asserts the dependence of all Marian Congregations on the “ apostolic Order of the Society of Jesus.” He uses

* Löffler, S.J., pp. 42 *et seq.*

† *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 11.

the terms "anchored" and "legislative head"; and it is important to notice that Löffler, in writing thus in 1884, had in his eyes the Congregations in Germany, which on account of the expulsion of the Jesuit Order were indeed outwardly under the direction of the German priesthood, "which has acquitted itself so gloriously." And in spite of this outward non-Jesuit direction, they are anchored to the Order and legally subject to it. Surely, then, there must be an indissoluble organic connection between the Congregations and the Society of Jesus. It is significant, too, that Löffler's view was published in the official Jesuit journal, *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, and for a special occasion, the tercentenary of the Congregations.

In the dispute as to the relation between the Congregation and the Jesuits, an attempt has been made to discredit as mere rhetorical panegyrics Löffler's statements as to the permanent dependence of the Congregations on the Society of Jesus. In particular the leader of the Centre, A. Bachem, speaking in the Prussian Lower House, emphasised the "Jubilee and festival character of the pamphlet." An original idea, surely, that a "festival document" may in rhetorical garb publish gross untruths. Nor is this excuse seriously meant; it is only invented as a way out of the difficulty. One of his brother members, Joseph Martin, in 1898—fourteen years later than Löffler—wrote a "presidential handbook of the Marian Congregations," which is neither a panegyric nor a festival pamphlet, but only a sober exposition of the nature and organisation of the Congregations. Yet we read:—

"Benedict XIV. in the Constitution *Laudabile Romanorum Pontificum* of the 15th of February, 1758, insisted that 'The Congreganists never had the right to draw up, prescribe, or publish decrees, statutes, rules, or constitutions, but that this right belonged solely to the General of the Society of Jesus, who could alter them according to his

pleasure, even without consultation with the Congreganists or their consent, and they must submit unconditionally to him and to the president appointed by him in all that concerns the direction of the Congregation. When the Bishop has approved and given his consent a request must be addressed to the R. P. General [of the Jesuits] to establish the Congregation and affiliate it [to the head Congregation in Rome]. The President of the Congregation is subject only to the highest direction of the General of the Society of Jesus for the time being, and he has the power, and it is his duty, in accordance with conditions of time and place, to make, alter, and repeal laws.”*

It appears, then, that the sober Martin says exactly the same as the rhetorical Löffler. And Martin's assertions are especially worthy of consideration, because, as the Introduction states, they are based on the “written instructions of the late General of the Order, A. M. Anderledy,” and were published with the express sanction of the Provincial of the German province (dated from Exaeten, the 25th of December, 1897).

My own experience of fourteen years within the Order confirms the statements of Löffler and Martin. The legal dependence of all Congregations on the Jesuit Order was taken as a matter about which there could be no doubt.

A personal experience may here be quoted. At one of the Cologne gymnasia the teacher of religion put some difficulties in the way of the Congregation. As it was a Marian Congregation which was in question, some of the pupils turned instinctively to the Jesuit College at Exaeten, and as Father Jacob Föh, at that time vice-Rector, showed no hesitation in regarding the matter as within his competence as a Jesuit Superior, he must have been secure of the consent of the Provincial. In the end he sent me to

* Martin, *Präses-Büchlein der marianischen Kongregationen*, Ravenburg, 1898, pp. 11, et seq. 34, 39.

Cologne to arrange matters with the religious teacher. This shows that Congregations, even when directed by secular priests, are anchored to the Jesuit Order, which is and remains their legislative head.

In the year 1904, when the unaccountable permit of the Prussian Education Minister, Studt, restored the right of gymnasium pupils to take part in Marian Congregations, and a public discussion arose as to the connection between the Jesuit Order and the Congregations, the Ultramontane press and parliamentary leaders in the two Prussian Houses succeeded in wiping out the intimate connection between "Mother and Child," an expression which frequently occurs in Löffler. They were assisted by the unfortunate ignorance of the non-Ultramontane press and speakers. Above all, Kopp, the Cardinal and Prince-Bishop of Breslau, contrived in his speech in the Upper House on the 11th of May, 1904, to "prove" that the Congregations were entirely under the direction of the diocesan bishops, and not of the General of the Jesuit Order. The *pièce de résistance* of Kopp's speech was a quotation from the Jesuit General himself, which culminated in this statement:—

"The General of the Society of Jesus has not in his hands the direction of the Marian Congregations. As a matter of fact, they are not under his direction, nor in any way under the control of the Society of Jesus. This is a tribute to truth and should set men's minds at rest (Rome, 13th of April, 1904, Luiz Martin, General of the Society of Jesus)."*

This, of course, settled the matter, and men's minds were at rest. The world witnessed the piquant, if not pleasing, spectacle of an agreement between the Spanish Jesuit General and the Prussian Minister of Education as to the non-Jesuit character of the Marian Congregations,

* *Germania*, May 17, 1904.

an agreement announced to the Prussian Upper House by a Romish cardinal.

To this episode I must add a short but sharp epilogue, an *epilogus galeatus*. Rarely can a document have lied more shamelessly than the statement of the Jesuit General read by Kopp to the Upper House. And yet "lie" is not the right word. The moral theology of the Jesuit Order distinguishes sharply between a lie and *restrictio mentalis*. Untruth—lie? No—never! A "mental restriction," of course.

The statement by Martin, which Kopp, with or without knowing its true character, helped to spread, is nothing else than an untruth built up on mental restriction. It is only necessary to understand in their right sense the words used in the statement, "direction," "control," "as a matter of fact," "in his hands"—*i.e.* to complete them by mental additions, and the result is the absolute truth. The Marian Congregations, as a matter of fact, are often not under the outward direction of Jesuits, but actually their internal direction is, and remains subject to the General of the Order.

A weighty accusation. But, in view of the Papal bulls concerning the Marian Congregations, and all the documents emanating from the Order itself which treat of Congregations, such as the writings of Löffler and Martin, as well as the consciousness prevailing in the Order itself, the accusation is inevitable. Nor is it a serious one, regarded from the Ultramontane and Jesuit ethical standpoint, for this plainly teaches that mental restriction is permissible.

It may be, however, that the Jesuit General in the wording of his statement made use not of "mental restriction," but of another no less effectual and interesting expedient. His immediate predecessor, General Antonius Maria Anderledy, had shown the way. The historian of

the German Province, Father Joseph Esseiva, is my authority for what follows :—

When Anderledy was Superior of the newly founded Jesuit settlement at Cologne, in the beginning of the fifties, he got into difficulties with the authorities when it became known that at the Residence, as the settlements are designated, besides the direction of souls, arrangements were made for instructing the Jesuit scholastics in philosophy and theology. Now the Prussian law only permits private schools if sanctioned by the State. Anderledy, being summoned by the Government representative, categorically denied the existence of any such school, and spoke quite truthfully in so doing. For while speaking he, as Superior, formed the mental resolution that the school should cease to exist. To this tale Father Esseiva added the admiring comment, "*Quanta animi praesentia!*" His admiration was the more justified since, at the end of his interview with the official, Anderledy formed the opposite mental resolution that the school should be re-established.

An achievement possible to a simple Superior of a Residence could undoubtedly be accomplished by Martin as General; and it may be that while making his statement he, by a mental resolution, abolished the Jesuit direction of the Congregations, intending, as soon as the statement had effected its purpose, to restore it by a fresh mental resolution.

At the head of each Congregation is a board of direction, composed of the Prefect, two assistants, several consultants, according to the number of the Congreganists, and a secretary. The prefect and assistants are chosen by the Congreganists themselves, the consultants and secretary by the prefect and assistants. The actual direction of the Congregation is in the hands of the priestly president, without whose consent even the magisterial elections by the Congreganists are not valid. Löffler

The Jesuit System of Education 175

excellently characterises the hidden but comprehensive power of the President:—

“The priestly director, the President, who appears to keep in the background away from the public life and activity, with wise moderation leaves to the board of direction the external representation of authority and scope for happy initiative. For himself he keeps the right and duty, if necessary, to supply the impulse and direction, and in any case the weight, value, and sanction.”*

Every week the Congregation meets in some church or chapel for religious observances, such as sermon, song, and rosary. These gatherings, being of a religious character, ought of course to be attended voluntarily, yet even here there is supervision. The names of absent members are entered in a book or slate. And a Congreganist who leaves home is supposed to acquaint the President.†

The chief aim of a Congregation is “to lead a pure and pious life, by the special adoration of the Virgin.” But far beyond this scope is the solemn vow which every Congreganist must swear by God and the gospel (*voveo ac juro, sic me Deus adjuvet et haec sancta Dei evangelia*), after reciting the Trent-Vatican creed:—

“I condemn, reject, and abhor all heresies which are condemned, rejected, and abhorred by the Church. I will see to it that the true Catholic Faith, without which no one can be saved, is maintained, taught, and proclaimed by my dependents, or anyone over whom my official capacity gives me the charge.”

When we remember that this oath, with its expressed hatred of heresy and its proselytising aim for the “true Catholic Faith, without which no one can be saved,” is uttered even by childish lips and afterwards repeated by

* Löffler, S.J., *Zur Jubelfeier der marianischen Kongregationen*, 5 Dez., 1884—5 Dez., 1884. From *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, Freiburg i. Br., 1884, p. 11.

† J. Frey, S.J., *Der gute Kongreganist*, pp. 22, 24.

youths and men of all classes and professions, it is easy to realise the impassable gulf between Congreganists and non-Catholic creeds, and to grasp the fact that the Congregations, with their extensive diffusion, form the greatest of all hindrances to religious peace. In fact, as the General Claudius Acquaviva expressed it, they form "a well-equipped army, to march against the many daring foes of salvation."*

Löffler openly names these "foes to salvation," and describes the constitution of the Marian army:—

"Furious battles raged around the cradle of the Marian Congregations. Heresy, the old storming column in the first ranks of hell, once more made the fiercest onset against the Blessed Virgin, as was done yesterday and before by its fathers, the Ebionites, Docetes, Gnostics, Manicheans, Albigenses, and Waldensians, Hussites, and Wycliffites, the whole immortal offspring of the serpent. Sprung from noble martial blood, the troop of young volunteers in 1564 rallied round the ancient standard of the Virgin. . . . They joined the old regiments, their heads bound with the blessing of Jacob on Benjamin: 'Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf; in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil.' This was the prophecy of the Congregations. That is why martial sounds still float around the altar, where the Congreganist dedicates himself to his Queen. On his lips lies the soldier's oath."†

To return to the Congregations in the Jesuit schools. They are intended to have an educational purpose. What is its character?

Rule 23 for the Rector in the *Ratio* prescribes:—

"He should endeavour to introduce the Congregation of the Annunciation from the Roman College into his

* Löffler, S.J., *Zur Jubelfeier der marianischen Kongregationen*, p. 18 *et seq.*

† *Ibid.*, p. 21.

own. Those who do not join it must be excluded from the Academy for literary exercises, except when the Rector himself should judge in the Lord that it is more expedient to act otherwise."

Though pious observances are only educational when voluntary, joining the Congregations, like other religious observances already mentioned, is compulsory. Those who do not join are excluded from the honourable position of Academy members. By this means a distinction is created between one pupil and another, which in daily practice leads to disgrace or honour. The Congreganists are pupils of the first rank, the non-Congreganists are of the second; in the eyes of their comrades a stain attaches to them. But why this compulsion to enter the Congregation, strengthened by the fear of disgrace? Is it because otherwise the pupil would not maintain and abide by the particular form of Marian worship which the Jesuits desire? Even ultramontane compulsion and Jesuit formalism would scarcely sanction this reason. No, the boy must enter the Congregation in order to become, as soon as possible, a member of the great army under the command of the Jesuit Order, whose soldiers and officers are to be found in all lands, in all stations, all professions, and whose mission is the reform of society according to a Jesuit ultramontane scheme.

At the same time the Congreganists constitute a supervising police force within the school.

Those who seek admission to the Congregation have to pass through a probationary period. It is the duty of the prefect, assistants, and consultants to watch the aspirant (or approband) during this period and acquaint the President with the result in regard to his conduct. But as nearly all pupils seek admission, since none wishes to be degraded, the system of supervision instituted by the Congregation extends to nearly the whole school.

I myself was first assistant and deputy-prefect in the Congregation of the First Division, and am, therefore, in a position to know what happened, and I can assert that the meetings of the direction board presided over by the President, gave detailed consideration to the moral conduct of the Congreganists and the other pupils who desired admission.

I am quite ready to admit that our pious aspirations were satisfied by the Congregations with their numerous religious observances, and that they supplied us with incentives to virtue. But it was a misdirected, extravagant piety, unhealthy, effeminate, sentimental. It was an adoration of Mary, out of all true relation to the place which the simple human Mother of God occupies in the Gospels. It was Marian mysticism and sensualism, such as unfortunately constitute an essential part of ultramontane, and especially Jesuit, Marian worship.

Thus we find Löffler extolling as exemplary the eccentric fruits of Congregational piety.

“We learn from history that among the sodalists (congreganists) Aloysius and Benedictus have once more come to life. To protect the angelic virtue of chastity, they refrain from drinking on Fridays, throw themselves into ice or thorn-bushes, sleep on straw, planks, stones, juniper twigs. . . . An admirer of his own beauty seeks an antidote by visiting the churchyard, and taking skulls and bones from the mortuary, kisses them, and then scourges himself till the blood comes. In the merry carnival days the students of Ingolstadt organise a procession; they enter all the churches and pass through all the streets headed by the cross, while their backs are lacerated by the scourge.”*

Such gross excrescences did not occur at Feldkirch, though there ascetic practices prevailed hardly consistent

* Löffler, S.J., *Zur Jubelfeier der marianischen Kongregationen*, 5 Dez., 1584—5 Dez., 1884. From *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, Freiburg i. Br., 1884, pp. 46, 49.

with healthy educational methods, even when these are based on religion. Instead of rising at five, we would get up at four "in honour of Mary"; in her honour we renounced the little relish of fruit or chocolate with our dry ten or four o'clock bread, went without gloves in the bitter cold of winter, or refrained from drawing the flaps of the caps over our ears; the President or Confessor dropped allusions to instruments of penance such as scourges and penitentiary girdles, "to mortify the unclean flesh," and the Congreganist of fourteen or fifteen, "in honour of Mary," at least expressed his yearning for such things, though it is not probable that this was satisfied.

One uniform trait manifested itself through the whole of the Marian congregational piety and discipline—the fear of breaking the Seventh Commandment. But this emphasising of sexual things is surely a grievous educational error.

I look back on my Congreganist years without remorse or shame. All I did then was done in the honest religious enthusiasm of a boy. And doubtless this was the case with most of the others. But if we subtract the subjective and relative value, the objective and absolute result is a complete lack of value for purposes of education and piety. Still it remains, and it cannot be sufficiently insisted that this is the real end of the Congregations, as a well-trained fanatical and eccentric auxiliary lay force of the Society of Jesus.

I cannot close my account of the Congregations without alluding to the Jesuit peculiarity which, while among the most prominent, is, from the Christian point of view, one of the most objectionable—its boastfulness, self-adulation, and concentrated pride.

To obtain the full impression of the conceit manifested in Löffler's treatise in commemoration of the Marian Congregations, it would be necessary to read the whole.

But a few passages may serve as samples. I have already quoted those in which he designates the Jesuit Order as a block of granite. Here is what follows :

“ It was in a fateful hour that God sent His Church a new auxiliary force in the Society of Jesus. . . . Everywhere the new weapons inflicted grievous wounds on heresy, protected and rescued existing property, and on the roads opened out by Columbus, Cortez, Vasco da Gama, won immense compensation in East, West, and South for great losses elsewhere. On the parent continent there arose, raised by the hands of kings and peoples, universities, colleges, and pulpits ; like its Divine Master, the Order had walked on the sea, expelled legions of devils, and called the dead to life, the people in their thousands harkened to it in the deserts and on the mountains of Asia, America, and in the streets and temples of Europe ; and within the peaceful walls of one of its colleges that sweet scene once witnessed by Judea was re-enacted. For the Society which inherited the work as well as the name of Christ laid a hand full of creative grace on the fair foreheads of children, and founded the first Congregation.”*

The parallel of the work of Christ with that of the Order is complete, and those who know the Catholic doctrine of the metaphysical divinity of Christ will be able to appreciate the arrogance with which it transcends the domain of humanity. Jesuit pride does not shrink even from the extremest position. As Christ, the Godhead, laid a hand of creative grace on the children, so the Jesuit Order lays its hand of creative grace on the Congreganists. Here, too, it is impossible to grasp the full meaning of the comparison without a comprehension of the Catholic dogma of the sublimity and divinity of “ creative grace.”

* Löffler, S.J., *Zur Jubelfeier der marianischen Kongregationen*, 5 Dez., 1884—5 Dez., 1884. From *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, Freiburg i. Br., 1884, p. 1.

The Jesuit System of Education 181

An excellent and faithful picture of Jesuit education, especially of the pious practices in which the pupils are trained and the compulsion and supervision which prevail in Jesuit schools, is afforded by the daily routine of one of these establishments, taken by Kluckhohn from a MS. in the Royal State Library of Bavaria.* I add a few extracts to conclude my own account of Jesuit education :

“ When all this has been done, he, or if several are present, all the pupils, kneel down before the little altar, or some devotional picture, and begin to recite the morning prayer aloud, not hastily, but every word clearly enunciated. After this they pray the *Angelus Domini*, because the angelus bell has sounded early, before they were awake. Next they pray the *Formulam votivam, Sancta Maria, Mater Dei et Virgo*, and finally the most profitable and estimable *Exercitium spirituale* of Pope Alexander VII., taken from the above-quoted *leges marianae*. . . . At the end of every study period he is to kneel down as before, and with outstretched hands, reiterate thanks to God. . . . Before he leaves the house he must sprinkle himself with holy water and make the sign of the Cross. On this account, whenever there are two doors to a class-room, it would be well if a vessel with holy water were placed near each, in order that this holy and profitable custom may never be neglected. . . . If the angelus bell should sound while he is on the way home, he should kneel down in the street, raise his hands and publicly and reverently recite the angelus prayer. After the *examen conscientiae* and the evening prayer, to which a quarter of an hour should be given, he should sprinkle himself and his bed with holy water, and undress quietly behind the curtain. . . . As soon as he lies down he should trace on his forehead the four letters,

* Kluckhohn, *Abhandlungen der historischen Klasse der kgl. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XIII., 3, 216-229.

J N R J, which signify *Jesus Nazarenus, rex Judaeorum*. And in similar fashion he may also write the holy names of Mary and Joseph. He should then hang round his neck a rosary, which should always be kept for this purpose in his bed along with a crucifix, in honour of the Mother of God, and then take the crucifix, kiss the five sacred wounds and keeping it in his hand, cross his arms on his breast and fall asleep with good thoughts in his mind. If he cannot at once go to sleep, he should not spend the time in foolish thoughts, but should pray for the suffering souls in purgatory, or meditate on death, the last judgment, his death-hour or hell. . . . Much less must he hold any converse with others when he lies in bed, for such talk drives away good thoughts and gives great satisfaction to the evil one, who desires nothing better. . . . It is customary, too, especially on Fridays, to inquire at school whether all the boys are provided with a holy rosary and breviary, and especially whether they wear an *Agnus Dei* round their necks. A pious student should not be content with having only a scapular, or a girdle of St. Francis or St. Monica to show, or an indulgence penny of St. Michael, for although it is laudable and right to wear such, yet all these sacred objects do not amount to an *Agnus Dei*, fashioned out of wax blessed by His pontifical Holiness, and a zealous student should be careful to wear this day and night on his neck or breast, if he desires to be delivered from countless dangers to soul and body. . . . A youth who studies in a Gymnasium of the Society of Jesus should have no other confessor than a member of the Society, therefore grievous suspicion falls on those boys who needlessly resort to other confessors, when they have opportunity enough to confess to their appointed confessors. . . . The best plan is for a boy, while still in the lowest class, to ask his spiritual father to prescribe how often he is to confess and communicate. The con-

The Jesuit System of Education 183

fession certificate should be handed by a pious student to his confessor after every confession. . . . If he confesses of his own accord, it pleases his Superiors if he hands in the certificate then too ; for on many accounts they desire to know how often a boy confesses, even when not compelled to do so. . . . If one boy or several living together in a house have a separate study, they cannot always be trusted, but it may be feared that, being separated from the others, they may not study much, but spend their time in idleness and play. It is necessary, therefore, that the parents or house-masters should occasionally inspect them. For this purpose a little hole may be bored in the door of the study and a nail let in from outside or a bolt placed there, so that it may be possible to look in from without but not outward from the inside.”*

That this Daily Routine actually reproduces the life of Jesuit schools is proved by a manuscript in the Bavarian archives written by a Jesuit, and also published by Kluckhohn, in which the writer reckons among the abuses in the institutions of his Order an excess of pious observances :

“ It had become the custom for the pupils to kneel down at the sound of the bell, in the middle of a lesson, and pray, either softly or aloud, while in former times the prayer at the beginning of school sufficed. The pupils were also bidden, whenever they repeated a lesson, gave an explanation or any other answer, to make the sign of the Cross, and say aloud : ‘ In the Name of God, ’ etc. Disputations were to begin with this question : ‘ How

* Duhr, in his previously quoted work, *Die Studienordnung der Gesellschaft Jesu*, p. 32, note, tries to remove the impression left by this Daily Routine by the assertion that it “ was not approved by the authorities.” There is no shadow of proof for such an assertion. Or would Duhr seriously maintain that because this Daily Routine was not printed it lacked the sanction of the authorities ? Must everything that each Jesuit notes down in writing, often only for his own private use, be put into print ?

must we begin ?' and the opponent answers : ' With the sign of the Cross, in the name of the Father,' etc. ' Have you your rosary ?' is the next question ; and a boy who is without one is reprimanded. Next follows a question from the Catechism, and only then do they proceed to the scholastic questions."*

The spirit of the Jesuit institutions to this day resembles that described in the Daily Routine.

CRITICISMS OF THE JESUIT SYSTEMS OF INSTRUCTION AND EDUCATION

In dealing with its own systems of instruction and education, the Jesuit Order has sounded the trumpet of praise so effectively that many a hostile wall has fallen before its challenge. Everything published on the subject by the Order itself shines with almost unalloyed brightness. In particular Pachtler and Duhr have piled up the eulogium of the Order, in the *Monumenta Germaniæ pædagogica* and in Duhr's pamphlet, "*Die Studienordnung der Gesellschaft Jesu.*"

To these deceptive descriptions I intend to oppose judgments which must be accounted of the first rank, and which have the greater weight because, for the most part, they have been uttered by warm friends of the Order. For surely we must count as such its own Provincials and General Superiors. The passages quoted are taken from letters by these high dignitaries of the Order, deposited in the Vienna Library. They throw a very gloomy light on the Jesuit educational system, a light which the Order has never drawn from its obscurity among the files of Viennese documents. It was left to Professor Johann Kelle, of Prague, to remove it from under the bushel.†

* *Die Jesuiten in Bayern.* Sybel's *historische Zeitschrift*, 1874, vol. 31, p. 398.

† Kelle, *Die Jesuitengymnasien in Oesterreich*, Munich, 1876.

The Jesuit System of Education 185

“I will touch on another point of no less importance, as it is my earnest desire that the zeal for knowledge should revive in our schools. Not a few complaints have reached us from various quarters of the diminution of this zeal; and this grieves me the more as our Constitutions recommend zeal in the promotion of knowledge, and this duty, peculiar to our Society, should be maintained in full vigour.”*

“In this (the study and teaching of Rhetoric) our teachers and scholars are severely criticised by persons outside our Order, either because the zeal for this excellent branch of knowledge is lacking, or at any rate diminishing, or because the wrong methods for teaching it are adopted.”†

“The Rectors of some of the boarding-schools do not take sufficient care and trouble in regard to the right training of youth in piety and knowledge. The same complaint is made, too, in regard to the teachers of the lower classes at very many of our settlements; reports reach us from these that no School Prefect is appointed, and in consequence there is no proper order or instruction.”‡

“The greater the dangers to which our schools are exposed at the present time, the more am I grieved by the almost universal complaint as to the small amount of care given to the promotion of knowledge in this province. No satisfactory account of the work of our members reaches us; there is no zeal for teaching or learning, the superintendents neglect this part of their duty completely. The result is that lectures and study are only carried on as a pretence, and all else which is required of us at the present day in the useful education of youth is shamefully neglected and left on one side, because the School Prefects despise it. If your Reverence cannot improve matters (and I implore you to do so), we shall be threatened by great dangers.”§

“Another point concerns the studies. Not only is the care

* Letter of the Provincial, Francis Retz, of Nov. 21st, 1724. Vienna Court Lib., Codex No. 12,029, p. 136.

† Letter of the Polish Provincial, of September 10th, 1741, V.C.L., Codex No. 12,025, p. 240.

‡ Letter of the Polish Provincial, of July 3rd, 1756, V.C.L., No. 12,025, p. 258.

§ Letter of the Polish Provincial, of June 29th, 1766, V.C.L., No. 12,025, p. 225b.

devoted to humanistic studies very inadequate in many cases, but it is not regarded with due respect, partly owing to the slackness and want of experience of the teachers, and partly through the idleness of the pupils, some of whom come to the schools solely with the contemptible intention of spending their lives begging through the streets, and so becoming a burden to the towns and bringing credit to nobody. At other places ignorant pupils, who, owing to the carelessness of the teachers of the lower classes, have made but little progress, are admitted to the higher classes through the personal liking and consideration of the teachers, with the only result of making a parade of their barbarous and ignorant Latin. All respect for more serious branches of knowledge is lost, because the best men are passed over, and those who are appointed as *magistri* and *doctores* are but little versed in such knowledge.”*

“Our Very Venerable Father demands from our professors greater zeal and industry in the instruction of the young people committed to our care. Many and just complaints are brought against us by persons outside the Order, that our schools and their professors have lost much of their original zeal in instructing youth in knowledge and piety, to such an extent, indeed, that many persons leave our schools with inferior knowledge and less virtue than when they entered. This is, for the most part, the fault of the Prefects of Studies, who give a superficial attention to their duties, and fail to inform their Superior of the neglect of the professors, being more concerned for the reputation of the individual than that of the whole Order.”†

“And if this industry is at all times necessary, it is even more so in our day, because the taste for knowledge has everywhere become sharper and keener, and the number of such schools [for external students] has increased so much that our schools appear less needed. For the fact cannot be hidden that, for a long time there were scarcely any Latin schools except ours—or, at any rate, so few that the parents were obliged against their will to send

* Letter of the General Charles de Noyelle, of March 27th, 1683, V.C.L., No. 12,029, p. 57.

† Letter of the Provincial, Ladislaus Zottowski, of September 14th, 1737, acquainting the Rector with the contents of a letter from the General Francis Retz, V.C.L., No. 16,620, p. 19.]

The Jesuit System of Education 187

their children to us. But now there are in many places many schools which rival ours, and there is a danger that they may be strengthened while the numbers in ours decrease and their reputation wanes.”*

“Our Very Venerable Father expresses his bitter grief at the fact that in various parts of our province the teachers of the higher, as well as of the lower classes, are so little suited for their positions.”†

“The teachers of the humanistic branches do not devote themselves with sufficient industry to these studies, and in particular they take no pains with Greek; indeed, there are among them those who, to the great satisfaction of non-Catholics, cannot even read Greek correctly.”‡

“In regard to studies our Father notes the lack of industry in the teachers, who, to the injury of our reputation for piety and knowledge, neglect to instruct the young people with suitable ardour.”§

“The laxity and indolence of some of the teachers in acquiring a knowledge of literature themselves, and imparting it to their pupils, often gives rise to well-founded complaints.”||

“Some remedy must be found for the neglect of the teachers in instructing the young people in knowledge and Christian habits. I am deeply grieved to hear that it is said in the Kingdom that the scholars of other Orders make far better progress than ours.”¶

“The teachers of the humanities are in some places very indolent and sleepy; they give the boys no effective direction in moral rectitude and outward modesty.”**

The complaint here made by the Provincials and Generals of the decay of humanistic studies touches an old

* Letter of the General Vicecomes, of July 22nd, 1752, V.C.L., No. 12,025, B. 44.

† Letter of the Polish Provincial, of June 27th, 1745, V.C.L., No. 12,025, B. 40.

‡ Letter of the Bohemian Provincial, Jac. Stessl, of July 8th, 1708, V.C.L., No. 12,029, p. 114.

§ Letter of the Polish Provincial, of September 15th, 1715, V.C.L., No. 12,025, p. 181.

|| Letter of the Bohemian Provincial, John Roller, of April 28th, 1740, V.C.L. No. 12,029, p. 179n.

¶ Letter of the Polish Provincial, of September 10th, 1741, V.C.L., No. 12,021, p. 239.

** Letter of the Bohemian Provincial of January 1st, 1770, V.C.L., No. 11,951, p. 82b.

fault of the Order. The very first draft of the *Ratio Studiorum* in 1586 contains this characteristic passage:—

“It is a general cause of lament that these [humanistic] studies have so largely fallen into decay among our members, so that nothing is rarer or harder to find than a good grammarian, rhetorician, or humanist.”*

And the base of all the trouble, the source of the many faults in instruction and education, is designated by the letters in the Vienna Library as the disgraceful lack of manners—or rather of morals—among the teachers themselves.

“It is a shameful thing to have to state in a letter that which every honourable man, and, above all, the member of an Order, is compelled by his conscience and reason to shun. But since this abuse has taken root in our province, that not a few persons are guilty of excess in drinking, this has given rise to blame and scandal outside the Order, to the great injury of our reputation, while the many solemn prohibitions and prescribed punishments have been of no avail.”†

“Feasts are celebrated in the sleeping apartments, at which secret drinking is rife among our members. . . . Also our members visit the houses of secular persons outside the permitted seasons, in order there to eat and drink, and not infrequently they return thence full of drink (*crapulati*).”‡

“These secret drinking bouts have become such a regular practice that scarcely one of our settlements is quite free from persons guilty of this vice.”§

It is not surprising that such letters bear the direction “Not for publication.” But the public, which is systematically and in the most crafty fashion deceived by

* *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 5, 144.

† Letter of the Polish Provincial, V.C.L., No. 12,025, p. 237.

‡ Letter of the Bohemian Provincial, Ferd. Waldthausen, of August 13th, 1702, V.C.L., No. 12,029, p. 99.

§ Letter of the Provincial, Reinhold Gertt, of September 15th, 1715, V.C.L., No. 13,620, p. 7.

The Jesuit System of Education 189

Jesuit writers as to the inner conditions of the Order, has a special interest in hearing these criticisms pronounced by men who certainly cannot be called foes to the Order.*

If we could search the secret archives of the other provinces we should find confessions similar to those here quoted in regard to the Austrian, Bohemian and Polish. A fortunate accident—the suppression of the Order in 1773—brought some of the archives of the Order into public collections at Vienna, Munich and other places. There are stored treasuries of truth in regard to the Jesuit Order and the true character of its nature and work. And they must be drawn forth from their hiding-place in order to refute the untruths of the Jesuit historians.

Nor should there be any delay. For Kelle has discovered that the Order is trying to do away with the accusatory documents of its own secret archives, which are now in the possession of the State. Others, too, have had a similar experience; Mommsen himself informed me that he was cognisant of attempts of the sort; and I myself heard Father Jacob Ratgeb, Provincial of the German Province, say that the documents seized by the Government on the suppression of the Society of Jesus, and stored in various libraries, were still the property of the Society, and their secret removal from the State archives and libraries and restoration to the Jesuit Order could not be regarded as an act of theft. Therefore, it behoves those who are in charge to be on their guard.

Another piece of evidence comes from the sixteenth century. One of the leading Jesuit schoolmen of that time was Jacob Pontan (Spanmüller). The estimation in which he was held may be judged from the fact that he

* Ebner has composed a whole book about these letters, "*Offizielle ungedruckte Briefe von Jesuiten-Generalen und Provinzialen und Missbrauch derselben*" (Innsbruck, 1883), which, however, contains little beyond vulgar abuse of Kelle, written in abominable German.

was appointed a member of the "Commission of Studies in Germany," instituted by General Claudius Acquaviva. Pontan drew up "Suggestions for the conduct of humanistic studies within the Society of Jesus in accordance with the *Ratio Studiorum*"; and since these proposals were not intended for publication, he shows no scruples in revealing the abuses of the Jesuit system of instruction.

"The masters are frequently without ability; they waste time, they only study when and as much as they please, and they do not want to continue teaching for any length of time. And even if any of them would like to progress and continue the work of teaching, they are sent away, and new teachers are introduced every year. . . . In a single year, regardless of the fact that the scholastics have advanced but a little way in their studies, that they have hitherto learnt scarcely any Greek (so that most of them do not even know the alphabet), that they cannot make Latin verses, and during their novitiate have never looked at a book, they are expected every day to attend three separate lectures, repeat, learn by heart, and make abstracts of four different kinds in Greek, Latin, verse and prose. Those who imagine that all this can be done in one year bear testimony to their own ignorance and lack of judgment. Unless some alteration is made and these obstacles removed by compulsion, there is an end to our advancement in knowledge and our reputation. . . . In this regard a serious hindrance is due to the fact that the Superiors have no great zeal for study. Nor is this surprising. They themselves have received the same instruction as our scholastics now receive. . . . Their study of Greek is cursory; as for Latin, their lips have scarce come near it. And yet it is they who have to decide on the subject and manner of teaching, and to judge of the teachers, their ability and progress. A great deal is left to the Prefects, who are themselves too uncultivated to preside over the schools or direct and improve the teachers. But as even the Superiors lack this knowledge, the Prefects of Studies certainly cannot excel, since they are scholastics who have been removed from their studies prematurely. . . . Since the teachers do not, as the rule prescribes, stand a stage above their class, but two or three stages below, what prospect can there

The Jesuit System of Education 191

be of keeping pace with the schools outside the Order? Physician, heal thyself! . . . One of the hindrances to the humanistic studies of our members is the plan of keeping the scholastics, after leaving the novitiate, for one year only in the Humanity Class, some not even as long. The reason alleged is that, before entering the Society they have already studied the humanities for two years, and therefore the time allowed is sufficient for progress. But matters stand quite differently. In Greek no foundations have been laid, their Latin verse is full of blunders, they write abominably. . . . These inadequately instructed scholastics become incapable teachers . . . they produce unlearned Superiors, ignorant of all humanistic knowledge, not a few of whom cannot even write a grammatical letter, as well as unlearned Prefects of Studies; and all in our Society who lack learning—and these are a countless number—owe their defect to these two causes. . . . Then there is another no small obstacle to learning—the absolute freedom of the teachers in the matter of their own private studies, and their constant change. Everyone is permitted to read what he pleases, to study as much as he pleases, and even when he pleases. It is sufficient that he is a teacher. The Rector and Prefect of Studies are not greatly concerned about the manner of his teaching; they do not correct those who make mistakes, nor encourage anyone to adopt the right method. Most of them write Latin very seldom and badly. And while we drift along carelessly and continue every year to have fresh teachers and pupils, our schools are getting worse and worse. Before the masters have begun to teach they receive their orders to stop. What respect and what experience can such teachers have? Why are we not ashamed of our folly? There is no city that changes its executioner or hangman once a year, and we believe that this constant fluctuation is good for study.”*

* *Anti-Mangoldus sive Vindiciae Historiae eccles. Claudii Fleury*, Amstelodami et Ulmae, 1784, ii., 89–94. Pachtler and Duhr carefully suppress Pontan's criticism, although in their four volumes of contributions to the *Monumenta Germaniae paedagogica* they have collected the most possible and impossible material about the Jesuit system of instruction. Their lack of honesty in this respect is the more reprehensible because they make laudatory mention of Pontan (16, 14), and enumerate all his other writings and everything that favours the Jesuit instruction. They also pass over, as though non-existent, the important letters from Rectors, Provincials and General Superiors of the Order from which I have quoted above.

To these criticisms from within the Order I may add others, and in the first place that of the Austrian historian, Joseph Alexander, Baron von Helfert, himself very friendly to the Jesuits. Treating of Cornova's defence of the Jesuit system of Education, he sums up:—

“However much we may learn from it to admire the relation of the individual members to the whole body, however skilfully, nobly, and at times even humorously he refutes and sets in their true light the absurd and even crafty accusations brought against the Society, yet an impartial perusal of the book shows his failure to disprove completely any of the reproaches brought by the most far-seeing and weighty men of their time against the degenerate Jesuit systems of teaching and education. We always retain the impression that the Society understood very well in its own interests how to arouse and hold the love and devotion of all who were drawn within the circle of its influence, but showed a most inexcusable disregard of any desire to adapt itself to the changed needs of the times in the interests of the young people and the classes of the community who entrusted them to its charge.”*

A little further on Helfert utters an even more comprehensive condemnation:—

“The system of instruction and education of the Jesuits of the eighteenth century (unchanged, indeed, to this day!) was such as was no longer fitted for the eighteenth century. We are familiar with the commonplace, expressed soon after the suppression of the Order ‘even by its enemies,’ that undoubtedly the Jesuits had been the most excellent teachers and educators. All the evidence seems to make this extremely doubtful. We must not lay too much weight on the scanty gleanings of a few decades later illumined by

Such “scholarly conscientiousness” makes us extremely mistrustful of the documents and secret archives published by them. How many expurgations may these not have undergone? Yet Pachtler, in the preface to Vol. I. of his publications on the Jesuit system of instruction (*M.G.P.* 2, XI.) says: “All the collaborators of the *M.G.P.* desire only justice and truth. . . . It is just here that truth is at stake.” I agree.

* *Die Gründung der Oesterreichischen Volksschule durch Maria Theresia*, Prague, 1860, p. 278.

The Jesuit System of Education 193

the softening light of memory. Rather should we have regard to the courageous utterances of weighty men under the immediate impression of the facts. If the reproach can be brought against a system of education that in the mid-current of a period of change and movement in all directions it is concerned almost exclusively with a dead language, and teaches even this in a fashion far removed from any real comprehension of the subject dealt with; and if an educational system can be charged with setting unnatural barriers to natural ability, enchaining the expression of the will, in such a way that the pupils, as soon as the barriers have fallen and the chains are removed, are ready to succumb uncurbed to any chance influence, no matter how bad, it is surely no light accusation. . . . While all around them the age-long deification of Aristotle had yielded to the attainments of later research, they in their colleges still clung fast to the utterances of the Stagyrice, considering Gassendi and Des Cartes scarcely worthy of mention, while the name of Newton never passed their lips. While the gladiatorial arts of scholastic word-fights had long ago made way for a methodical investigation of the true nature of things, they continued to practise the wits and readiness of their scholars on the solution of intricate problems that no one any longer raised, and the attack and defence of artificial systems on which no one any longer set a value. To their own great loss they closed their eyes to the requirements of the day, and with consistent anachronism they held to dogmas and instructions first given under entirely different circumstances to their earliest colleges a hundred and twenty years before.”*

In an answer sent by the Bavarian Government to a manifesto of the Jesuits on the 30th of October, 1769, protesting against certain Government ordinances, we read :—

“ . . . Among us the chief labours of the Jesuits are concerned with the lower schools, and we see that these are staffed not with tried and experienced men, but with mere youths. . . . We should

* *Die Gründung der oesterreichischen Volksschule durch Maria Theresia, Prague, 1860, pp. 279-283.*

indeed be satisfied if our children even learnt German from them, or, rather, did not completely unlearn it, for then it would at any rate not be necessary to send pupils who had finished their academy course to the writing-school to learn to write a passable German abstract in letters and legal essays, which boys and girls in Protestant schools can do at the age of eleven or twelve.”*

In considering this criticism we must remember that it is delivered by the authority entrusted with the supervision of the schools, and that it strikes the balance of more than a hundred and fifty years' work in the schools of Bavaria.

Very much to the point, too, are the remarks of Count Pergen, who is thoroughly acquainted with his subject, and on that account detested by the Jesuits:—

“Although it is certain that there are among the members of the Order, as well as elsewhere, many men worthy of respect, endowed with intelligence, honesty and true piety, yet experience has shown that the communities were never willing to depart from antiquated methods, only endurable at best at the time of their origin, or from their old text-books and their narrow circle of instruction. Even if in recent times instructions from Government that could not be evaded, or the greater enlightenment of the age and the irresistible example of other countries, have compelled them against their will to this or that reform, it was only an apparent and therefore incomplete improvement, which bears only too evident testimony to the lack of understanding how to penetrate to the root of the evil, and the injury done to their system and constitution by any such innovation. . . . The State will never succeed in extinguishing in an Order the *esprit de corps* which is in every respect so injurious to a school system and so remote from the sphere of all external power and authority, and producing a state of things in which each loves duty for his own sake, and regards as the sole aim of his school labours the true advantage of his fatherland and the nearest possible approach to the desires of the

* From a codex in the Munich State Archives, from Zirngiebl, *Studien über das Institut der Gesellschaft Jesu*, Leipzig, 1870, p. 44, *et seq.*

The Jesuit System of Education 195

lord of the land, and fulfils his duties joyfully in his service with the purest intentions.”*

All the faults of the Jesuit system emphasised by me are here briefly summarised. The agreement between the Austrian statesman, so well acquainted with the Jesuit schools, and myself is the more worthy of note that we were both Jesuit pupils, Count Pergen in the eighteenth century, and I in the nineteenth. Another proof of the Order's fidelity to its motto, though intended in a different sense—*Semper idem*.

Taking everything into consideration, then, there is surely no exaggeration in the official report of the Austrian direction *in publicis et cameralibus* of the 21st of February, 1750, on the gymnasiums and other educational establishments conducted by Jesuits:—

“That the public complains greatly that little regard is paid to good manners and cleanliness, but that boys are led astray by one another, and therefore many parents are compelled to have their children instructed at home under their own supervision, in spite of the greater expense.”†

* *Immediat-Vortrag an die Kaiserin Maria Theresia vom 26 August, 1770*, from Helfert, *Die Gründung der oesterreichischen Volksschule durch Maria Theresia*, Prague, 1860, p. 204.

† From Kelle, *Die Jesuitengymnasien in Oesterreich*, p. 75.

CHAPTER VI

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF FELDKIRCH

ONE damp, gloomy October morning in 1861, at the Cologne railway station I was handed over to the charge of the Jesuits, who came there every year to collect the Rhenish and Westphalian pupils and escort them to Feldkirch.

It was an act of cruelty on the part of my excellent parents to send a little boy of nine out into the world, far from his home and family, and from all motherly and womanly influence. It was not their natural and human feelings which prompted them, but the Ultramontane Jesuit influence which, as I have already shown, could not be brought too early into a child's life.

The "Feldkirch train," which usually carried about a hundred pupils with five or six Jesuits in charge, left Cologne at six in the morning. By eleven at night—in those days of slow travelling—we had reached Friedrichshafen by way of Mayence, Heidelberg, Stuttgart, and Ulm. Next day we proceeded by Rorschach to Oberrieth on the Rhine, and from that point in open carts to Feldkirch. Sometimes we went by Bregenz, but not often, as it involved too long a drive. It was not till after my time that the train came to Feldkirch. The whole of this long road was watered by my childish tears. I suffered terribly from home-sickness, even as the years went on. Whenever we crossed over the youthful Rhine at Oberrieth or Haag in Switzerland, I threw pieces of wood into the foaming stream in the ardent hope that they might float down to Cologne, Düsseldorf, or Wesel.

To my childish mind it was a melancholy consolation to imagine that they would be carried past places not far from my own home.

This home-sickness lasted for days—even weeks. I still remember gratefully the kind attempts of my Jesuit teachers to console the sorrowful child. Once, when I could not get over the pain of separation, I received a telegram from my father: “Be glad you are away. Here foot and mouth disease.” The effect of this joke was heightened by the thought that it was my serious, dignified father who made it. Laughter came to my aid and drove melancholy away.

But it was the regular mode of life and systematic work that proved the best remedies for these melancholy moods. Indeed, the value of a fixed daily routine and systematic occupation in the case of mental and spiritual troubles is hard to over-estimate. Even as a child at Feldkirch I learnt the truth of this from my own experience, and in all the grievous conflicts of my after-life I had resort to this remedy.

At that time the Rector was a French Swiss, Father Minoux, and the General Prefect a French Alsatian, Father Faller. My Prefects in the third division were the Scholastics, Ruckgaber and Mutter; my class teacher in the first form (sixth class) was the Scholastic, Knappmeyer.

The most important event of my first year at Feldkirch (1861–62) was my first Communion. As a rule, children are not admitted to Communion till the age of thirteen or fourteen; but I was such a “good child” that both Father Minoux and Father Faller approved my early admission.

Those of us who were “first communicants” were prepared for the great event by catechetical instruction extending over several weeks, which was given by Father

Faller. For the day of the first Communion is indeed a great day for a pious Catholic child. To partake for the first time of his God and Lord, truly and in essence, body and soul, flesh and blood, God and Man, in the consecrated host, what greater, loftier, more terrible thought can the religious imagination conceive!

My childish heart was grievously torn between its grandeur, sublimity, and fearfulness. It was fear that kept the upperhand. I shook and trembled when the wafer was laid on my tongue, for I was tortured by the fear of not being "worthy." And oh! how I longed to be worthy!

Of course, the first Communion was preceded by a "General Confession." For such confession there is no authority in the Bible, even in its Catholic interpretation, nor yet in the Church's dogmatic teaching on confession. It is a disciplinary means to piety, the effect of which, doubtless desired by the hierarchy, is to bring the penitent into ever closer dependence on his Father Confessor, and through him on the Church.

These general confessions extend either over a whole lifetime or one of its divisions, and conclude all former confessions of that period. They thus constitute a repetition of other confessions. The object of the repetition is to bring peace to the penitent; if he has erred in any particular, which is essential for its validity and efficacy in securing the forgiveness of sins (I refer to conscience-searching, confession of sin, penitence, intention, penance), the general confession can atone for it. But in reality these general confessions are a source of trouble. The searchings among the past, such questions as: Did I always examine my conscience sufficiently before confession? did I always confess my deadly sins quite accurately in detail and in number? did I always feel real remorse and real desire to amend? pierce the soul with the stings of

doubt and fear. In mine they remained fixed ever after the general confession that preceded my first Communion. It was only some decades later, when I came to recognise the general falsity of the dogma of confession, that peace was restored to my soul—a peace of death, indeed, since the recognition of this and other similar facts led me to carry my old faith to the grave.

To the fear of unworthiness through invalid or unworthy confessions was added the fear of the sacrament itself, of the “real and true flesh and blood,” of receiving into my own body the humanity and divinity of Christ.

The crudely sensuous and capernaïtic interpretation of the words of Christ, “Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, ye have no life in you” (John vi. 53), expressed in the answer, “This is an hard saying; who can hear it?” (John vi. 60), has become a dogma of the Romish Church, and the explanatory words of Christ Himself, “It is the Spirit that quickeneth . . . the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life” (John vi. 63), have been completely thrust on one side by the Catholic doctrine of the “real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar,” and interpreted with a sort of anthropophagic brutality.

Brutal it surely is to institute theological disquisitions as to the presence of the foreskin in the bodily presence of Christ in the consecrated wafer, though Christ as a Jewish child had undergone circumcision. No elevation of this dogma “beyond the comprehension and understanding of the human mind,” no allusion to the “glorified” body and blood of Christ can make such unnatural doctrines tolerable. The real blood and the real flesh, the real body with all its members, bones, and parts, literally “with skin and hair,” is eaten at the Communion (*manducare*). Nor is it made more tolerable by the mass of miracles which must be swallowed along with it in order

to preserve the "real" body of Christ from being chewed by the teeth and digested by natural processes.

Of course, I did not know all this at the age of nine. But even as children we were taught in our Communion lessons "the dogma of the true and bodily presence of Christ as He dwelt, ate, and drank with His disciples after the Resurrection." And though I lacked the detailed comprehension of the presence of Christ in the host, the idea of partaking of His real flesh and blood was to me something terrible, a *tremendum mysterium* which filled my youthful spirit with terror and curiosity, torment and desire. I told my troubles, as well as a child can, to Father Joller, my confessor, and in the general confession before the first Communion to our Exercise-Master, Father Fallor. They gave me encouragement, but could not set my mind at rest.

Even to this day I look back with the deepest sadness to the outward splendours of the day of my first Communion, the 21st of June, 1862. All my inward piety—and it was because of my piety that I had so early been admitted to the "Table of the Lord"—was concentrated on the act, and when I received the sacred host from the hands of Joseph Fessler, Bishop of Feldkirch, afterwards Secretary to the Vatican Council, I partook with strong faith and the deepest reverence; but my little heart was full of doubt and unrest, which from thenceforth were to be the constant attendants of my life journey. There was an end to the clear, undimmed brightness of the religious sky above my childish head. Shadows, often darkness, gathered about me. Even then I began to suffer, and my sufferings increased with my years. My torturers were the Confession and Communion.

Celebrations like that of the first Communion emphasise particularly the weak points of Ultramontane and Jesuit piety. It would seem natural that the celebration of the

first "mystic union" of the soul with God should be accomplished in solemn silence, with no element of worldliness, noise, or pomp. But the contrary is the case. The service is conducted with the greatest splendour and pomp, invitations are sent to the parents and relations of the communicants and others; any ecclesiastical dignitary or prince of the Church who is within reach is invited to the Communion; and at the moment of celebration, sentimental chants are sung, "calculated to induce tears." As soon as the Church ceremony is over, a luxurious lunch is served to the communicants and their parents, friends, and teachers. In fact, the inner meaning is overgrown by externals; and only those who are quite unaffected by the external, which is almost impossible for children, can resist the effects of this suffocating overgrowth and refrain from regarding the husk as the kernel.

Here is an experience connected with the Communion, "the most venerable of all mysteries."

The Church requires that those who partake of the Communion should have fasted—*i.e.* taken neither food nor drink from midnight until the reception of the Communion in the course of the morning. This rule, laid down out of reverence for the "heavenly food" and justified by the faith in it, is carried out so strictly that even swallowing a few drops of water when brushing the teeth or a little smoke when smoking is regarded as a breach of the fast, excluding from the Communion.*

Now at Feldkirch it was the custom to celebrate a midnight mass on Christmas Eve, at which we pupils received the Communion. The choir, to which I also belonged, sang the choral accompaniments. To keep up the voice and strength of the singers, mulled wine and cake were served out to them between eleven and twelve o'clock.

* Cf. my book, *Das Pappsttum in seiner sozial-kulturellen Wirksamkeit*, vol. 2, pp. 167-169.

The Music Prefect stood beside us with his watch in his hand to stop the eating and drinking half a minute before the stroke of the clock. About twenty minutes later we went to Communion full of cake and wine. But the regulation that communicants must partake of no food after midnight was observed.

It is easy to imagine the effect this arrangement had upon our conception of the command to partake of the Communion fasting. It was really an official indication of the way skilfully to evade a command whose breach involved a deadly sin. And the reverence for the "heavenly food" was certainly not increased by the consumption immediately before of wine and cake. But it is very characteristic of Jesuit morality, and on that account I mention it.

During my residence at Feldkirch I had two confessors, Father Joller and Father Link. I remember the former with horror, the latter with love and reverence.

Father Joller was afterwards dismissed from the Order for immoral conduct towards children attending his confessional. He was my confessor for the first two years of my stay, at the ages of nine and ten. He never tried to harm me, but on confession days I always entered his room with a vague feeling of terror. For it was he who taught me the injury that can be done to a childish soul by questions dealing with the Seventh Commandment. My body and its natural functions became "immediate opportunity for sins of unchastity"; I became timid and anxious in the use of my hands, and the most innocent natural occurrences caused me alarm. That nothing worse befell me I owe no thanks to the Jesuit Joller.

It was, however, a severe breach of the regulations for a confessor to admit pupils into his bedroom for confession. The custom was afterwards abolished, and the

confessions took place, according to rule, at the confessionals in the chapel.

This abominable custom of sending children to confess in the confessor's bedroom has always existed in Jesuit institutions. The circular letters of the Provincial of the Bohemian province, issued shortly before the dissolution of the Order, deal with it in very plain terms.*

"In order effectively to prevent the admission of boys to the interior of our houses I consider it expedient that Your Reverences should execute, without consideration or delay, the punishments appointed on many occasions for those persons in whose room (*cubiculum*) any boy may be found; and if any of the Superiors should be lax in this respect you should make up for their remissness and execute the punishment as soon as possible."†

"Every care should be taken to prevent the children from entering the bedrooms. Anyone who calls them in or admits them under the pretext of Confession must, in accordance with the old and oft-repeated rule, without regard of persons, suffer the penalty of the 'little table.'" (This meant that he must take his meals kneeling at a little separate table in the middle of the refectory.) ‡

"I forbid most absolutely the admission of boys to the bedrooms of our brotherhood."§

"The regulations so often repeated as to the exclusion of boys from the bedrooms are not sufficiently observed. . . . Our very Venerable Father (the General of the Order) has recently decreed that those who disobey the regulation, if they are professed, must be removed from the school, even during the session." ||

I have no accusation to bring against my teachers and masters at Feldkirch; none of them ever offended against

* v. Kelle, p. 277 *et seq.*

† Letter of the Provincial Leopold Grimm of June 13th, 1745, Codex of the Vienna Court Library, No. 12,029, p. 210.

‡ Letter of the Provincial Norbert Steer, Codex No. 11,956, p. 46.

§ Letter of the Provincial Karl Reutsch, August 11th, 1755, Codex No. 11,951, p. 17.

|| Letter of the Provincial Leopold Grimm of November 13th, 1745, Codex No. 12,029, p. 215.

my modesty ; but in speaking of the Joller case I had to state that the Society of Jesus, like every other human society, has some black sheep in its ranks, and that here, as elsewhere, in spite of rule and order, abuses and bad habits will gain ground. But the voice of its own secret documents bears testimony against "the high sanctity and spotless purity" of the Jesuit Order, which its eulogists regard as an axiom, though this voice, as already stated, is but seldom heard, and then only in the case of a lucky accident. One such is to be found in a secret instruction of the General Claudius Acquaviva, dated the 5th of August, 1595, and preserved in the Vienna Library.*

"If one of our Order has perpetrated an act of unchastity against another and the matter has been kept secret, so that no scandal has arisen, although the offence is such as to merit expulsion, the matter should be treated as secret and not urgent, because circumstances might arise which would entitle the accused to forgiveness."

Here there is more at stake than the sin of a few individuals, for the Order covers the shame of its members with its moral principles so long as no scandal has arisen.

In face of such official direction we are justified in asking: How many lapses may not have been, and still be, covered with the "cloak" of this morality in the Jesuit educational establishments?

The Joller case suggests another point. What is the actual state of morality of the pupils among themselves and in relation to their teachers in the Jesuit establishments?

So far as my own personal experience is concerned, I can give Feldkirch a good character in both respects, at any rate as regards actual immorality. Here, as elsewhere, when many young people are together in a community, there were occasional lapses from morality, but they were exceptional, and not of a very serious character.

* Codex No. 11,953, p. 3; see Kelle, pp. 100 to 278.

For I have come gradually to the conviction that sexual sins, if they do not become habitual and are not of a distinctly perverted nature, are by no means the worst of youthful offences. In any case, they were exceptional among us. The general tone was pure and healthy.

Among the teachers, too, the unfortunate Father Joller was no doubt an exception. Although I was a pretty boy—there is no harm in saying so after the lapse of all these years—no indecent advances were ever made to me by any of the Fathers. But there was often something caressing and fondling in their manner, which might easily have led a stage further to moral wrong.

The first prefect of the second division, Jacob Filling, had a great fondness for me, and showed it by stroking my cheeks, laying his face against mine, and pressing me to him. These were not exactly wrongful actions, and, of course, I do not know what were the inner feelings that prompted them; but for an educator—and especially the member of an Order which exacts a vow of chastity—they were unsuitable and questionable proceedings. Fortunately they had no harmful influence on me; they were physically disagreeable, if only because Father Filling smelt strongly of snuff (snuff-taking is a bad habit to which Jesuits are much addicted), and he was usually badly shaved, so that the stubbles of his beard hurt me when his face touched mine.

Such demonstrations of affection are by no means unusual in Jesuit establishments. They are a frequent subject of complaint on the part of the Superiors, and though no mention of them is made by the official historians of the Order, there are many allusions in the secret documents of the Jesuits now deposited in the State archives, *e.g.* :—

“In order to observe due precaution in the intercourse with youths it is my pleasure that the punishment of public scourging

be inflicted (according to the words of our Father, the General of the Order) on those who do not refrain from touching the face and hands of the young persons.”*

It is only a step further to sexual vice, and many a Jesuit teacher has taken it.

It is necessary to state this, not to provoke scandal, but, in view of the laudation pronounced on themselves by Jesuits as well as by other superficial eulogists, to establish the fact that the Society of Jesus, in this as in other respects, in spite of its vow of chastity, has paid its full tribute to erring humanity. They, too, might have said, *Nihil humani a me alienum puto*. But this is what they deny. Like its great example, the Papacy, the Jesuit Order only appears to the faithful in mystic glorification, and maintains, though knowing it to be false, “As was Jesus, so am I.” That is why others have to speak. And herein lies the condemnation: they speak with the voice of the Order itself, which now resounds in public through the secret documents seized by the State, while formerly, when a hundred precautions were taken to deaden the sound, the facts were merely whispered secretly among the initiated.

The chief director of the Royal Bavarian State Archives, Karl Heinrich von Lang, in a pamphlet entitled, “*Reverendi in Christo Patris Jacobi Marelli, S.J., amores, e scriniis provinciae superioris Germaniae Monachi nuper apertis brevi libello expositi,*” published in 1815 at Munich, made a collection, from the secret documents of the Upper German province of the Jesuit Order in the State archives at Munich, of the worst cases of such immorality on the part of Jesuit teachers and instructors in the years 1650–1713. Some of the thirty-four Jesuits mentioned there by name corrupted no fewer than seventeen boys, among

* Epistle of the Provincial Matthias Tanner of August 27th, 1677, Codex No. 11,953, fol. 73a; see Kelle, p. 278.

them sons of the noble families of Öttingen, Fugger, Zeil. I refrain from entering into the abominable details.

As to the treatment of such cases by the Superiors of the Order, I may mention at once—though I deal with the matter again in Part II.—that the penance inflicted on one of the worst corrupters of youth, Father Theoderich Beck, who had on his conscience boys at Prague, Constance, Vienna, Freiburg, and Heidersheim, was to fast on Saturdays.* Even the Visitor, Father Christopher Schorrer, advises the General, Father Paul Oliva, only to punish Father Beck, in spite of the enormity of his immoralities, by dismissal from the Court of Cardinal Frederick of Hesse, whose confessor he was, and a few other penances. Among other reasons for the lack of severity, he mentions that “his misdoings are not publicly known.” The General did not agree to the proposal. Still, we do not hear of Beck’s expulsion from the Order.†

Instigated by Lang’s treatise, August Kluckhohn more recently searched the Jesuit secret documents in the Bavarian State Archives. He says :

“Disgusted with the filth which came to light, I read through only a portion of the papers. It was enough to convince me of the truth of Lang’s statement that he had but noted a few out of a large number of cases, and to convince me that no mention of even more numerous cases has come down to us, either because they were not notified to the Superior, or because the documents in question have not been preserved.”‡

Such “filth” in such plenty I do not think could be found in the archives of Feldkirch. The atmosphere there

* Lang, *Reverendi in Christo Patris Jacobi Marelli, S.J.*, p. 26.

† Cf. Döllinger-Reusch, *Geschichte der Moralstreitigkeiten*, u.s.w., Nördlingen, 1889, i., p. 642 *et seq.*, and ii., p. 364 *et seq.*

‡ *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Schulwesens in Bayern vom 16 bis zum 18 Jahrhundert*, Abhandlungen der histor. Klasse der kgl. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Munich, 1874, vol. 12, p. 212.

was unhealthy because of its excessive and exaggerated "purity." Everywhere lurked the dread of unchastity.

The strict supervision already described was really calculated to turn innocent thoughts into a dangerous direction, while the methods adopted for cultivating piety, especially the sermons and "spiritual literature," were such as to heighten this effect.

Our preachers on Sundays and festivals always dwelt with special preference on the seventh commandment, the temptations to break it, and the evil consequences of yielding to them. The spiritual literature was taken from the lives of the saints, in which the triumph of chastity is specially emphasised. And what "chastity"! The hideous, unnatural and extreme conduct of the two "angelic" youths, Stanislaus Kostka and Aloysius de Gonzaga, both Jesuits, was set forth as a shining example. Special admiration was due to the angelic Aloysius, whose love of chastity and fear of awakening carnal desires kept him from looking at his own mother. Such piety and morality rest on a crumbling foundation.

It is a pure delight to turn from all these repulsive details to the memory of my second confessor, Father Augustin Link. He was an un-Jesuit-like Jesuit, simple, candid, truthful, straightforward, unselfish, loving, and pious. That he preserved these qualities and remained unbroken and unadapted to the Jesuit model was doubtless due to the fact that he entered the Order late in life as a secular priest, and quickly passed through the educational course of Jesuit training. In Father Link the Jesuit and the priest were subordinate to the nobility of the man. That is why all our hearts turned to him with unbounded confidence.

Among the Feldkirch pupils who knew him, and above all his own penitents, only one voice was heard: "Dear,

unforgettable Father Link!" To us he was not only an enlightened spiritual director, who tried to lead us along the road of true and simple piety, he was father and mother as well. It was in this paternal capacity I came to know him; and many others had doubtless the same experience, though I can speak only of my own.

There was nothing in which he lacked understanding and patience; everything that can move a child's spirit, each of his joys and sorrows, called forth his kind and sympathetic attention. There is much in a boy's psychic and physical development to distress him, and, if he has undergone an ultramontane education, even to excite him, disturb his religious and ethical equilibrium, and obscure his capacity to distinguish between what is and what is not sin. Sexual processes, natural occurrences connected with the approach of maturity, are all causes of trouble and anxiety to the soul of an inexperienced child. In all such cases Father Link showed a father's forethought. He spoke quite simply about such things, pointed out that physical processes were natural, and therefore morally innocent, and rendered us a priceless service in helping us to understand. Still, when I compare his clear, simple, and natural teaching about sexual matters with the unnatural and complicated explanations of Jesuit theological morality, always scenting sin and thus driving men to disturbing doubts and into sin itself, I can but repeat, "Father Link was no Jesuit." Not that he was in any way lax; his morality was pure, even strict, but he was a human being, not a casuist; he gave its due to human nature without in any way curtailing the Christian teaching of morality as laid down in the Gospels.

His un-Jesuit-like character was especially beneficial to me in one particular. I have already mentioned the embargo laid on friendships between pupils at Feldkirch and other Jesuit schools, and the grounds on which they

were based. But Father Link did his best to promote such a friendship between me and another pupil, and that in spite of the express prohibition of Father Pottgeisser, at that time General Prefect. He gave us opportunities for meeting in his own room, which, by the irony of fate, was situated immediately above that of the General Prefect, who warred so zealously against special friendships in general and ours in particular. For Augustin Link the man recognised what the Jesuit Julius Pottgeisser and the whole Jesuit system of education could not and cannot grasp—the moral value of friendship.

All my life I shall bless the memory of this admirable man. Long after I left Feldkirch, during my student and lawyer days, I often went in doubt and difficulty to Father Link, and never in vain.

Some years ago, when I happened to pass through Feldkirch, I stayed there a few hours, for I longed to revisit the abode of my youth. My first walk was to the churchyard, to seek Father Link's grave. In the short time at my disposal I was unable to find it. But on that solemn spot, where I knew that all in him that was mortal must rest, the question arose in me, "What would Father Link say to me, the renegade and apostate?" I know the answer: "Do what your conscience bids and your conviction demands of you." *Ave pia anima.*

The year 1866 was a hard one for me. The hatred of Prussia and Protestantism, so typical of my Jesuit teachers, grievously wounded my Prussian patriotism. For this, as already stated, was another respect in which I differed from my family. While my father, though loyal, was coldly disposed towards Prussia, and my mother and sisters felt as much hatred for that country as their Christianity permitted, I had from earliest childhood been a passionate Prussian and Bismarck-worshipper.

The year 1866 proved the parting of the ways. The Catholics of the Rhinelands and Westphalia, especially the families of the Catholic nobility, with few exceptions regarded the contest between Prussia and Austria as a struggle between Protestantism and Catholicism. In consequence, the great majority of Prussian Catholic subjects sympathised with Austria. Ancient Catholic Rhenish and Westphalian families, such as Wolff-Metternich, Westphalen, Korff-Schmising-Kerssenbrock, allowed their sons to become officers in the Austrian army and fight in Bohemia against Prussia. The whole Catholic priesthood was on the side of Austria; and the Jesuits, whose influence was then at its height in the Rhinelands and Westphalia, did their best to foment the anti-Prussian feeling. In my own family it manifested itself boldly, and often in drastic fashion.

My sister Antonia used to sing with the greatest enthusiasm in the evening, in our family circle, the "Cradle-song of a Polish Mother," composed by the well-known convert, Countess Ida Hahn-Hahn, with her own alterations in the text directed against Prussia.

"If right has wandered to the skies,
Since here in Prussia [for 'on earth'] are naught but lies:

When Austria's [for 'Poland's'] eagle floats once more,

Far better die a patriot brave

Than basely live a Prussian's [for 'tyrant's'] slave!"

No objection was ever made by my parents to these really treasonable utterances of my excitable sister of twenty. As a specially zealous pupil of the Jesuit Behrens, a frequent guest at our house, she had doubtless been inspired by him with these treasonable tendencies.

This anti-Prussian attitude of my mother's even led to serious family quarrels. Her eldest brother, Count

Max von Loë-Wissen, was on the Prussian side, and many an angry scene was enacted between them. But it was her hatred of Bismarck which led to the final breach between our families.

The conversation at table turned upon the attempt on Bismarck's life made by Cohen-Blind on the 20th of May, 1866. My uncle Max, in explaining why Bismarck had not been wounded, demonstrated how a bullet from a pistol held too close to the object often failed to penetrate it. My mother thereupon exclaimed, "The whole thing was a fraud and got-up thing! There was never any bullet there." At this my uncle got up indignantly and drove away on the spot. For a long while all intercourse between them ceased, and they barely saluted each other if they met elsewhere.

Another utterance of my mother's—this time in connection with Kullmann's attempt in 1874—may be mentioned here. We were on a visit to my married sister, Marie Stolberg, and drove with the rest of the Stolbergs to Dresden, which was not very far from my brother-in-law's estate. On our way we heard of the attempt on Bismarck's life and its failure. "How great is the long-suffering of God!" exclaimed my mother; and Count Alfred Stolberg, at that time head of the Catholic branch of the Stolbergs and a deputy of the Centre, added amiably, "Yes; even the devil does not want him!"

My mother was well supported in her opposition to Prussia by her younger brother, Baron Felix von Loë, leader of the Centre and founder of the Catholic National Union and the Rhenish Peasants' Union. Although district-head (*Landrat*) at Cleves—an office of which he was eventually deprived—he never made any secret of his intense dislike of Protestant Prussia.

It was this sharp anti-Prussian breeze in my family that fanned my own love to greater heat. It reached its

highest point at Feldkirch, not so much because I was compelled to live in hostile Austria, as because the Jesuits made an inexcusable display of their anti-Prussian sentiments.

We pupils were not allowed to read the paper; all the news from the seat of war was communicated to us by our Jesuit teachers. So long as it was possible they told us the most shameful lies of a succession of Austrian victories, even a few days after Königgrätz! When they could no longer deny the success of Prussia they tried to arouse our sectarian instincts against the "Prussian dominance." In particular Father Filling, at that time my First Prefect, who was disposed to be fond of me, performed the most amazing feats of lying and provocation. However, he never again stroked my cheeks; I would not allow it, for I had conceived an actual hatred for him.

A lad of fourteen, I shed tears of anger as well as tears of love for my distant, despised, and slandered Fatherland.

By a shameful abuse of their authority, social gatherings of the pupils from the most various countries were transformed by our teachers into patriotic Austrian celebrations. On these occasions the Musical Prefect, Father Karl Strauss, sang to guitar accompaniment the Austrian National Anthem and "The Death of Andreas Hofer."

But whenever Jesuits see a danger for themselves there is an end of internationalism and universal love. Then they try to fuse their own members and the youth entrusted to their charge in one sectarian mass, and the cement is the hatred of heresy. How often, in my later Jesuit days, looking back on my experiences at Feldkirch in 1866, did I ponder on the passage, already quoted, from the Rules of the Order, which prescribes that "if conflicts arise among Christian princes" the Society of Jesus is to show no preference for one or other side, but "a kind of universal love is to embrace all parties"! My own

acquaintance with the Order, acquired during thirty-two years, first as a pupil then as a Jesuit, has never encountered this Universal love, but only the Order's hatred where Prussia was in question.

Still, I am trying to reconcile contradictions where there are none. The statute prescribes love towards "Christian" princes, but a "heretical" prince in Jesuit, as in ultramontane eyes, is not a Christian, so perhaps the attitude of the Jesuits is consistent with their rule.

Even in my early days at Feldkirch attempts were made to win me for the Order. My natural disposition, influenced strongly by a pious ultramontane education, afforded excellent ground for such attempts. Even in my childish years I was filled with religious idealism, which remained with me till, many years later, my old faith forsook me. To be pious and good, to strive after perfection, was the natural inclination of my heart; unlimited reverence and respect for the priesthood and Order were as much my inheritance as my name and position. With such ethical and intellectual tendencies it was easy to turn me in the direction of the Jesuit Order, especially as it was—and still is—regarded, in ultramontane circles, as the very acme of Christian perfection. For the Jesuits have employed all their skill and cunning in the establishment of this prejudice in their favour.

One very effective method—which was successful in my case too—of bringing young recruits to the Order, is the system of "Annual Exercises" conducted by the Jesuits in their educational establishments, and directed both generally and particularly towards this end.

During these exercises no efforts are spared to bring before the pupils in the most impressive, one-sided, and exaggerated manner the vanity of earthly things, the need of salvation, and the great difficulties in the way. All this is set forth in drastic colouring, calculated to strike

the fantasy, on a background composed of hell-fire and the terrors of death and the judgment. In so doing the Director of the Exercises takes care to hint, in a casual manner, at the security against all spiritual dangers afforded by the priestly office. Thus the boy's attention is naturally directed towards the Orders, and, since he is a Jesuit pupil, towards the Jesuit Order in particular.

This general method is further supplemented by the "Choice of Vocation." This is an important part of the disciplinary spiritual system of the Jesuit Order. It is based on the false premiss that God has, as it were, predestined every human being for a definite vocation, and only by following this can he find any security for the attainment of salvation.

It would, of course, be too summary a proceeding to reveal the whole absurdity of such a choice of vocation, resting as it does on a false disciplinary basis, by estimating each separate profession according to its chances of salvation and comparing it with any other on this estimate. It is simpler and more profitable to make a general division of professions under two comprehensive headings: temporal and spiritual, the latter including the priestly office and the Orders. In this way the gaze of the boy who seeks, or is compelled to seek, after a vocation is at the outset skilfully directed to this fundamental contrast between the "world" and the "Order," of course to the discredit of the world with its spiritual perils.

Such a choice of vocation is a part of "good" exercises. The method in which it is usually conducted is very Jesuitical and very effective psychologically. A piece of paper is divided by a line into two columns. On one side must be written the spiritual dangers of a worldly career, and the means afforded for resisting these perils; on the other, the advantages for the soul's welfare of a spiritual vocation, and the means it affords for securing, even here

on earth, that true happiness which is only to be found in piety. It is needless to say that the result of the balance is all in favour of the spiritual vocation.

Without any exaggeration, I may assert that in the course of years I took part in two dozen of these "vocation choices," the solution of which was always the Jesuit Order. The same thing happens to all Jesuit pupils and others who take part in their exercises. But as these exercises, though of Jesuit origin, are now in vogue among all other Orders too, and as all young Ultramontanes, male and female, take part in them, it is not surprising that the religious orders are on the increase and the convents grow more numerous. It is the "choice of vocation" that swells their numbers and expands their walls; for it is this which leads the religious idealism of Catholic youth to the gates of the convents.

When the "choice" ends in a decision for the spiritual life in the Order, the *gratia vocationis* has been attained. For it is a special grace to be called by God to membership of an Order, a token of predestination to everlasting blessedness. Those who neglect this grace, or decline to follow its leading, incur heavy guilt and a grievous responsibility. This thought, which is emphasised again and again during the "choice," keeps the "chosen" fast bound as by a chain. The fear of losing certain salvation through neglecting the grace of vocation weighs him down. I suffered more under the "grace of vocation" than a slave under the lash, but in my case it was used against me by confessors, spiritual guides, and my own nearest relations.

I have already quoted the rule in the *Ratio* which apparently forbids the Prefect to entice a pupil into the Order, and wisely assigns this function to the Father Confessor. In my case it was the opposite that happened;

the teachers forced my will in the desired direction, my confessor, Father Link, preserved a neutral attitude.

Among all those who were concerned in my education there were two who very early laid the foundation of the unhappiness (and later happiness) of my life. These were the head of the Feldkirch educational establishment, the Rector, Father Karl Billet, and the First Prefect of the second division, Father Filling. Both worked hand in hand, for many a time Father Filling sent me to Father Billet in this matter. Usually he gave me a folded note in which he besought the Father Rector "to strengthen the pious child in his good resolutions." Father Filling lost his influence over me in 1866 in consequence of his hatred of Prussia; but Father Billet retained his. It was he who first acquainted my mother, in a letter written in French, "*de la sainte vocation de ce cher enfant.*" After this her influence was added to theirs, as I shall show later.

When I left Feldkirch in July, 1869, in my eighteenth year, all these circumstances had culminated in the firm resolve to become a Jesuit. Father Faller, the Superior of the German Province, desired me to visit him at Maria-Laach, at that time in the hands of the Jesuits, and then after the holidays in October begin my novitiate at Dorheim, near Sigmaringen. They evidently wished to waste no time, for I had then only reached the upper second class of the *gymnasium*. But the younger I was the more fit I should be to absorb the spirit of the Order.

At this stage Father Link quite unintentionally put a spoke in the wheel. He proposed that on my way home I should stop at Mayence, to visit the Bishop, Baron Wilhelm Emanuel von Ketteler, a near relation of my mother's, and ask the episcopal blessing on my plans. My parents, who were awaiting me at Cologne, gave their consent.

When I had explained my intentions to the Bishop,

he answered without hesitation, in his own peculiar kind and hearty manner, "No, my dear boy; you are much too young to form such resolutions. First learn something about the world which you desire to leave, and about which you know nothing; at any rate, pass your matriculation examination."

With a feeling of great relief and inward joy—which at that time, when I was so eager to become a Jesuit, I was unable to understand, but afterwards, when I became conscious of the resistance of my nature to this proposed exile from the world, appeared to me a natural reaction against an unnatural proposal—I travelled on to Cologne, and late the same evening informed my parents, who met me at the Hotel Ernst, of the episcopal decision. My father appeared to me glad, but my mother seemed sorrowful. My Provincial, Father Faller, was greatly annoyed. He gave me "rules of conduct," to keep me from "losing the grace of vocation in the life of the world."

Herewith ends what I have to tell of Feldkirch.

Putting aside the great faults of the Jesuit systems of instruction and education, and regarding these eight years simply as the period of youth apart from the results of education, I look back upon them with pleasure. They are characterised by a joyous spirit and moral tone, two most precious reminiscences. And I am animated by feelings of gratitude for all the kindness that fell to my lot there.

But neither the remembrance of my own happiness nor any feelings of gratitude would let me withdraw a single word that I have written on the Jesuit system. It is bad, morally and intellectually, from the standpoint of education and instruction, and can therefore only bear bad fruits.

CHAPTER VII

MAYENCE

My departure from Feldkirch was the beginning of a new life. There was an end of seclusion; I once more entered the family circle and came into touch with the rest of the world.

In religious, political and national concerns the period was one of excitement and significance. Two events of universal importance, with a number of accompanying and resulting circumstances, occurred in the years that followed immediately on my residence at Feldkirch: the Vatican Council and the Franco-German War. They influenced me strongly, for the position and views of my family brought me into close contact with both.

A great part of the account which follows deals therefore largely with family events, which I shall group together. This is no digression, since the period I have now to describe was decisive for the development, which eventually led me to the novitiate house of the Jesuit Order.

Feldkirch, and the resolve to become a Jesuit infused in me there, would probably, in spite of all, have remained without effect had not the succeeding years spun new threads about me, and thus gradually surrounded me with a net, which at last stifled my will and reason, in spite of all resistance.

There were three reasons which determined my parents to send me to finish my school studies at the Gymnasium of the Grand Duchy of Hesse at Mayence, where I was

Fourteen Years a Jesuit

to pass through the two divisions of the First Class. The three reasons were three persons :

The Bishop of Mayence, Baron Wilhelm Emanuel von Ketteler, my mother's cousin ;

The Superior of the Jesuit Settlement at Mayence, Father Adolf von Doss, and

The Director of the Mayence Gymnasium, Dr. Heinrich Bone.

Under their triple protection I was considered safe.

1. Baron Wilhelm von Ketteler :

Many a remarkable personality have I met in the course of my life, but never one more striking, impressive, fascinating and inspiring than the Bishop of Mayence.

No doubt Ketteler's influence was specially strong and enduring, because I was still young when this remarkable man, at the very height of his fame and importance, came into my life, and also because he was a bishop and I a faithful Catholic. But even without these circumstances, intercourse with Ketteler, "the bishop-uncle," as he was called in the family circle, would have filled me with reverence, admiration and love.

I must renounce any attempt to give here a character study of this glorious man. In an article in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* (1900) I have attempted to portray the bishop as he remains in my memory. Here I am only concerned with Ketteler's public position and his influence on my development.

Ketteler was at that time the intellectual centre and culminating point of the German and German-Austrian episcopate, and he, therefore, became the leader of the so-called "minority party" at the Vatican Council. Through him, at his house and at his table, where I dined regularly twice a week during my two years' residence at Mayence, I was introduced, at the age of seventeen,

to the world of ecclesiastical and religious conflicts which raged from 1869–1872. There I came to know a number of the most prominent Catholics of the day: Bishops Melchers of Cologne, Haneberg of Speyer, Martin of Paderborn, Brinkman of Münster, Dupanloup of Orleans; Count Blome, the Holstein convert, afterwards Austrian Minister; Prince Karl Löwenstein, now a Dominican; Windthorst, the two Reichenspergers, the novelist convert Countess Ida Hahn-Hahn, Ernst Lieber, the intriguing leader of the Centre, and the “Trinity of Mayence”—the Canons Haffner (Ketteler’s successor), Heinrich (Dean of the Cathedral), Mouffang, Regent of the priestly seminary and Federal deputy, and others. The conversation almost always turned on the infallibility of the Pope.

Ketteler was not really opposed to the doctrine of infallibility, though he considered its definition by the Council inopportune. But in argument he was often carried by his excitable temperament beyond the limits of opportunist opposition, and at times seemed to attack the doctrine itself.

I had grown up in the belief in the infallibility, and the opportunism of its definition was established as a matter of course, in accordance with my family traditions and the Feldkirch influence. Thus my point of view differed from Ketteler’s, but I learnt from him to respect the convictions of others. Ketteler would uphold no opinion except from the purest motives. A man inspired with such love of the Church and Papacy, who led so pious, self-denying, and laborious a life, was no “doubtful” Catholic.

The recognition of this was of importance to me. At that time an absolutely fanatical infallibility-belief prevailed among large circles of the Rhenish-Westphalian nobility. Any doubt even as to the advisability of defining the doctrine was a revolt against the Papacy.

Fourteen Years a Jesuit

My own home was a centre of this heresy-hunting fanaticism.

My mother, in particular, turned to the doctrine of infallibility with all the ardour of her temperament. Dogmatic, historic and political difficulties and considerations, of course, did not exist in her woman's eyes. Jesuit influence and a daily perusal of the two "infallibilist" French papers, *L'Univers* (Paris) and *Le Bien Public* (Ghent), deprived her of the power of calm reasoning; her passion influenced even my father, and the highly venerated Bishop of Mayence fell under their suspicion. Violent attacks upon him, as leader of the "minority" bishops, occurred every day. At last, matters were carried so far that a coolness sprang up between him and my parents. Only many years later, when my father was on a visit to Mayence, was a reconciliation brought about through my mediation. Thanks to the reverence which a closer knowledge of his personality inspired in me, I felt bitterly the injustice of such attacks. I defended "my bishop" in deadly warfare, and thus often came into collision with my mother. On one occasion, indeed, when a number of guests were present, I was sent from the table because of an answer made in defence of "my bishop." No small indignity to a youth in his last school year.

Now and then this thought dawned sporadically in me: How inconsiderate and prone to hatred is Ultramontanism when its own interests are at stake! Then nothing can hold it back; not a bishop—no, not even the Pope—as I shall show later when I deal with my experiences within the Order. It is this brutal lack of consideration that prevents many Catholics who suffer grievously under the ultramontane yoke from throwing it off. They dread the ultramontane persecution, which shrinks from nothing.

But this little flickering of light was not strong enough

to restore my full vision, and my reason and will were in such complete dependence that I dared not follow my thoughts as to the uncatholic tyranny of Ultramontanism to their logical conclusion. I contented myself with defending the revered bishop, without recognising in the particular case a symptom of the whole system. It never could have occurred to me then that I should have occasion in my own experience, and with both body and soul, to make exhaustive acquaintance with this aspect of the system.

Ketteler had fanned the enthusiasm I already felt for Church and Papacy to a mighty flame. Not as regards its intellectual foundations, for he was no theologian; but my own soul was inspired by the ever-burning flame of his own enthusiasm and especially by his life of apostolic piety.

Above all, I was influenced by his attitude to the Council.

The submission of the "minority" bishops, particularly those of Germany, to the doctrine of infallibility has been blamed as due to weakness, lack of character, timidity. Above all, these accusations were—and are still—made against their leader Ketteler, and most unjustly. Of the sentiments of the other German bishops, which led to their unconditional acceptance of infallibility, I cannot judge from my own knowledge, but of Ketteler I can. Even to this day I am filled with admiration for his attitude; but at that time it literally hammered into me the belief in Church and Pope. For his submission, in spite of the heaviest sacrifices, was the fruit of his belief in the divine authority of the Church, the infallible direction of its general councils by the Holy Ghost, *i.e.* by God Himself. "God has spoken through the decision of the majority of the Council; nothing then remains for man but the submission of his heart and reason." How

many a time did I hear the venerable gentleman speak thus after his return from Rome! His experiences there had been painful. The human, too human, element in the Romish Church had come against him in the shape of fabrications, falsehoods, lies, and venal pushfulness, with all their strangling effects, but out of all that revolting mass the Council's definition of the infallibility shone forth like a gleaming lighthouse kindled by God Himself.

Only those who understand the Catholic belief in the divinity of the Church can understand and respect Ketteler's "change of view." And this belief can alone supply the standard for his whole public work, his conflicts with the Government and the rest.

In one point only was Ketteler's influence on me bad. As his faith was unlimited so was his superstition. The "wonderful" and "supernatural" had an almost magical effect on him. This essentially ultramontane peculiarity was particularly manifest in his attitude towards freemasonry, for in spite of his remarkable intelligence, Ketteler believed the most amazing cock-and-bull tales about freemasons and their doings. How often have I heard him state as a "fact" that the devil himself presided over the assemblies of the chief masons. My youthful mind was in consequence animated by an actual terror of every freemason.

The belief in the devilry of freemasons is common to all Ultramontanes, as I have already shown. This is evident from the nonsense which is seriously set forth in the article on the subject in the *Staats-lexikon der Görres-gesellschaft*, a society of which Baron von Hertling, leader of the Centre, is president. But even in ultramontane circles it is rare to find the mania carried to such a pitch as it was by Ketteler. He would unquestionably have been taken in by the "Taxil-hoax" had he been still alive.

Here, surely, is another proof of the fact that natural intelligence cannot protect an Ultramontane from grievous intellectual follies. The power of inherited and acquired prejudices, further supported by the religion of ultramontane Catholics, is overwhelming, and only few succeed in overcoming it.

My intention to enter the Jesuit Order was very seldom mentioned in Ketteler's conversations with me. Though certainly not hostile to the Order, there was much in it that was repugnant to his straightforward and chivalrous nature. He often expressed himself strongly about the Jesuit abuse of proselytising, and it was no doubt on that account that I received little encouragement in my intention from him. Nor, to be frank, did I seek it.

Until his death (13th July, 1877) I kept up the closest intercourse with him. I stood by his coffin in the bitterest grief, and I am still penetrated with love, gratitude and sorrow for this excellent man, in whom I saw the ideal of a bishop, the type of a noble character.

When on a trip to the Rhine in 1903, I took my wife to the Cathedral at Mayence and showed her the resting-place of the bishop-friend who was, in my eyes, a father, a man worthy to be called noble, not in the mere commonplace genealogical sense, but in the very highest meaning of the word.

2. The Jesuit, Adolf von Doss :

It would be impossible to find a greater contrast to Ketteler than Doss, both in appearance and mind.

The tall, impressive figure of the one, his calm, distinguished, even majestic bearing, with all his excitability, contrasted sharply with the short, thin, restless, mobile mannikin, with his ceaseless, hurried speech, his spasmodic, nervous laugh, his incessant pulling at his spectacles,

through which gleamed sharp but unsteady eyes. Both my father and mother agreed to hand me over to this Father. They meant him to be my mentor, and indeed he was.

Father von Doss found a lodging for me close to the Parish Church of St. Christopher, which was in the possession of the Jesuits, so that, as he said, I could easily come to him and he to me. As a matter of course, I entered his "scholars'-congregation," and he became my confessor. At our very first meeting he took me into the church, pointed to his confessional, and said, "You will come there every Saturday." And I came.

What it was that made him so irresistible in his intercourse with the young I do not know, for there was nothing winning about him. Perhaps it was his burr-like characteristics, for where he had once got a hold he never let go. He bored a way into his penitents, tore away their innermost secrets, and before they were aware they were completely in his power. The fact remains that he dominated all the pupils of the Mayence Gymnasium; from morning to night his room was crowded with them.

Father von Doss was strongly impressed with a belief in the devil, so characteristic of the Jesuits, far exceeding even the ordinary ultramontane teaching on the subject. Everywhere he scented the devil. In his eyes the "evil one," the "black one," was an almost visible and tangible being, that stalks mankind night and day and sets snares for them on every side. I do not think it was his intention, but it was the fear of the devil that drove the young people into his net. On one occasion, of which I must speak later, during a never-to-be-forgotten night in the Taunus Mountains, he drove the fear of the devil into the very marrow of my being. Happily the dread of this, the worst phantom of religious folly and dogmatic narrowness, was expelled thence long ago.

The coarseness of his views was especially made evident in the Annual Exercises which he conducted for the scholars. He was a past-master in style, he painted with words as an artist with colours. And what use he made of this power in the conduct of the Exercises! We were made to see, hear, feel, taste, even smell the terrors of death, the judgment, hell, to such a degree that once, overcome by terror, I ran away in the middle of his discourse and sought relief at the house of a kinsman, Count Max von Galen (afterwards Bishop of Münster), the Sub-Regent of the Mayence priestly seminary.

Still the Exercises conducted by Doss were not confined to asceticism and religion, but often dealt with other matters. As he was addressing the Gymnasium pupils, one of his subjects was almost always German literature, a "danger" against which Jesuits and Ultramontanes always warn their hearers. I have no notes of my own on the subject, but his biographer and brother Jesuit, Pfülf, has published the text of one of these philippics from the Exercises of 1868. It is only necessary to compare them with the directions in the official curriculum and the utterances of the Jesuits Helten and von Hammerstein, quoted elsewhere, to observe that in his aversion to the German national spirit the Jesuit remains a Jesuit, whether he is expounding literature or any other branch of knowledge, or giving ascetic exhortations.

"And then the German classics! Indeed we Germans must almost feel shame at possessing such a literature. . . . It is a perfect mania to suppose that a man has no education who has not read through the whole of Schiller and Goethe. . . . These are our ideals: Schiller and that rake Goethe, whose pen drops biting gall when he deals with religion. Thank God, during the last few years these great men have lost a portion of their halo. Just think how they used to be worshipped! Men fell

on their knees before Goethe, and it was much that they did not even say, 'O holy Goethe, pray for us!' As to novels, I prefer to say nothing about them, for you are not girls. That sort of literature is meant to lie on the work-table and by the looking-glass, and I assume that you take no pleasure in rubbish of that sort."

Pfülf also quotes from one of Doss's articles :

"We have ventured to break through the glory that surrounds a Goethe, to tear the mask from the idol, and to say to a world still trembling with reverence, '*Ecce quem colebatis*' ! Nor was Goethe the only one over whom truth celebrated a glorious triumph, and justice, though late, broke her staff. Beside him lies many another fashion idol, injured or shattered, on the ground, awaiting the touch of pitying hands to give it decent burial."*

Such words, brimming over with folly and hate, uttered year after year before boys and youths who regarded the utterances of this mouth on this occasion as unimpeachable truth, could not fail of the intended effect.

As Father von Doss was exactly informed of my intention to enter the Order, he looked on me as already in part Jesuit property. Whenever the Provincial came to the "Residence" of Mayence for his annual visitation he presented me to him as a "postulant," the step which precedes the novitiate, and he succeeded in making me, even at that time, when I was in no way subject to the laws of the Order, lay before him and the Provincial my "statement of conscience" (*ratio conscientiae*), i.e. besides my confession, I had to give in writing the state of my conscience (sins, desires, temptations, virtuous practices).

When I compare Father von Doss with Father Link, I feel more and more how truly the latter may be called

* *Erinnerungen an P. A. von Doss.* Freiburg, 1887, pp. 287 et seq.

an un-Jesuit-like Jesuit. What a contrast there was between Link's candid, natural, and simple nature and the tortuous, aggressive manner of the Jesuit Superior of Mayence. In his exterior, too, Doss was the sort of Jesuit so frequently depicted in novels. But strange as it may seem, although I never felt drawn towards him, although the comparison with Father Link was so greatly to his disadvantage, his influence over me was far stronger than that of my Feldkirch confessor. I came entirely under his influence and was oppressed by this dependence long after I had left Mayence.

3. Dr. Heinrich Bone, Director of the Gymnasium :

Heinrich Bone was a very much respected personality in Catholic circles in the latter half of the last century, both as scholar and as man.

My parents had got to know him, when he was teaching at the Catholic Aristocratic Academy at Bedburg on the Rhine, of which my father was one of the trustees. They were, therefore, glad to send me to the Gymnasium, of which, thanks to the initiative of the Bishop of Mayence, Bone had been appointed director.

It is with gratitude that I recall this cultivated man. He kindly opened his house to the young scholar, and many an æsthetic and idealistic impulse was inspired in me by our conversations. Still my intercourse with him had no profound or decisive effect. That would not have been possible in the case of a man who lived in a world removed from reality. And it was doubtless for the same reason that his directorship of the college was not very successful. What he lacked was the power to initiate. He was a fine exponent of Sophocles and Horace, but he could not maintain order or discipline.

It was Bone who presided over the board of examiners, when I passed my matriculation examination in July,

1872. In the farewell speech of the State Representative my German essay was mentioned as the best. The subject set was a line from Schiller's *Piccolomini*: "In your own bosom seek the stars of fate."*

In how strange a fashion were these words to become my life's motto!

The completion of my school course once more brought into prominence the question of my entering the Jesuit Order, and with the punctuality of clockwork came the admonition of the Provincial. Father von Doss wished me to stop on my way home at Maria-Laach, the residence of the Provincial, "so as to make all necessary arrangements before the beginning of the vacation," which would enable me to enter the novitiate house in October without further preliminaries. I did not actually give a negative answer to his suggestion; indeed, I lacked courage for this, but when I reached Andernach, the station for Maria-Laach, I went past without stopping.

"First learn something about the world which you want to leave, and of which as yet you know nothing." These were the words spoken by the Bishop of Mayence, when, on leaving Feldkirch, I acquainted him with my desire to become a Jesuit.

And, indeed, I did learn to know the world, both in its external aspects and in my inner self. And this knowledge effected a transformation.

In spite of my pious Catholic education and my great reverence for the status of the Orders, I had never felt a strong impulse to flee from the world. Nor yet, in spite of repeated choice of vocation, had I ever really been convinced that entrance to the Order was necessary to the salvation of my soul.

But when I left the seclusion of Feldkirch for the

* Act I., scene 11.

comparative freedom of the Gymnasium, when my family circle with all its many connections received me once more, I began to feel that I belonged to the "world," that, after all, it was beautiful, good and desirable, and offered a glorious field for work and action.

But I uttered not a word of the change that was passing within me. Indeed, I had not the courage, for all those with whom I could have discussed it, my parents—especially my mother—and my confessors, would have accused me of sinful lack of determination, desertion, of throwing away the grace of vocation, and thus risking my salvation. So I let matters drift. But within me one difficulty succeeded another, for throughout my being new life, which hitherto I had hardly known, was stirring. Even the religious impulse inspired by the Vatican Council, about which I heard so much from the Bishop of Mayence, as well as in my own family, opposed rather than favoured my entrance of the Order. My desire was to fight and toil for the Church like the Bishop; and escape from the world would also have involved escape from the chosen scenes of work and conflict. For at that moment a social and political fighting organisation was coming into being in ultramontane Germany. The men who were to be found at its head, Baron Felix von Loë, von Mallinckrodt, Windthorst, Baron von Schorlemer-Alst, Mouffang, Reichensperger, found scope for speech and action in the political arena, not in the church and convent cell.

Of course, these thoughts were only apparent counter-currents, and they would certainly not have sufficed to turn my mind decisively from my determination. For it was easy enough for others, and, therefore, also for me, to prove that the Jesuit Order could provide the widest opportunities for working and fighting on behalf of the Church.

There were, however, two other circumstances which were directly and distinctly opposed to my entrance in an Order.

My life and individuality have been enriched by an endowment which I regard as one of my most precious possessions: I refer to my inextinguishable, passionate patriotism. From my earliest youth Prussian and German sentiment were among my strongest impulses to action, and this in spite of the frequent opposition in my own surroundings. And it is to this, above all, that I afterwards owed the courage and strength to burst the bonds of the Order.

My inborn Prusso-German patriotism had been greatly heightened by the Prussian victories of 1866, which revived the hopes of German unity and greatness; and now the Franco-German War of 1870-71, with its overwhelming victories, kindled in me a veritable blaze of enthusiasm. In Mayence I found myself in the very centre of the excitement.

Without intermission the troops poured through the town; outside was a great camp full of French prisoners. At the railway station we saw the Marshals MacMahon, Bazaine, Canrobert, and hundreds of French generals and officers who had been taken prisoners at Sedan or Metz. Then there was the thunder of the fortress cannon after each great victory, the triumphant reception—the first in any of the larger towns—of the new German Emperor and his great Chancellor on their return from France. All this seized my being with elemental force. And these impressions were deepened and the patriotism they awakened was heightened by the indifference, even aloofness, manifested by the whole of my family towards these great events.

The unlucky notion of the victory of Protestantism over Catholicism, which in 1866 had lessened the delight in

victory in Catholic circles, again manifested its poisonous effects in 1870-71. Indeed, it exists still to this day. Even in 1908 the leading ultramontane political paper of Germany, *Die historisch-politischen Blätter*, said:

“Nothing can be more illuminating than the statement that at Königgrätz, France too was beaten, and at Königgrätz and Sedan the whole Catholic world.”

At that time this attempt to stir up ultramontane feeling was still more “illuminating,” for it was the Jesuits who did most to spread it.

In August, 1870, during the vacation I had gone on my pony to the station at Guelders to get the latest news, and brought back the account of the first German victory at Spichern. In joyful haste, I galloped into the courtyard, and shouted the news up the main staircase, where stood my sister Antonia. Her response was an angry stamp of the foot, and the words: “Messenger of ill-luck.” In my indignation, I should have liked to let my riding-whip fall on her shoulders in unbrotherly and unchivalrous fashion. At dinner an excited discussion took place. The Jesuit Behrens, who was present, acted as intermediary, trying to place matters “in their true light,” and saying much about Protestantism and Catholicism, the assistance given by France to the Papacy, the defection of Prussia from the Catholic religion. Without openly taking the side of France, he showed plainly enough where his sympathies lay. One of my cousins, too, Baron Klemens von Fürstenberg, when on a hunting visit to our house, told me that at Paderborn at the beginning of the war several Jesuits had openly expressed hopes for the success of France.

In 1866 too I had had painful experience at Feldkirch of Jesuit patriotism. The same thing was repeated now on a larger scale. The result was dislike and distrust of the Order, while the idea of sacrificing my Fatherland

in order to become a cosmopolitan Jesuit in some other country became unendurable.

At that time I did not really understand the calculated internationalism of the Jesuits, and their essential hatred of Prussia, but I felt instinctively that there was on these points an antagonism between me and the Order, which went deep down to the very foundations of my being and theirs.

The Jesuit influence in our home had at this time probably reached its culminating point, at which, indeed, it remained. Its chief embodiment was the Jesuit Behrens, my mother's confessor and director. I do not think any occurrence of the very slightest importance took place without Father Behrens being called on to give the casting vote upon it. My mother was completely in his power; her dependence was such that he, a priest and monk, decided, at her request, whether my sister's dinner and ball dresses should be high or low and, in the latter case, how far they might be cut out. She used to discuss with him for hours. We children, too, were brought under him, much against our inclination.*

This excess of Jesuit influence, extending as it did to ordinary domestic occurrences and the most intimate private affairs, was a source of annoyance to me. In the person of Father Behrens, the Jesuit Order itself became odious in my eyes. Besides the love for my country, another love at that time entered my life, and directed

* It was at this time that a part of my mother's fortune must have been made over to Father Behrens, *i.e.*, to the Order, and this without the knowledge of my father. In 1889, when I, as a Jesuit, visited my mother in her widowed seclusion at Räckelwitz in Saxony, she told me that many years ago, by the advice of her Director, she had devoted part of her fortune to "a good object." She gave no name, but her directors were always Jesuits; after the death of Behrens, Fathers Hausherr and Meschler. It is certain that at her death she left about 30,000 m. (£1,500) less than was expected. She ended her story with the words, spoken with emotion and some little fear lest she should not have acted rightly: "Papa, who has entered on eternal life, will have forgiven me long ago, and you children, too, will forgive me one day."

me with all its force towards the world, which I should have to leave on entering the Order: the love for a woman.

It was a boyish love, for I had not left school when it began, but unlike the ordinary boyish love, it lasted for many years, and affected my life deeply. It was this which led me to postpone my entrance of the Order, and it was this, along with other causes, which at last, in spite of the resistance of my nature, drove me across its threshold.

My love for my cousin, Countess Mathilde W— M—, came upon me quietly, but with a power that drove everything else into the background. From the practical point of view, it was a foolish and hopeless passion; my cousin was six years older than I, and other circumstances too were unfavourable to an alliance. But from the human, immediate and unreflecting point of view, it was a glorious passion, full of joy and sorrow as is no doubt all love. And my affection was returned. But there was no demonstration of feeling between us. We never even put our love in words. Our hearts were full of tenderness, but it only showed itself in looks. Yet the knowledge of loving and being loved extended between us like some lovely garden spread at our feet. And yet, young as we were, this was no garden where the rays of early dawn shone on hope and future, but one where the setting sun already cast its lengthening shadows. We knew from the first that our love could not attain fulfilment, that its end was near. These sad anticipations of parting were not due to any external unfavourable circumstances; the main reason was my cousin's resolution to leave the world and become a Sister of Mercy. The sudden death of her father, who was killed by a hunting accident, had turned her thoughts away from the splendours of the world in which she had grown up. In 1873 she carried out her

intention; and she still wears the brown dress of the Franciscans, and serves poor suffering humanity.

Forty years have gone by since that love arose in me, and its old fires are quenched under the ashes of remembrance. It was a blossom which was never to expand. Only in the autumn of my life did I pluck the fruit of love and find happiness therein. Still, I look back lovingly on my youthful love. Even now it seems to me a sanctuary, where my thoughts linger gladly in quiet contemplation. And yet it brought grievous sorrow upon me; the most grievous of all is its share in the fatal title of this book: "Fourteen Years a Jesuit."

This is how it came about that I did not enter the novitiate after my matriculation. I did not confess to my parents the real grounds for delay, for I, too, regarded it as delay, not abandonment. My excuse was that I could not yet see my way clearly. It was only then I came to recognise how passionately my mother desired my entrance in the Order. She warned me against the "temptations of the devil," and pointed out the responsibility I incurred in "resisting the grace of vocation." My father too was now in favour of the step. Though he did not urge me, I could judge this from occasional utterances. On one occasion, when I happened to go out hunting at a time when the Jesuit Behrens, had announced a visit, and thus accidentally avoided meeting him, my father said on my return home: "I suppose it was your bad conscience that sent you away."

To all this I opposed only passive resistance. I lacked the courage to speak openly and confess the whole truth. For I myself believed in my "bad conscience"; the fear of criminally risking the "grace of vocation" was alive in me, and a half-heartedness, induced by my education, animated my whole being. The independence of my

thought, judgment, resolution, though rooted in the depths of my nature—else, indeed, I should not stand where I now do—dared not show itself. I was prevented by religious and ascetic prejudices and reasons, due to my education, from giving expression to my own will.

This, indeed, has been the curse of my life for many years. It caused a division within me which brought me much suffering. And with this divided mind I finally took the most momentous step of my life. I shall have to return to this once more, since it deals with an abuse closely connected with Catholic education and piety.

It was about this time that Cardinal Count Reisach, formerly Archbishop of Munich, and afterwards President of the Vatican Council, came to pay us a visit. I mention him because it shows one of the most disastrous peculiarities of Ultramontaniam, which enables it to acquire power and influence in the Catholic and non-Catholic world: I mean its external pomp and splendour.

Our cousin, Count Rudolf von Schaesberg, escorted the Cardinal, who was on a visit to him and his wife, Countess Waldburg-Zeil, to our house in a carriage drawn by four horses, with outriders and lackeys. My parents received the "prince of the Church" at the foot of the great staircase. At the table, covered with the richest display of pomp, the Cardinal sat between my parents. After dinner, Reisach held a reception, and the guests were allowed to kiss his hand. When my turn came, he patted my shoulder, and said: "He would make a capital Zouave for the Papal army." For at that time a number of North German noblemen served in the army of "the Vicar of Christ," among them my two brothers-in-law, Counts Franz zu Stolberg-Stolberg and Franz Xavier Korff-Schmising-Kerssenbrock. If a Royal Prince had visited us at the same time as the Cardinal, he would have played a secondary part to the purple-robed "successor

of the apostles." Bishops, Cardinals and Popes are in ultramontane eyes "princes" *par excellence*, who take precedence of all other princes. I remember that Count Ferdinand von Galen, member of the Reichstag and leader of the Centre, once said to me: "After all, my real prince is the Bishop of Münster."

If the temporal princes, the State and the rest of the public would consistently refuse to tolerate the princely claims and the ostentatious behaviour of the ultramontane hierarchy, they would help to kill one of the roots of ultramontane power.* But the ignorance of Ultramontanism is so great that temporal princes, the State and the general public actually encourage the regal pretensions of the princes of the Church. At Court and everywhere else the floor must feel honoured if it is swept by the long red silk train of a cardinal's robe. And the floor of our own house was honoured by this distinction.

One of Reisach's sayings has remained in my memory: "The evil forces of Protestantism and freemasonry are let loose against us. But France, so dearly loved by the Holy Father (Pius IX.), will once more save the Church."

Clearly the gift of prophecy is not one of the prerogatives of Romish cardinals, for this was said before the outbreak of the Franco-German War. But they do claim the right to insult Germany, even when the cardinal is himself a German.

* See my book, *Moderner Staat und römische Kirche*. Berlin, C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn.

CHAPTER VIII

STONYHURST—BONN—GÖTTINGEN

Now began a series of deliberations between my parents and the Jesuits who frequented our house as to the next stage in my education. Needless to say that it was the Jesuits and not my parents with whom lay the final decision.

Though not yet prepared to enter a novitiate, my steps were directed towards a Jesuit House; I was sent to England to study philosophy at the Jesuit college at Stonyhurst. The plan met with my own approval. In this way I should see something of the world, and make acquaintance with England and the English language.

As my parents did not wish me to travel alone and were unable to accompany me themselves, my uncle, Baron Felix von Loë, escorted me to my destination across the Channel. In London, where we spent a few days, we saw all the usual sights; but one of our chief objects was to visit Cardinal Manning, the Catholic Archbishop of Westminster. The conversation, conducted in French, which Manning spoke atrociously, dealt with the Council, infallibility, the conflict with Rome impending in Germany, the position of the Catholics in England.

Manning was imbued with all the fanaticism of a convert. His thin, haggard exterior harmonised with the fanatical fire within. At that time I did not know of his hostility to the Jesuits. Some years later, when I was residing in England as a Jesuit, my colleagues in the

Order informed me in detail, and with some violence, of this peculiarity of Manning's.

Jesuits are good haters. Those who are not for them are against them, and are treated correspondingly. It makes no difference whether a man is a Catholic, priest, bishop, or even Pope. Indeed, the more influential and orthodox the opponent, the greater the obligation to be on the Jesuit side, and if he is not, so much the greater justification for hating him.

Fortified by Manning's episcopal blessing we went north.

Officially and legally the Jesuit Order is prohibited in England. But, in fact, the Jesuits have a number of settlements there, and the magnificence of their churches bears testimony to the wealth of the Order and its adherents. Stonyhurst, picturesquely situated in Lancashire, is the finest and most ostentatious educational establishment of the English province, perhaps of the whole Order.

In addition to the humanistic studies, which are adapted to English needs, there is also an elementary philosophy course. Each "philosopher" has a room of his own, and enjoys a considerable degree of liberty. We could choose between a philosophy course delivered in English, and the Latin course given by Jesuit scholastics in the neighbouring seminary. My choice fell on the latter, but I learnt next to nothing. For I was soon infected by the idleness which raged with devastating fury among my co-philosophers. The majority of these, sons of well-to-do or even wealthy families, cared only for a life of Epicurean comfort, and took no interest in work or study.

In fact I saw at Stonyhurst a laxity in education and supervision which certainly does not redound to the credit of Jesuit education. Our First Prefect, Father Eyre, brother of the Archbishop of Edinburgh, pursued a

policy of letting things alone. It was an open secret that not a few "philosophers" made use of the easily granted leave of absence to visit brothels in Liverpool, Manchester and London; some of them even kept their mistresses in little villages in the neighbourhood of the college. In March, 1873, five of us hired a coach and drove to the Grand National Steeplechase, and it was the intention of my companions to finish the evening at some Liverpool brothel.

That such proceedings, occurring under the eyes of Jesuit teachers, though not inside their college itself, did not shock me even more, and produced no lasting dislike to the Order, was no doubt due to the fact that my experiences at Feldkirch and in my own family were so utterly different that I scarcely regarded Stonyhurst as a Jesuit college. The Fathers kept aloof from me, and I had scarcely anything to do with them.

Our second Under-Prefect, Father Kerr, was a charming man, of a serious disposition, and a member of a good Scottish family. Many a pleasant hour did I spend with him. He was an agreeable contrast to the first Sub-Prefect, Father _____, brother of the late Cardinal Archbishop of _____. A more conceited, frivolous and un-religious Jesuit I have never met. But he is still an ornament of the English province, and enjoys considerable reputation as a preacher and ladies' confessor.

A sharp contrast to the general laxity of morals was afforded in characteristic Jesuit fashion, by the strictness of the discipline in regard to outward pious observances. Absence or unpunctuality at matins or vespers or mass was punished by an imposition.

My experience of the instruction given at Stonyhurst is summed up in a word: it was worse than bad. The philosophy lectures in English which I attended several

times from curiosity were extraordinarily superficial, and the Latin course by the scholastics of the Order was only a pretence at study. For which of us "philosophers" could follow the lectures in Latin? There was no supervision and no guidance. My own philosophic studies consisted in reading English newspapers and novels, especially Dickens and Scott, playing chess and billiards and visiting at English country-houses, where I went fox-hunting and enjoyed myself immensely.

Nor was the humanistic instruction any better, to judge from the reports of others, for as a philosophy student, I was not concerned with it. It was in part, *i.e.* in respect of time-tables and text-books, adapted to the petrified, official curriculum of the Order, in part to the examination for the B.A. degree, for which Stonyhurst pupils were prepared. This preparation consisted in the dreariest routine, the merest cramming of the examination requirements, I talked to many of those who underwent this training; they knew the set subjects in Latin, Greek, Mathematics, off by heart, but a single question outside this framework "stumped" them. There was an absolute lack of any systematic methodical comprehension of the subject. No doubt this was due to the mechanical methods of instruction then, and to some extent still, prevalent in England. But it shows that, as I have frequently said, the Jesuit Order of itself creates no educational values and awakens no new life.

In August, 1872, I left Stonyhurst for home.

In the meantime an event had occurred at home, destined to be of the greatest significance in determining the whole course of my life. During the last few days of my stay in England, which I was spending at Newnham Paddox, the Earl of Denbigh's country seat, I received the news of my sister Marie's engagement to Count Franz

zu Stolberg-Stolberg, a grandson of Count Friedrich Leopold zu Stolberg-Stolberg, well known as a poet and convert to Catholicism. He was early left an orphan and brought up in the family of his uncle, my godfather, Count Caius zu Stolberg-Stolberg. After serving in the Austrian army, he entered the Papal Zouaves, where he continued until the occupation of Rome put an end to the Papal army. He then undertook the management of his estates in Saxony.

This engagement and marriage were in almost every respect unfortunate. My sister was consumptive, my brother-in-law diabetic, though at the time of the engagement this was not known. Nor was it really a love-match on my sister's part. The whole thing had been engineered by the Stolberg ladies, the same who had once burnt the *Kreuzzeitung*; they were anxious to find a good wife for their cousin. That my parents gave their consent almost surprised me. But here, too, a false conception of religion prevailed over human sentiment. "Franz is such a good pious Catholic," they said, "the marriage is bound to turn out well."

My sister Marie and I were united by the closest ties. She was my counsellor and my confidant; and it was she who incessantly admonished me of my "duty" to join the Jesuits. Her premature death in July, 1878, and all the circumstances connected with it made an ineradicable impression on me, and literally forced my will into the direction she had always in her lifetime indicated as that which I ought to follow. To these sad and significant events I must recur later.

In October, 1872, I went to the University of Bonn, where my elder brother, Wilhelm, had already been a year in residence. Like him, I decided to study Law, and put my name down for the lectures of Stitzing,

Schulte, Bauerband, Sell, and Hälschner. My studies, however, did not come to much, for social life and amusement carried the day.

Together with some other young nobles we formed a little society of our own. Among our number was Baron Luis von Aehrenthal, so prominent of late as Austrian Foreign Minister. At that time we never suspected in "Luis" the makings of a great statesman; indeed, we did not consider him particularly clever. Nor do I think that his ministry will prove beneficial to Austria. His action with regard to Bosnia and Herzegovina seems to lack forethought and deliberation.

One of my most agreeable memories is connected with the future Grand Duke of Mecklenburg, Friedrich Franz III., who was our fellow student at Bonn, and proved an amiable and dignified comrade. Another was the future Grand Duke of Oldenburg, who was also residing in Bonn and its neighbourhood "with a view to study." He has happily developed from an idle youth into an excellent prince.

If our circle was foolishly exclusive socially, it was even more so in religious matters. The first condition was ultramontane Catholicism. The beginning of the struggle with Rome (*Kulturkampf*) and the factions particularly emphasised at Bonn by the presence of the "Old Catholics" strengthened the "thoroughness of our sentiments." Here are some illustrations:

The decree of excommunication against the Old Catholic professors, Reusch and Langen, was copied by me and fastened to the University notice-board at night, while some of our party kept guard. When in a lecture Professor von Stitzing declared that the State was the sole source of public justice, and dwelt upon its absolute sovereignty, several of us left the hall as a demonstration; for we felt it right to protest against the anti-ultramontane doctrine

which denies the supremacy of the Church over the State. At an evening party given by the Curator of the University, Beseler, the Old Catholic Bishop Reinkens was present. We ostentatiously refused to be introduced to him, and when he addressed a guest at the table where some of us were seated we stood up and walked away with scant courtesy. We frequently visited at the house of my cousin, Baron von Loë, afterwards General Field-Marshal. At that time he had just handed over the command of the Royal Hussars at Bonn, which he had held during the campaign, but had kept on his house there, in which his wife and children resided. With them at that time lived a friend of his wife's, the nun Amalie von Lassaulx, whose refusal to subscribe to the dogma of infallibility had brought her into considerable prominence. So long as she was in it we kept aloof from my cousin's house, to avoid being polluted by contact with the heretic. We did not, however, think ourselves polluted by associating in the same house with Countess Sophie Hatzfeld, who had been Lassalle's mistress, although at that time she was living with another Socialist friend, whose name, I believe, was Mende. I do not wish to cast a stone at this courageous and brilliant woman, who in the assertion of her freedom set herself above the conventions of religion and society. I am only using the words from the ultramontane point of view, which at that time was my own. For according to this, heresy is the greatest of all sins. A heretic must be burnt, and shunned, no matter how high his standard of morals and conduct.

But enough of the ultramontane follies of that period !

In speaking of my residence at Bonn I have still to mention my connection with the Catholic Students' Association, Arminia. Von Doss, who kept me in touch with him by a regular correspondence, gave me no peace

till I joined it. I was by no means willing, for, to tell the truth, I at that time suffered from "pride of birth," and, with all our Catholicity, we Catholic nobles considered the Catholic students' unions plebeian. Of course we must approve them in principle and support them officially, but intercourse with these yokels was impossible. This point of view was very clearly represented by Count Droste-Vischering-Erbdroste, the present General Commissioner for the General Assemblies of German Catholics. Once when he was on a visit to Bonn, I begged him to come to one of the social evenings of the Arminia. He gave an emphatic refusal, saying that he felt ill at ease in such company.

I therefore met with considerable opposition from students of my own class, especially from my brother Wilhelm, when I announced my intention of joining a Catholic Students' Association. In spite of this I carried it out, because von Doss had represented it to me as a "Catholic duty." Nor do I regret it; for it enabled me from my own experience as an "Arminian" at Bonn, and later as a "Winfridian" at Göttingen, to comprehend the close connection between the Catholic Students' Associations and the Centre party. Generally speaking, however, the life in these Catholic associations is anything but religious, and as much drinking seems to go on there as in undenominational associations.

But the aristocratic dislike for the "plebeian" students' associations is continued in the Centre, and it is this which gives importance to what would otherwise be a trifle.

Again and again the inference has been drawn from this or that action on the part of members of the Centre and lower class Catholics, that decay has set in in the Centre edifice. The deduction is inaccurate. The oppositions which exist in the Centre can be traced back to the opposition between aristocracy and democracy. But

while in former times the aristocracy had the decisive influence, to-day the power is in the hands of a demagogic democracy. The representatives of the aristocracy in the Centre (Hompesch, Praschma, Loë, Galen, Wolff-Metternich, Spee, etc.) have been forced, much against their will, to yield to the democracy, in order not to forfeit their mandates. The few aristocrats who refused to do so have been driven out of Parliament. A minority are now attempting in the "German Union" (*Deutsche Vereinigung*) to injure the Centre party. Ignorance is the cause of the undue stress laid on such matters in non-ultramontane circles. It is a case of "the falling out of faithful friends" both in the Centre itself, among those who elect it, and in the whole ultramontane Catholic world outside. Of course there are differences of opinion there too, but the common ultramontane interest eventually dominates and levels them all. The Fronde against the Centre is unimportant and ineffective, because it is not supported by anti-ultramontane sentiment. The Frondist themselves are as ultramontane as the Centre, for they, too, are under the spell of the theory that Rome, Pope and Bishops are the decisive authorities on all domains, even of public life. They are, therefore, in agreement with the Centre which they oppose, on the very point which constitutes its actual essence.* How then could there be any really destructive opposition?

My year at Bonn was a time of inner conflict. I could not escape the consciousness of my sin against the grace of vocation in postponing my entrance of the Order. And this feeling was further stimulated by the letters from my mother, my sister Luise—herself a nun—my sister Marie and Father von Doss. On the other hand, the world to which I really belonged was being more and more revealed to me. And my love for my cousin

* Cf. my book, *Rom und das Zentrum*. Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel.

found plentiful scope at Bonn, where she often stayed with her grandmother, while her own home was not very far away.

I told my troubles to a friend who lived at Bonn, Baron Karl von Boeselager; but I had fallen from the frying-pan into the fire. He had himself formed the resolution, which he soon carried out, of joining the Jesuits, and he brought the whole strength of a temperament, saturated with mysticism, to bear on my irresolution, discoursing for hours through the continuous smoke of his long pipe on the duty of "despising the world and its vanities" and "following the inward call."

The events of that period also helped to force me irresistibly towards the Jesuits. The "Jesuit law" of July, 1872, had expelled the Order from Germany. This served to heighten the enthusiasm of Catholic circles, and, with the fate that seemed to pursue me, it was my family in particular that was drawn more closely to the Order through its expulsion.

In Holland, close to the German frontier, my father owned an estate on which stood an ancient castle. Under the influence of the Jesuit Behrens, my mother succeeded, after many a hard contest, in persuading my father to hand over this castle of Blyenbeck as a permanent residence for the exiled "German" Jesuits. The announcement of this gift caused considerable sensation. In *Kladderadatsch*, the comic paper, there appeared a couplet—cutting indeed, yet true.

"O Count, the news has reached me, be sure my words will fit:
Easy enough to get them, but hard to make them quit."

If in the past the Jesuits had been frequent visitors at our house, there was no end now to their coming and going. Their entrance into Blyenbeck was celebrated with

the greatest solemnity. The Superior, Father Oswald, was escorted by my parents in a four-horse carriage, and on their arrival ceremonial addresses were exchanged, in which unlimited gratitude alternated with unlimited appreciation.

We grown-up children, who were present at the ceremonies, were greatly impressed. Indeed, regarded superficially, they had a pathetic element: a group of men, who had hitherto lived quietly and peacefully, in Germany, apparently devoted solely to works of piety, is "driven into exile." Pity and admiration are strong motive powers, and they impelled me too to abide by my resolve, in spite of all repugnance. But even then I could not make up my mind to take the decisive step.

The immediate result in our family of the expulsion of the Jesuits was that our domestic chaplain, in spite of the illegality, was always a Jesuit. Fathers Hausherr, Kohlschreiber, Platzweg, Meier and others succeeded one another in this office. In particular, Father Hausherr, a hideous Swiss, acquired considerable influence over us all, and literally justified his name (Master of the House).

My spiritual agitation was increased this year by a stay with Father von Doss, who had invited me to visit him in his "exile." His place of exile was the lovely little country seat, Marxheim, near Hofheim, on one of the heights of the Taunus, belonging to the widowed Princess Alexander zu Solms-Braunfels, a kinswoman of mine, who entertained him here in the character of her spiritual director.

All through one hot summer night till dawn of day the Jesuit and I sat together in the garden. The eloquence of his ascetic discourse struck upon my already burdened conscience with the force of blows from a hammer. Again and again he shouted in my ears, "It is the devil who

is holding you back"; and he described the personality of the evil one and his presence near me in such vivid colours that I seemed almost to see him before me that night and indeed long afterwards.

Crushed in spirit, I returned to Bonn, but even then I did not enter the novitiate.

The summer term drew to an end. I spent a sad vacation, for the cousin to whom I had given my heart was about to enter a convent. I could not bear to be in the vicinity. In order to be further away at such a time, I went to stay with my sister, Marie Stolberg, in Saxony, and thence to Upper Silesia, to one of my relations, Count Prashma. But I was removed from her in place alone. I could not shake off the two thoughts so closely intermingled: End of my love; Entrance in the Order.

On the return journey I narrowly escaped death a second time. One circumstance connected with the occurrence is worth mentioning.

I was returning by the quickest express, which at that time left Berlin at midday, and reached Cologne soon after 9 o'clock. I had taken a seat in a first class compartment in the front part of a carriage, but suddenly an inexplicable feeling came upon me which impelled me to seek another seat in the middle of the carriage. Near the station of Berge-Borbeck our train was derailed when going at full speed, and three persons were killed and several injured. The compartment where I had been at first was telescoped; the middle compartment, in which I was seated, resisted the shock and I came off unhurt.

At that time I regarded the sensation, which impelled me before starting to change my place for another, as a warning of "Divine Providence." I shall have occasion later to explain in some detail my present conception of

God and Providence, but as to this particular occurrence I will say this :

If the sensation that saved me was really sent by Divine Providence, then God saved me, in order that, after a hard life in the Romish Church and Jesuit Order, I should emerge as a bitter foe, well equipped by my knowledge to attack both institutions. In that case I was, as it were, predestined by the special protection of God to my life work: the fight against Ultramontanism and Jesuitism, since foreseeing this, He approved it. Else, why should God, who from the Catholic point of view foresaw the road I should travel, have saved me in this wondrous fashion if He did not approve of this appointed road? Would it not otherwise have been barbarous cruelty to prevent my "good" death by a miracle and so direct me towards the path of "evil"?

Ultramontane believers may explain this awkward dilemma as they please. I can only say :

"There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy."

I did not wish to return to Bonn, for it was connected with too many memories, and my next choice fell on Göttingen. It was not easy to obtain the consent of my parents to attendance at a University in Protestant surroundings. But if I had hoped that the change of scene would give a different direction to my thoughts, I was doomed to disappointment.

Though love for my cousin was no longer lawful, since it would be a sin to love a nun, she was ever before me as a shining example, admonishing and calling me. She had taken the great step. Surely, it was cowardice that kept me from following her! Was I justified in continuing to lead a life of comfort and pleasure, while she spent an existence in self-chosen poverty and abnegation?

As the result of these meditations, my student days at Göttingen, when I was but twenty, were spent as in a convent. This may have been advantageous for my studies, for I was most regular in my attendance at the lectures of my professors, Ihering, Mejer, Waitz, Frensdorff, but it was bad for my character. I no longer stood on my own feet, nor thought my own thoughts, but those of others.

The death of my father during my residence at Göttingen was a severe blow. He was listening to a letter from my sister Marie, informing him of the hopeless illness of her husband, and with the cry, "The poor child!" fell back paralysed. His stern manner cloaked a most loving heart. He lay unconscious for nine days, and passed away peacefully on the 19th of December, 1874, just twenty-nine years before my mother.

This event served to deepen the melancholy and dissatisfaction which had settled on my young life. A few months later, in March, 1875, I lost my sister Antonia, who had in the previous April married Count Franz Xavier Korff-Schmising-Kerssenbrock. The tragic death of mother and child, after one year of marriage, left deep traces on my religious life.

Just before her confinement, which was to prove fatal, I had been spending the Easter vacation at home. The news from her made us increasingly anxious, and my mother set out at once. As became a true member of our family, I had recourse to the Madonna of Kevelaer. From my earliest childhood I had been accustomed to carry all my troubles there. For nine days, the period of a "novena," I went on foot every morning to Kevelaer and back—two hours each way—and prayed to the miraculous image for my sister's recovery. On the ninth day, when I entered the courtyard on my return from

Kevelaer, the telegraph boy entered from the opposite side. He handed me a telegram from my brother-in-law. Mother and child were dead!

Like a blow from a mighty hammer on some carefully guarded shrine this news descended on my heart. The impression of it has never been quite effaced. From that time I have regarded the miraculous image at Kevelaer with a sort of horror. Try as I would, I could not escape the thought of a fetish with neither feeling nor pity.

Even a journey to Lourdes, undertaken in August of the same year with my sister Marie and her husband, who led the first German pilgrimage to that spot, could not avail to restore my old veneration for the Madonna. It had received a blow whose effects were permanent.

The deaths of my father and sister, following one another so closely, once more impressed on my mind the transitoriness and vanity of earthly things, and confirmed the resolve previously taken to leave the world. There was scarcely an event of importance which did not seem to emphasise the admonition: Forsake the world, and enter the Jesuit Order.

In the summer of 1875 I went from Göttingen to offer myself for one year's military service with the First Regiment of Dragoon Guards at Berlin. I was rejected as "permanently disqualified." The reason was this.

Like every good Prussian, I was most anxious to serve. My mother opposed, not from anti-Prussian sentiments, but out of fear for my health. The serious illness of her daughter Marie, the death of three children (Lothar, Adrian and Antonia), and of my father in 1874, had increased her anxiety for the life of the rest. Her cousin, General von Loë, afterwards Field-Marshal, at that time commanded the Horse-Guards Brigade in Berlin. The idea of serving with one of his crack regiments attracted

me, but it enabled my anxious mother to write to Walther Loë, begging him to do everything in his power to prevent my admission. And strange as it may seem, he granted her request. He received me with the words: "No, Paul, we are not going to have you; your mother does not wish it." He sent me with a sealed letter to the medical officer, Böger, the private physician of William I. Böger sent me to the regimental doctor with the diagnosis "consumptive." Even in the barracks my mother's opposition and my cousin's influence had their effect. The Colonel, whose name I have forgotten, said, when I presented myself before him: "No, my dear Count, I am afraid it can't be done." He took me himself to the regimental doctor, and left me to be examined with the comment: "You will find him disqualified." The examination was a long one, and I could not help seeing how hard the good fellow found it to testify to my "permanent disqualification." But he dared not act in opposition to the chief army medical officer, the Brigadier-General and the Commander of the regiment. Only long afterwards did it dawn on me that these proceedings were wrong. At that time my only feeling was of vexation that I could not enter the First Dragoon Guards. A year's service in Berlin would probably have turned my thoughts in another direction; the strict discipline and the social requirements might have cured my inner indecision and my shrinking from the "world." But it was not to be.

CHAPTER IX

THE INTERVENING YEARS

LOURDES AND THE *KULTURKAMPF*

THE most fateful event in ecclesiastical politics of the nineteenth century, which will doubtless continue during the twentieth to exercise a pernicious influence on creeds and religion, the "Struggle with Rome" (*Kulturkampf*) made the deepest impression on my mind and thoughts.

If anyone had sought to breathe new life into German Ultramontanism and fuse the German Catholics into a political party strong enough to withstand the onslaught of decades, he could have imagined no more effective procedure than the *Kulturkampf* as conducted under Bismarck's ægis.

Ignorance of the nature of the Catholic religion and Ultramontanism, and of the difference between the two, had induced this great man, in spite of his great intellect, to adopt measures which produced results the very opposite of those he desired to attain. Instead of weakening Ultramontanism and excluding it from the political and religious life of the new German Empire, he helped to increase the power of this worst foe of religion, and to fuse it more closely than before with the Catholic faith which it had so grievously abused.

For every one of the prohibitory laws struck not so much at Ultramontanism as at the Catholic religion, thus wounding most deeply the religious feelings of the Catholics, who thought, often correctly, that their most sacred

doctrines were being attacked. The result was an opposition which sent the State "to Canossa" and created the Centre party.

I do not propose here to discuss the *Kulturkampf* from the aspect of Church politics. I have dealt sufficiently with this in two other books,* and have shown how a right and necessary struggle with the Church should be conducted. In this place I am dealing with the particular conflict, and its religious effect on myself.

The effect then was to arouse to new life all the ultramontane tendencies that had become mine through inheritance and education.

I saw bishops sent to prison because they refused to accept their deposition from the State; I saw priests persecuted and punished like criminals because they brought to the sick and dying the consolations of their religion, or buried the dead with the rites of the Church; I saw police officers and gendarmes force their way into churches and drag priests from the altar in their sacred vestments, because they were celebrating Mass; I saw that which in Catholic eyes is the most sacred of all things, the consecrated host, thrown roughly and violently out of the tabernacle by non-Catholic officials.

Sights like these were calculated to inspire my religious heart with frantic devotion for a religion attacked with such amazing folly and brutality.

Nor was it long before the opportunity offered for giving outward expression to my devotion. Our house had become the hiding-place for persecuted priests, who, at dead of night, disguised as peasants, performed the religious offices prohibited by the police. I used to drive them across country by unfrequented roads, and often my swift ponies enabled them to escape from the pursuing

* *Moderner Staat und römische Kirche* (Berlin, C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn); *Rom und das Zentrum* (Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel).

gendarmes. For a long time the Suffragan Bishop of Posen, Dr. Janiszewski, who had suffered "deposition"* and imprisonment, was in hiding at our house. My brother and I used to attend him during his walks, to protect him against possible dangers in the shape of police. Another "deposed" bishop, Dr. Martin, of Paderborn, was interned in the fortress of Wesel, at no great distance from our home. He managed to send us word by the pastor of Guelders that he should escape on a certain night, and hoped for our assistance. My eldest brother and I set out by two different roads to meet him, and my brother, who found him, took him across the Dutch frontier.

At Cologne I myself was a witness of the arrest of Archbishop Melchers and heard the many-headed multitude sing as an accompaniment to the abominable conduct of the police, the beautiful hymn, "*Wir sind im wahren Christentum, Herr Gott, dir glauben wir.*" A few days after I saw the Archbishop in his cell and read in the prison register, among thieves and rogues, the entry: "Melchers, Paul, Dr.—basket-maker."

No wonder that a time that provided such experiences should have turned my mind again to spiritual instead of temporal things. The self-sacrifice of priests and bishops, which was ever before my eyes, was a constant admonition to me not to forget the sacrifice which I, too, owed to God.

In my gloomy ascetic mood, caused by the death of my father and sister and the exciting religious experiences of the *Kulturkampf*, I was only too ready to join a German pilgrimage which my sister Marie and her husband were conducting to Lourdes in August, 1875.

* It is impossible to say how absurd State deposition of a bishop appears in the eyes of Catholics. What extraordinary ignorance prevailed at that time among the Berlin law-manufacturers! However, the same ignorance still exists there.

At that time Lourdes was at the height of its reputation as a sanctuary of the Madonna, a position which it unfortunately still retains.

In 1858 the Mother of God had appeared eighteen times to a peasant maiden, Bernadotte Soubirous, in a rocky grotto, near Lourdes, and announced herself as the "immaculate conception" (*Je suis l'immaculée conception*). At this spot there rose a spring, which soon acquired such volume that it now supplies 122 cubic metres of water a day, and fills nine baths for the sick. Provided with an apparition, a spring and miraculous cures, it was fully equipped as a place of pilgrimage. Thousands of the faithful (millions indeed now) flocked to Lourdes from every country. Three Popes, Pius IX., Leo XIII., and Pius X., gave their sanction to the proceedings. A decree of the Ritual Congregation of the 13th November, 1907, appointed the festival of the "Apparition of the Blessed and Immaculate Virgin Mary" to be celebrated by the whole Church, with a special Mass and office, so that it might almost be said that the Church itself had pronounced its infallible judgment on the genuineness of the Lourdes apparitions.*

The days we spent at Lourdes were characterised by a sort of religious frenzy. Mass suggestion, conspicuous even at German places of pilgrimage, holds sovereign sway at Lourdes. It is impossible for any faithful Catholic to resist the exciting influences which saturate the atmosphere there. In that glorious Pyrenean setting, the religious frenzy raging day and night in front of the miraculous grotto, throughout the splendid basilica and in the streets of the town, amid the roar and rush of singing and praying

* How great a source of income the Romish Church derives from the great centres of pilgrimage is shown by the Lourdes balance-sheet for 1907-8: Sale of consecrated tapers, 107,500 francs; sale of devotional objects (rosaries, medals, etc.), 500,000 francs; mass stipends, 2,500,000 francs; sale of miraculous water, 140,000 francs.

multitudes, has an intoxicating effect, which crushes down every attempt at calm reflection. Add to this the loud raptures of those who have found healing, the laments of those who seek it, the open confession of sins and reiteration of their desires as the pilgrims strike their brows against the sacred rock, and the sick plunge full of confidence into the icy cold water.

If, with my changed ideas of God and religion, I were now to return to Lourdes, I should not fail to notice the pathological side of the spectacle, but at that time it was only its religious aspect that I saw, heard, and felt.

I, too, had gone a pilgrimage to seek for healing. I hoped there to cure what I held to be the weakness and cowardice of my will, which held me back from entering the Order. And I did in fact, on my return from Lourdes, present myself to the Superior of the German province, Father Hövel, and ask to be admitted; I even entered the novitiate house at Exaeten, spent a few days there as a postulant, and then left it.

Lourdes had acted as a spur to my resisting nature. When the effect was over, I felt the old resistance. I would not, I could not.

Of my short stay at Exaeten at that time there is nothing to tell. All the more important is the period that elapsed before my final admission.

Many a sorrowful experience darkened my young life, but the saddest of all were those of the years 1876-78.

My few days spent at Exaeten as postulant produced effects which weighed down my whole being with unutterable torment. To these inward tortures were added a succession of sorrowful events. And all this suffering and all these sorrows were calculated to urge a nature already bound and fettered towards the one goal that had been placed before me since my childhood, of which I had

never really lost sight, although my whole being shrank from it in terror.

A man who has crossed the threshold of an Order and withdrawn his foot, no matter how quickly, is regarded in ultramontane circles as anathema. He bears a stigma, for has he not rejected one of the greatest "graces" of God, and is not his soul in danger?

Since every ultramontane family esteems it the highest honour to have a son or daughter admitted to an Order, it is a corresponding disgrace if they desert the Order. I could give many instances of this disastrous fact. This is why many young men and women prefer to drag on a miserable existence in an Order rather than return to their families and become useful members of society. For they know they will meet with contempt. And it is this fear that keeps them from shaking off the unendurable, almost inhuman yoke.

In later years my duties as Director of Exercises and Confessor, especially in nunneries, gave me an appalling insight into this ultramontane curse. I saw beings who were destined for freedom and self-government, writhing in the fetters of ultramontane prejudice, fixing longing eyes on the gate of freedom, yet shrinking back from the brand of ultramontane contempt.

An old, grey-haired nun, who for many years had been Superior of her convent, once in a moment of confidence said to me, in a voice broken with tears and emotion: "For thirty-eight years I have done my duty like a slave in fetters; I have no conception of the meaning of happiness. Alas!" she cried, wringing her hands, "would I had had the courage to retreat long years ago. But I dared not face the contempt that awaited me."

I knew too well what I had to expect when in October, 1875, I left Exaeten after a short residence. And, indeed, my expectations were more than fulfilled. My vocation

had been "certain"; confessors and directors had all felt sure of my calling. It is impossible to say what I suffered from their pitying contempt. Nor could I blame them. My own point of view was theirs; and I regarded the Order as the state of perfection; I had been called to it; I was unfaithful and a tempter of God.

Now began a period of most painful humiliation and self-suppression. I accepted the contempt as a penance for my faithlessness; I waged a deadly fight against my own better judgment. It would be impossible to imagine a condition of more painful and cruel vacillation than I endured in the winter of 1875-6.

Had I only been inwardly free, as I was sixteen years later, when I broke through the chains of the Order! But I was a thrall in the bonds of Ultramontaniam, a slave to all its prejudices. And worst of all, my chief tormentors were the two whom I loved most in the world: my mother and my sister Marie Stolberg. With well-intentioned but pitiless cruelty they dwelt in words and letters on the depth of my "fall."

It was in this mental condition that in January, 1876, I resumed my legal studies, first till the end of the winter half-year at Würzburg, and then at Göttingen for the summer term. In the autumn of 1876 I passed my first law examination at Cologne. I did not, however, wish to take a State appointment just then. I was eager to get away, to see and hear something new, and an opportunity for travelling offered.

My sister Marie had been unfortunate in her marriage. Both she and her husband had fallen ill soon after. By the doctor's advice they had gone to Algiers in the autumn of 1876. Accordingly, Algiers was chosen as our first stopping-place when I set out for some months' travel with my brother Wilhelm and our cousin and friend, Count Paul Wolff-Metternich (later, German Ambassador

in London). Our route lay through France, Portugal and Spain. We stayed some time at Algiers and made a number of hunting expeditions into the interior, returning home by Tunis, Sardinia, Naples, Rome, Bologna, and Florence.

This is not the place to speak of the many grand and beautiful impressions we received during this long tour, but I must refer to my stay in Rome, for here I was a pilgrim rather than a pleasure-seeker.

At Rome I experienced severe inner conflicts. My Christianity, in spite of all ultramontane tendencies, was based on my inner feelings. I was painfully impressed by the stress on externals so conspicuous at Rome, especially by the splendour of the Papal Court and the pomp that surrounded the Pope's person.

We had no lack of introductions. In particular, Cardinal Ledochowski and the Papal Minister of War—imagine the “Vicar of Christ” with a War Minister!—took an interest in me. I was allowed to assist at a more detailed conversation, which the Pope usually held at the conclusion of general audiences with his own immediate suite and a few privileged strangers in his private library.

The external appearance of Pius IX., at that time at a very advanced age, was unattractive. He was small and stunted, with a puffy face and weak features, his mouth was half open, and on his nose, mouth and his white soutane there were evident traces of snuff. His gait, too, was ugly and undignified. But he was the “Vicar of Christ.” This thought is enough for a believing Catholic; he cares neither for accidents and externals of the Papal personality, nor even for the irreconcilable contradictions between the princely Court of the Pope and his position as “Vicar of Christ.”

Every Catholic who visits Rome is struck by these

contradictions, but dares not acknowledge them to himself; he feels the anomaly, but the religious inheritance of over fifteen hundred years, which is the birthright of every Catholic, harmonises the discord and bridges over the rift. Nor was I an exception, and in spite of the painful impression made on me by the essentially un-Christian character of the Vatican, with its luxurious apartments and the Swiss and noble guards who surrounded the captive Pope-King, I, too, like all my associates in Rome, became an enthusiastic admirer of Pius. The outward expression of this enthusiasm was a disgusting purchase of relics.

When on a visit to the miraculous image of Mary "of enduring help" at the General House of the Redemptionists we were, in return for a contribution to the Convent funds, offered, as objects of veneration, articles of underclothing worn by Pius IX. These garments had been obtained from one of the Pope's servants. I gave 100 lire for a vest soaked with perspiration; an English friend bought a pair of unwashed stockings, and others purchased similar objects. Their value was enhanced by the circumstance that, being unwashed, they bore more of the personality of the Pope. Whether the Pope's vest was "genuine" or not I cannot tell; I did not receive a diploma of authenticity. Perhaps it was only the property of the haggling valet, or one of his fellow servants or some pious monk. I sent the relic—for the vest was dignified with this name—to my good sister Luise at the Convent of Tournay. And, doubtless, it still edifies the foolish, pious nuns. The fruits of ultramontane piety are often somewhat unsavoury, and it is a puzzle to all who have not grown up in this close atmosphere that intelligent and educated persons can take pleasure in them.

Far more important than my visit to the Pope was one to the Jesuit General, Father Peter Beckx. By a

curious coincidence I visited the *White Pope* in the morning and the *Black Pope* the same afternoon.

On my return from the Vatican I found awaiting me at the hotel the Jesuit Wertenberg, the spiritual confessor and director of the young Germanics, one of the many Jesuits who had formerly frequented our house. He informed me that the General of the Order, who had come to Rome for a few days from Fiesole, where at that time were the headquarters of the Order, would be glad to see me. I set out then and there, still wearing the dress clothes obligatory for the Papal audience, and a few minutes later was at the "German House" and in the General's presence. Our conversation was of an intimate character. I opened my heart to the old man, whose ascetic but kindly exterior won my confidence. He knew all about me, and his advice was that I should for the present enter the State service as *Referendar*. God, who clearly had destined me for other and greater things, would speak to me in His own time. Thus, without directly inviting me to join the Jesuits, he really made his indirect appeal the more pressing.

A third visit worthy of mention was to the Jesuit Cardinal Franzelin, who was regarded as the most distinguished theologian of the Order.

In consequence of the Prussian "May laws" the question was frequently raised in Ultramontane circles as to whether a Catholic was justified in taking the oath required of all officials in the State service. Since I proposed to enter it, this oath question was a burning one for me. My best plan seemed to be to consult Franzelin, and I received an answer characteristic of Jesuit principles: the oath might only be taken with the reservation that it did not apply to anti-Church laws (May laws). But as this was an obvious reservation for Catholics to make, it was unnecessary to give it outward expression, it would

be sufficient to formulate it inwardly. Indeed, the silent reservation was more advantageous, for the State would not admit to its service Catholics who expressed the reservation, and this would be injurious to the Church. If the State made a mistake in appointing officials who were unpledged to some of the laws, it was its own fault. For they knew well enough that no faithful Catholic would subscribe to laws hostile to the Church. If, therefore, the State disregarded the silent reservation, the injury it thus sustained was the result of its own "stupidity," and no one else could be blamed.

Equipped with this theory of reservation, I took the oath at Cleves soon after my return home. The "stupid" State, in the shape of the President of the Provincial Court of Cleves, did not observe my silent reservation and assigned me to the County Court at Guelders.

I was, however, prevented by serious family anxieties from any regular pursuit of my new profession. Contrary to medical expectation, my sister Marie was about to give birth to a child. This happy event was transformed into grievous sorrow. My sister had been growing weaker and weaker; her husband, too, had become worse, and his illness was telling on his mind. My mother, who thought it her duty to be with her child during her time of trial, resolved on taking the long journey to Algiers. I escorted her there, and came away with the impression that my sister would not survive her confinement.

In November, 1877, the child, a daughter, who received the African name Monica, was born. The condition of the mother, who had given the last remains of her strength to her infant, was from that time hopeless, and her life but suffering.

From Algiers I returned by way of Vienna, where

I acted as best man at the wedding of my brother Wilhelm and the Princess Eleonore Windisch-Grätz.

About this time the ultramontane world of Germany began to be excited by the apparitions of the "Mother of God" at Marpingen in the diocese of Trèves. The Virgin Mary had appeared to three school children, and at once Marpingen became a place of pilgrimage. It did not, however, continue so for long, as the gross deception, which actually came before the Courts, was soon discovered. But before the discovery the enthusiasm for Marpingen was tremendous. The highest ultramontane authorities vouched for the genuineness of the apparitions, in particular, Dr. Scheeben, Professor of Dogma at the Priestly Seminary of Cologne, late "Papal Theologian" to the Vatican Council, and the Jesuit, Meschler. Scheeben wrote pamphlets in favour of Marpingen, Meschler, S.J., published a laudation of the "Place of Grace" in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, and, indeed, he is still the chief advocate of the Marian extravagances at Lourdes.*

My excellent mother was also seized by the Marpingen mania. She wrote, asking me to undertake a pilgrimage and beseech the Mother of God to restore my sister to health. I was only too ready. I first visited Professor Scheeben at Cologne, and he encouraged me in my resolve and gave me letters of introduction for Marpingen. There the "holy school children" promised to lay my request before the Mother of God, and conducted me to the place of apparition. I was not, however, allowed to witness an apparition, though these took place every day at a regular hour with absolute punctuality. Next day the children transmitted to me a message from the Madonna, to the effect that my sister would shortly be restored to health by the repetition of certain prayers. The instruc-

* *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, 1908, vol. x.

tions were duly carried out, and she died a few months later.

That an educated man of twenty-five, who has completed his university and legal studies, should be duped in this way, for a dupe indeed I was, would seem almost incredible, and probably I should be regarded by most people as a peculiarly susceptible subject. But in reality I was only a type of the faithful Ultramontane whose reason, when religion is in question, is completely obscured by the worst kind of delusion. A reference to the ultramontane literature of the day and its newspapers will show how completely all ultramontane circles were duped by the Marpingen swindle.

Not very long afterwards the disgusting pseudo-mystic Taxil hoax duped the whole ultramontane world, including bishops and Pope, for more than ten years. There is nothing too wild or grotesque for the credulity and veneration of a mind distorted and deformed by Ultramontanism. This was true a hundred years ago, and is true still. No amount of intelligence can save it from such illusions. Pseudo-mysticism and fetishism are too deeply rooted in brain and blood, though this fact is often forgotten in estimating the intellectual position of these circles.

On the 9th March, 1878, I received a telegram from my mother announcing the death of my brother-in-law. I brought his body home for burial from Algiers to his Saxon estate of Räckelwitz. The nights and days of that sad escort will never fade from my memory.

My mother accompanied her widowed daughter, with her child, first to San Remo, then to Vevey, and at each of these places I visited my dying sister.

From Vevey I paid a short visit to Rome. This was a pilgrimage on her behalf, for I hoped that prayers offered in the sacred places would save my sister's life.

With what fervour did I pray; how zealously I visited the holy places! Not a sanctuary did I leave unvisited. How many a time did I climb the Scala Santa at the Lateran on my knees, for only thus is it lawful to approach the stairs up which Christ was led to the judgment-seat of Pilate, and which now ranks as the "most sacred spot on earth," for here are kept a number of most precious relics, among them the "most holy foreskin of Christ."

At a private audience with Leo XIII. I besought the Vicar of Christ, whom I deemed to hold a special relation to God, to intercede for my sister. His consent filled me with joy, and gave me fresh hopes.

I feel no shame in making these confessions, for the pious follies of which I was guilty, and the superstitions to which I was a victim, sprang from the inheritance of centuries of convictions.

Kevelaer, La Salette, Lourdes, Marpingen, Rome, relics, scapulars, indulgences: all were links in the same chain of ultramontane Roman Catholic belief. At that time I believed it to be a golden chain that bound me to God and Christ, and I wore it with sincerity and conviction. And if at times the burden grew heavy, if even then my reason tried to shake it off and my natural human feelings suffered under the inhuman pressure, still my will, held fast by a thousand links to the authority of the Church, was always ready with a spurious asceticism to bring the required sacrifice of reason and feeling. Indeed, my will actually revelled in such self-suppression at times of inward and outward suffering. The harder the sacrifice the better, because the more pleasing to God.

Never, perhaps, was the joy in surrender stronger in me than during this stay in Rome and the remaining weeks of my sister's life.

On my way back from Rome I again met my sister at Frankfort-on-the-Main. She was travelling, with my

mother and her little infant of six months, in an ambulance from Vevey to Räckelwitz in Saxony. Here I also saw my cousin again for the first time since she took the veil. Being stationed at the Franciscan Convent at Frankfort, she came to the station to see her friend, my sister, for the last time. The sight of her renewed all the violence of my old love. But the storm of feeling was not to speed my vessel towards the ocean of earthly love, but now, as often before, to impel it towards the far-distant shores of eternity, which seemed then to me the only secure haven. "Flee from the world"; this was the cry that everything around me seemed to utter: the slow, lingering death of my sister, the young life of her little child so soon to be orphaned, and my cousin's monastic garb.

Animated by such thoughts, I spent the last sad weeks by my sister's dying bed. On the 23rd July she closed her eyes for ever, after a death struggle of four hours' duration, for her delicate, emaciated body still retained so much vitality.

Yet great as had been her sufferings during this whole period, mine were greater. She was the happier of us two, for her hard life lay behind her. I had lost all heart in life. All the torment of the last few months which had crushed me with overwhelming force, seemed a punishment from heaven for resisting the will of God, which had called me to the Jesuits. How often in the days before her death, when her voice was too weak for speech, did my sister whisper to me: "Paul, remember your vocation."

And I did remember it. Before my sister was laid under the earth I wrote to Father Hövel, the Provincial Superior, and asked to be admitted to the Jesuit Order. He appointed an interview, on which his decision was to depend. It took place in September. The result was

that on the 4th November I was to enter the novitiate house at Exaeten. I did not acquaint any of my relations, not even my mother, with my decision. On the 4th November I asked my brother, who was now master at our house, to lend me the carriage and pair for a drive to Venlo. I took the reins and let the swift Hungarians trot their fastest. Not a backward glance did I throw at the home where I was born and where my youth had been spent. Without a word of farewell, as though I were to return next day, I threw the reins to our old faithful coachman, Gerard, at the station, gave a last caressing pat to the steaming horses, and entered the train for Roermond, whence I reached Exaeten by carriage at half-past four. I pulled the bell, the gate was opened, and closed upon me.

It was fourteen years before it opened for me again. Even then it was not opened voluntarily. I struck it down with a blow, and so won my way to freedom.

CHAPTER X

POSTULANT AND NOVICE

THE porter—I think it must have been Brother Neissen, whose kind and dignified manner I have often since admired—conducted me to the small parlour and summoned the Rector of the House and Master of the Novices, Father Mauritius Meschler, who escorted me to the refectory, where coffee and bread were set before me. I was then handed over to his *Socius*, Father Stellbrink, who assigned me a tiny apartment and placed me under the charge of the novice, Karl Ebenhöch—Carissimus Ebenhöch, to give him the correct title. This is the form of address for all postulants and novices, till, after taking their first vow, they become scholastics and are addressed as “Brother.” Not till he receives the priestly consecration does the Jesuit become a Father and Venerable. Lay brothers are always addressed as “Brother.” Ebenhöch thus became my “guardian angel” (*angelus custos*) for the nine days of my postulancy. His office was to acquaint me with the daily routine, and in company with another constantly changing novice to accompany me on the obligatory daily walks and point out my blunders and mistakes. I was obliged to conform with his directions.

The third person whose acquaintance I made the same evening was the *Manuductor* of the Novice Master, Brother Emele, a lay brother, who, under the supervision of the Novice Master and his *Socius*, directs the postulants and novices in the domestic duties and offices which they have to perform.

I was now a "postulant" of the Society of Jesus. I had entered the forecourt of the Order. I shall therefore say a few introductory words about it.

The Ultramontane Catholic Church classifies Christians in a way unknown to the Gospels and the early Christian Church. They are differentiated, according to aims and means, into laity, priesthood, and monastic orders.

The layman stands on the lowest step. He ranges over the broad plains of religion and ethics. He, too, can attain perfection and holiness; but the means and methods of attainment are the ordinary ones, comprised in the Ten Commandments and the commands of the Church.

Even the priest is only superior to the layman by his authority and his mystical sacramental functions (*potestas ordinis et jurisdictionis*); he has no superior moral and religious obligations; for in regard to priestly celibacy, even the most extreme Ultramontane dogmatist is compelled by honesty to acknowledge that it is a disciplinary institution of human origin which has gradually established itself—not a divine and essential institution.

The culminating point of religion and morality is represented by the Orders; for their members are compelled, under pain of deadly sin, to strive after a perfection, for the attainment of which observance of the Gospel counsels takes precedence even of the commandments.*

In general the Orders are a divine institution; in particular, *i.e.* in the forms they assume in the special Orders, such as the Dominican and Franciscan, they are of ecclesiastical human origin.

* As a matter of fact, Ultramontane dogmatism has invented another state of perfection theoretically higher even than that of the Orders—*i.e.* the Bishops. The Orders aim at perfection: the Bishops are supposed to have attained it. Theirs is the *status perfectionis acquisitae*, as contrasted with the *status perfectionis acquirendae*. Of course, this nice distinction has no real value, since history, which tells of more imperfect than perfect bishops, has pronounced final judgment in the matter.

The essentials of an Order are the three vows of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience. These are the signs of a higher perfection proclaimed by Christ in the Gospel counsels. By their vow to follow these counsels members win admission to an Order and undertake to regulate their lives according to certain ascetic and religious principles.

There are two kinds of vows, simple and solemn (*vota simplicia et solemnia*). Solemn vows are so called, not from any outward solemnity, but from their solemn acceptance by the Church in the person of the Superior or some other ecclesiastic. Only the Pope can dispense from solemn vows, and these form an insuperable obstacle (*impedimentum dirimens*) to marriage. The Superior can absolve from simple vows; they are hindering obstacles (*impedimenta impediencia*) to marriage, making it unlawful, but not impossible.

The path which leads to the Order is the "grace of vocation," which is made manifest in the Choice of Vocation.

This is in quintessence the Ultramontane doctrine of the Orders. It has no connection with Christ's teaching, which knows no vows of poverty, obedience, and chastity, and ordains no Orders. And if His counsels are to be made the basis of a definite mode of life aiming at special perfection, why should we pass by other counsels emphasised quite as strongly as those of poverty and chastity, not to speak of obedience, of which, as required from members of an Order, there is not the slightest indication in the words of Christ?

The counsel of poverty, on which the vow of poverty is based, is derived by Ultramontanism from Christ's words to the young man with many possessions: "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven ;

and come and follow Me." But if we bear in mind that in the Sermon on the Mount Christ set up a standard of the highest religious morality for all men, and ended His exhortation with the universal admonition, "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect," there is no reason to suppose that the advice to the rich young man referred to a special perfection not meant for all, though Christ Himself does distinguish between the commandments necessary for "entrance into life" and perfection. In the Sermon on the Mount, which sums up His ethical code, He makes no such distinctions; there "perfection" and the "commandments" are on the same footing.

Let us suppose, however, the counsel of poverty to be valid. Is it really observed by the Orders? In how far do they obey the command, "Sell that thou hast, and give to the poor"? The Orders—i.e. the communities consisting of the individual members—are wealthy.* But ought not the rule imposed on the individual to be valid for the community?

To the objection that poverty is impossible for a community, which must own property in order to secure its existence, we can only reply that it is also impossible for the individual aspirant after perfection, and Christ's

* The balancing of accounts between Church and State in France has afforded an opportunity for obtaining official statistics of the property of the French Orders and Congregations. Here are some of the figures:—Sisters of Mercy, 7,700,000 francs; Sisters of Kindly Aid, 3,919,000 francs; Sisters of Providence, 6,121,000 francs; Sisters of St. Andrew, 6,892,000 francs; Sisters of St. Maurus, 7,775,000 francs; Sisters of Our Dear Lady of Mercy, 8,603,000 francs; Sisters of St. Charles, 10,778,000 francs; Daughters of Wisdom, 13,759,000 francs; Little Sisters of the Poor, 27,084,000 francs; Sisters of the Sacred Heart, 32,584,000 francs; Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul, 63,680,000 francs; Brothers of the Sacred Heart, 3,265,000 francs; Dominicans, 3,280,000 francs; Eudists, 3,470,000 francs; Franciscans, 3,829,000 francs; Brothers of St. Gabriel, 4,141,000 francs; Capucins, 4,778,000 francs; Carthusians, 5,390,000 francs; Marists, 6,593,000 francs; Marianists, 10,860,000 francs; Trappists, 11,127,000 francs; Jesuits, 48,325,000 francs.—Simon, *De l'Exploitation des Dogmes* (Paris, 1907), p. 78 et seq.

injunction is given to all men. He too must have possessions.

Christ's exhortation to the young man is one of the many sayings which must be interpreted according to their spirit rather than by the Oriental hyperbolic form of the expression. It bids us aspire to a higher life; it urges us to rise above the commonplace to the full extent of our powers.

Similarly the vow of chastity stands on an infirm base. It is founded on the words of Matthew xix. 12 :

“For there are some eunuchs, which were so born from their mother's womb; and there are some eunuchs, which were made eunuchs of men; and there be eunuchs, which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.”

Here the allusion is only to the celibacy of men (eunuchs), so that there is no foundation in Christ's teaching for the celibacy of women, and consequently no general exhortation to this means of perfection. Far more important, however, is the circumstance that Christ only refers to an existing state of things—“There are some eunuchs” (among whom He doubtless classed Himself in the first instance)—and delivers no commandment or counsel for the future. Nor is this affected by the concluding words, “He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.” These are necessitated by the novelty and strangeness of the fact emphasised, which He doubtless intended His hearers to realise in themselves.*

A state of celibacy based on vows is unknown in Christ's teaching.

But the untenability of the theory of an Order based

* It is equally inadmissible to apply the words of St. Paul, in chap. 7 of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, to the ultramontane theories of Orders and celibacy. Cf. my work, *Das Papsttum*, etc., II., 4., 482, 1.

on the three counsels—Poverty, Chastity, Obedience—is not fully realised till it is compared with the other Gospel counsels already cited.

No one would deny that the Sermon on the Mount embodies the religious and moral code of Christ ; for there on the mountain top He unfurled the standard which all, without exception, may follow. Of this the introductory and concluding words leave no room for doubt.

“ And seeing the multitudes, He went up into a mountain : and when He was set, His disciples came unto Him : and He opened His mouth, and taught them, saying. . . . and it came to pass, when Jesus had ended these sayings, the people were astonished at His doctrine : for He taught them as one having authority.”

In the Sermon on the Mount, then, we find a number of commands far more emphatically laid down as counsels of perfection than any of the three “ Gospel counsels ” of the Order. Why, then, should we adhere solely to these three, which in reality are not the counsels of Christ at all ? Why are the Orders not based on the Sermon on the Mount, which Christ Himself so evidently regarded as the foundation-stone of His teaching ? For there we read :

“ But I say unto you, Swear not at all. . . . Let your communication be, Yea, yea ; Nay, nay. . . . I say unto you . . . whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain.”

Is there any passage in which Christ exhorts to poverty, chastity, obedience, with the emphasis that He lays on these commands ? Yet the basis of the Orders is not sought in the Sermon on the Mount with its emphatic “ I say unto you,” but in the Gospel counsels which were never given by Christ.

Here is the reason of this startling fact. On the basis of poverty—*i.e.* communistic poverty—chastity: *i.e.* celibacy, obedience: *i.e.* blind submission—it is possible to build up strong communities, directed from a central authority. With the Sermon on the Mount this is impossible. That is why poverty, chastity, obedience have gradually been transformed by the Romish Church into Gospel counsels, and built up into a system of ecclesiastical orders.

But in that case, it may be objected, how is it that every year thousands of postulants knock at the convent gates and seek admission? Surely these thousands read the Scriptures?

They do, no doubt, although, as I have already shown, the majority have little accurate knowledge of the Bible. But it is not this or that text which drives men into convents. The motive power is general religious idealism, which, misled by inherited and acquired prejudices, hopes to find in the Order the satisfaction of its desires.

The natural idealism of the human heart has been fanned to a mighty flame by Christianity. The exhortation, "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect," a command gloriously realised in Christ's own life, has sufficed in the course of centuries to raise countless mortals above the things of earth. Mystically transfigured vistas of the life beyond, illumined by the suns of eternity, have driven mighty hosts to seize the pilgrim's staff, and amid self-sacrifice and renunciation, with boundless devotion, burning enthusiasm, all-consuming yearning for sacrifice and humble endurance, to wander along the narrow path to those heights where man may meet with God.

This Christian idealism has been, and still is, a mighty force in Catholic Christianity, in spite of the rank overgrowth of the human, all too human. Hence springs the

impulse which drives youth and maidens, men, women, and even the aged, into the Orders. It is not so much the desire to shun the world and renounce life, because life brings no joy, which leads these thousands to take the vow of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, as a high-hearted desire for life, but a life which takes as its standard the words :

“ I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me ; and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, Who loved me and gave Himself for me ” (Gal. ii. 20).

I do not hesitate to say that the convent gates open to an infinite amount of pure love of God and Christ and most heroic renunciation. Nay more, I maintain that this stream of Christian idealism flows stronger and fuller in the Ultramontane Catholic community than in any other. For the Ultramontane Catholic too is in the first instance a human being, and desires to be a Christian, which means that he too has a heart that conceals within it the shining heights and purple depths of humanity and Christianity. But it is only Ultramontane Catholicism which can place before his bodily eyes the fulfilment of his longings, by pointing to the convents, from which he seems to hear the words : “ I am the way, the truth, and the life.”

No matter that this is error and deception. For how much human idealism rests on error and deception ! Nor do they serve to check the stream of aspirants to monasticism, since of 10,000 candidates scarce one recognises the error.

The belief that membership of an Order is the highest grade of Christian life is so deeply rooted in Ultramontane circles that no one ever thinks of doubting it. For has it not been planted and nurtured there by the infallible authority of the Church ?

The stream of Catholic idealism continues, therefore, to flow to the convents, which grow and expand and yet can scarcely contain the multitude, although nothing could be more opposed to the essentially individualist, even atomistic nature of Christianity than the piety and discipline of the Orders, with their barrack-like regulations determining everything to the minute and the letter.

Of course, there is a reverse to this medal. For the idealism which sends these hosts over the convent thresholds, gradually perishes during the years of conventual life, and is replaced in countless thousands by disenchantment, disappointment, repugnance, all the helpless misery of a truth realised too late. Were it not so hard to leave a convent, were not most of the inmates aware that their departure would leave them without a livelihood or a future, incapable of providing a new occupation for themselves and despised by their companions for their fall from the grace of vocation—but for all this the stream that flows into the convents would, in the course of years, begin to flow backward. The mental misery in the convents is widespread and terrible; idealism has been transformed into pessimism and hopeless compulsion. Human nature and Christian idealism cannot be permanently enslaved and misled with impunity.

There are few to whom it is granted to escape from the yoke and the false guidance. The rest endure dumbly the unspeakable misery of a life that has missed its purpose. Many an example did I meet with in my capacity of confessor and director of Exercises, as I shall have occasion to show later.

But at first, before the dawning of recognition, the fountain of idealism which springs within convent walls flows and gushes from as clear and noble a source as could be found nowhere else in the world.

In such a stream of idealism I, too, was a drop, when my foot crossed the threshold of the Jesuit novitiate house.

POSTULANCY AND NOVITIATE

Before entering the novitiate the preliminary stage of postulancy must be passed. According to the Constitutions,* this may last from twelve to fourteen days, or even longer. The postulant, who is regarded as a guest (*hospitum more*) is kept apart from the rest of the inmates, and continues to wear his own clothes, but shares in the religious and other observances of the novices.

Before becoming a postulant the new-comer is examined by three fathers delegated by the Superior of the House, or by the Provincial himself, on the following points: 1. Whether he has ever been a heretic or schismatic, or excommunicated. 2. Whether he has committed a murder, or has been "infamous" in the legal sense of the word. 3. Whether he has already belonged to any other Order. 4. Whether he has been married—*i.e.* has consummated the act of marriage—or whether he has been a slave or vassal of another man. 5. Whether he suffers from any infirmity [which might cause mental weakness.†

If he gives an affirmative answer to any of these questions, the examination is at an end, for these constitute the five impediments which render entrance into the Society impossible. A sixth impediment, Jewish origin, was added later. But the General of the Order can dispense from all.

If the postulant labours under none of these impediments, the examination is continued.

He is now asked whether he is of legitimate birth;

* *Exam. gen.*, I., 13.

† *Ibid.*, II., 2-5.

how long his forefathers have been Christians; whether any of them committed any religious error; the names and circumstances of his father and mother; whether he has any debts; whether he has to support parents or any other relations; and whether he is willing to leave the manner of his own support to the judgment of his future Superior; the number of his brothers and sisters; whether he has ever by any utterance pledged himself to marriage; whether he has or has had children; whether he has acquired any mechanical art; whether he can read and write; whether he has any secret or apparent disease (in particular any complaint of stomach or head, or any other bodily imperfection); whether he has received any clerical ordination, or is bound by any vow—*e.g.* to undertake a pilgrimage; how he has been disposed from youth upward towards spiritual things, in particular towards prayer; how often he was wont to pray by day and night, at what hours, in what posture, in what words, and with what degree of devotion; what is his attitude towards the Mass, sermons, and meditation; whether he approves opinions contrary to those customary in the Church, and, if so, whether he is prepared to make his submission; whether in case of scruples or religious difficulties he is willing to submit to the judgment of the members of the Society who are appointed to decide such matters; whether he is fully determined to leave the world and follow the counsels of Christ given in the Gospels; how long he has cherished the resolve; whether he desires to carry it out in the Society of Jesus; whether anyone in the Society has induced him to enter it, in which case he is advised to postpone his entrance for a while.*

The *Declaratio* adds that the postulant is compelled to answer truthfully, under pain of sin (*ad peccatum*),

* *Exam. gen.*, III., 2-14.

from which he can only be absolved by the person who puts the questions.

Rule 6 for the Examiner is interesting in its Jesuitical craftiness.

“Those who desire admission must, above all, be duly questioned as to the five essential impediments; but this must be carefully done, so that they may not recognise that they are impediments which exclude from the Society, and may not, on that account, be impelled to conceal the truth.”*

Besides these, other and more important questions are put, which are not mentioned in the Constitutions. These refer to the seventh commandment: whether any sin against chastity has been committed and of what nature, especially if any bad habits have been acquired. Generally, the Superior reserves to himself this part of the examination, or determines which of the three examiners is to set these awkward questions.

As a rule, the examination does not take place immediately before admission, but some time earlier. This was my case too.

One of my examiners was Pachtler, whom I have already mentioned as a collaborator in the *Monumenta Germaniae paedagogica*. At that time he was stationed at Exaeten as a *scriptor*, the title given to the literary Jesuits, and engaged in writing articles and books against Freemasonry and Liberalism, which were quite a match for the absurdities of his Italian colleague, Bresciani, whose works occupy an honoured place in Jesuit school libraries.

It was Meschler who addressed the secret questions to me, and his examination revealed to me some of the unnaturalness of the Jesuit system; but the points raised were too intimate to deal with here. I do not, how-

* *Instit. Societ. Jesu, Romae, 1870, II., 130.*

ever, wish to throw any doubt on the subjective morality of the examining Jesuit. His questions and doubts were such as the education of the Order and its moral-theological routine had taught him to set. I felt ignorant and uncertain how to answer them, and it was only many years later, when I had myself to study moral theology within the Order, to prepare for hearing confessions, that I came to understand the questions and doubts which the Novice-Master of the German Province had placed before me when a postulant. I mention this circumstance because it shows how easily idealism and firm faith in the moral excellence of the Order enable Ultramontane Catholics to disregard obstacles which, under other circumstances, would arouse in them the most serious scruples.

It is customary for candidates to wear their own clothes during the probationary days, and so, of course, I wore mine. Though I had never exactly been a dandy, I was accustomed to lay stress on well-fitting clothes and faultless head-gear. One afternoon, just before the hour of the customary walk, my guardian angel summoned me to the *lingerie*, where the keeper of the clothes (*custos vestium*), old Brother Toffel, a French Swiss, presented me with a suit of clothes, shabby and threadbare, and of a most atrocious cut; a pair of horrible, shapeless shoes; and, to crown the whole, a hat and overcoat that would have been suitable wear for some travelling vagabond. I was instructed to put these on in exchange for my own clothes. This metamorphosis cost me a good deal of self-denial, and when I set out with my two novice attendants to walk along the high road to Roermond in the costume of a regular tramp, I felt neither disposed for the walk nor in any way comfortable. Thenceforth, though I was allowed to wear my own clothes in the house, I had to put on the "new" ones for walks—i.e. public occasions.

I had been put to the test and had passed it. Other tests soon followed. The probationary period terminated with three days' "Exercises" and a General Confession to the Novice-Master extending over my whole past life.

In the evening of November 12th I found the garb of the Order spread out on my bed: a long black upper garment reaching to the feet, fastened in the middle by a narrow girdle (*cingulum*), with a little, round black cap, the *calotte*, worn at the back of the head.* Below the outer garment was a shirt of coarse linen, breeches of some rough material, long black stockings (kept in place by suspenders). Thick shoes completed the toilette, for drawers are unknown in a Jesuit wardrobe.

There is no definite garb appointed for Jesuits. They are not to be conspicuous anywhere, but to adapt themselves to the ways of each country and place. For all that, a special dress, as described above, has become customary, especially in the German Province.

This seems a convenient place to introduce the regulations in regard to clothes, which have an interest of their own.

"The dress is to be adapted to the custom of the place where the Jesuit is residing, but should aim at a certain uniformity. The novices and tertiaries are to wear inferior clothes as a means of inducing indifference and contempt of the world. The dress of the General is determined by the whole Society at a General Congregation. The dress and cloak of the lay brothers must be a hand's-breadth shorter than that of the other Jesuits, and they must not wear the three-cornered *biretta*, but a little black cap called *calotte*." †

* At the end of the novitiate, after taking the vows, the Jesuit scholastic receives a broad girdle, and as head covering, instead of the *calotte*, the three-cornered *biretta* (not the four-cornered one worn by secular priests).

† Const. VI., 2, 15; VIII., 1, 8; III., Declar. C, ep. 2; IX., 4, 2; Decree 24 of the 7th and 30 of the 6th General Congregation; also *regulae cust. vest.*

The question of the lay brothers' hats has given rise to a great deal of talk. No fewer than four General Congregations have issued decrees and canons on the subject. There must have been some very serious discussions behind the scenes on this question of headgear. For the 31st Decree of the 8th Congregation speaks of secret voting on the matter, which it describes as of great importance (*rem adeo gravem*).

Very instructive are the comments made by the most influential of the ascetic writers of the Order, Alonzo Rodriguez, in his *Practice of Christian Perfection*, on the simplicity of Jesuit dress :

“In order the more easily to win access to every class of men it was advantageous to wear a dress not differing from that of the ordinary priest. . . . Especially as the Society was founded in the time of Luther, when the heretics shrank from the members of an Order and even from their dress. In order, therefore, to obtain more easy access to them . . . there must be nothing striking about our garb. . . . Else we should have become an object of dislike to heretics . . . and thus one of the main objects for which God founded our Society would have been frustrated.”

Early next morning the *excitator*, Brother Minkenberg, who was also Brother Shoemaker and Sacristan, aroused me with the customary salutation, “*Venite, adoremus Dominum*,” to which we had to reply, “*Venite, adoremus*.” He helped me to put on the unaccustomed garb, and I took my place in the chapel among the novices, and with them received the sacrament at the hands of the Rector and Novice-Master. Thus I became a novice of the Society of Jesus.

It was November 13th, 1878, the festival of a noble Polish youth, Stanislaus Kostka, who died in the seventeenth century at Rome as a Jesuit novice, and being

afterwards canonised, became the patron saint of all the novitiates of the Order.

THE DAILY ROUTINE

It is no easy matter after nearly forty long, eventful years to recall all the details of the daily routine, but this is correct in the main outlines :

Rise at 4. Very young novices (for they may be admitted at fifteen or sixteen), or persons in ill health, rise at 5. Dressing must not take longer than twenty minutes. Visit to the Blessed Sacrament (*visitatio sanctissimi*, the consecrated host in the tabernacle). 4.30–5.30, Meditation. 5.30–6, Mass. 6–6.15, *Reflexio*—*i.e.* contemplation of the Meditation. 6.15–6.30, *Compositio lecti*, bed-making, for a Jesuit always makes his own bed. 6.30, Breakfast. 6.50–7.30, *Relaxatio animi* (free time for relaxing the mind). 7.30–8, *Exercitium memoriae* (learning by heart verses from the New Testament). 8–9, Work in house and garden (*opera manualia*). 9–10, Instruction by the Novice-Master or his *Socius*. 10–10.15, Visit to the Sacrament in the Chapel ; then for the next few minutes *distributio eleemosynarum* (the pairs of guardian angels mutually acquaint one another with the faults or peculiarities they have observed in one another or which have been pointed out by others, whether superiors or fellow-novices). 10.30–11, *Exercitium scribendi* (a writing lesson). 11–11.15, Reading in Thomas à Kempis. 11.15–11.30, Searching of conscience. 11.30–12, Dinner, then another short visit to the Sacrament in the Chapel. 12–1, Recreation. 1–1.30, Reading the lives of the Saints—*i.e.* the life of some holy Jesuit written by some other Jesuit. 1.30–3, Work in house and garden. 3–4, School or catechism. 4–4.15, *Merenda* (coffee and bread), taken standing in the refectory. 4.15–4.45, Reading from *The*

Practice of Christian Perfection by the Jesuit Alonzo Rodriguez. 4.45-5.15, Visit to the Sacrament. 5.15-6.30, Evening Meditation. 6.30-7, Supper, then another visit to the Sacrament in the Chapel. 7-8, Recreation. 8, Litany of the Saints and of the Blessed Virgin recited as evening prayer. 8.15-8.30, Explanation of the points set for Meditation next morning by the Master of the Novices or his *Socius*. 8.30-8.45, Conscience searching. 8.45, Short visit to the Sacrament in the Chapel, then bed. All must be in bed by 9 o'clock.

On Sundays and Festivals the routine was slightly different, the domestic duties being shortened and the pious observances and recreations lengthened. On Tuesday and Thursday afternoons we had a two hours' walk.

Though in the main correct, there may be some slight inaccuracies in this account, written after a lapse of thirty-two years. But the essential point is correct: the minute division of the day into portions marked out for definite purposes.

The life of a postulant or novice, and, indeed, of the scholastic, too, affords plentiful opportunities for mortification and self-control. At the time when I entered, 1878, these were increased by external circumstances. When the Jesuit Order was expelled from Germany (justly enough), the question of a shelter for its numerous German members caused not a little perplexity. Good friends, however, came to their assistance.

When my father placed his Dutch castle of Blyenbeck at their disposal, the Philosophy students were established there. The Humanity students went to Wynandsrade, a Dutch estate belonging to a Baron von dem Bongart. The theologians and the "tertiaries" were sent to England, where a rich English lady, Lady Stapleton, made over to the German Province two country seats, Ditton Hall and Portico, near Widnes in Lancashire.

The novitiate was transferred to Exaeten, where an unattractive building belonging to some Dutch family, whose name I have forgotten, provided a shelter for the novices.

Of course these sudden removals into buildings not adapted for the needs of the Order, nor suited for accommodating such large numbers, gave rise to a great deal of inconvenience in the attempt to cut our coat according to our cloth. One of the hardest trials I had to endure was the common sleeping apartment. In any circumstances sharing a room with twenty or thirty others requires no small effort of self-denial, but our dormitory at Exaeten was a trial beyond the ordinary. It was the attic of the house, unceiled and immediately under the steep slate roof. In winter it was icy cold; often the fine snow was driven by the wind on our coverlets and pillows; the water frequently froze; while in summer we could hardly endure the heat, which was retained all night by the slates as in a radiator. A few tiny holes in the roof admitted light and air. As bathing and washing the feet were rare occurrences, the former taking place about twice a year, the latter at best once a month, and the stockings, which we hung on the bed-posts, were changed only once a week, the atmosphere in the dormitory, especially at night, was something horrible. The bedsteads were placed among the rough cross-beams of the roof, and our heads and arms often came into contact with the roughly finished wood.

For washing we had small tables, on which stood tin basins—not one for each of us, but one to serve for several. As each of us finished he poured the water away into a vessel in a little side-room and gave the basin a superficial rinse, before making it over to his successor. Other vessels, too, were rinsed in the same trough, and though it had an outlet it gave forth a most

nauseating odour which did not add to the attractiveness of the general atmosphere.

Also we were obliged to wash ourselves fully dressed. To wash in our under-garments only would have been considered immodest, so it may be imagined that the process was a very superficial one.

As the Jesuit Order is recruited from all grades of society, and the personal habits of some of my fellow novices were far from pleasant, the constant endurance of this state of things was in itself a daily mortification. Personal cleanliness is a thing to which Jesuits pay little regard, and many of them are very dirty.

There were many disagreeable things, too, connected with the close contact in the living rooms. I shared with four other novices a room obviously intended as a bed- or sitting-room for one person. For a grown-up person never to be alone, and always, whether walking, standing, or sitting, having to pay regard to others, to be dependent on their wishes even in opening or shutting a window, is a privation which increases in intensity with age, especially for those whose former circumstances were of a very different character.

At meals we sat at the inner side of the long horse-shoe table. In this way the Rector and Ministers, who sat at the upper end, had a better general view. The service was performed by novices in turn, changing every week, and some read aloud during meals, either in Latin or German.

The fare was plentiful and good. For breakfast we had coffee in large tin cups, and as much bread, without butter, as we liked. For dinner, soup, two kinds of meat with vegetables, potatoes, or salad; for supper, soup and warm meat. The meals at great festivals were often luxurious. This aspect of Jesuit poverty will be considered later.

Except during the recreations after dinner and supper strict silence was observed throughout the house. Conversation, even at recreation, was in Latin, of a character already described. Only on Sundays and when out walking was German allowed.

Our recreations were not taken in common, for free intercourse with our companions was not permitted. All the novices were divided into troops (*turmae*) of four or five, rearranged every week by the Novice-Master or his *Socius*. Only members of the same troop might converse together. When out for walks each troop consisted of at least three novices. On rare occasions there was a general recreation (*recreatio communis*), when the troops were dissolved. Each *turma* had a prefect (*praefectus turmae*), whose duty it was to acquaint the Superior with the conversation in his *turma* and any other occurrence connected with it.

One of the novices was appointed General Prefect, and the others had to obey his directions. He had to sound a bell as a signal for the beginning and end of the various exercises. There were other prefects, too, who had particular duties assigned to them. Each room had a *praefectus cubiculi*; the *praefectus lampadarum* had charge of the lamps; the *praefectus triclinii* supervised the cleaning of the refectory and its utensils, plates, knives, forks, and glasses; the *praefectus atriorum* supervised the washing and sweeping of the passages and staircases; and the *praefectus locorum* had a less attractive duty, and owing to the complete absence of proper sanitary arrangements it was an excellent means of mortifying the flesh. All these prefects were assigned a number of assistants (*socii*).

Twice a year, or oftener if the Master of the Novices preferred, the prefects and their assistants were changed, so that in the two years of his novitiate each novice had

taken part in almost every domestic duty. On disciplinary grounds, however, certain novices were retained permanently in the same office.

One of the main duties of the prefects was to report regularly to the Master of the Novices and his *Socius* every incident, no matter how small, which occurred within his jurisdiction.

Of the lessons in Latin and German I have already spoken. Every Sunday afternoon there was practice in oratory. This institution bore the curious name *toni*, probably meant as the plural of *tonus*, a tone, and it was so planned that in the course of the year each novice had to recite a portion of a sermon by heart from the refectory pulpit. This recitation was afterwards criticised by the Novice-Master, who would also call upon one or two novices to offer criticisms.

Besides the practice in recitation, there was also practice in preaching. Some of the novices with special gifts for oratory had to deliver sermons of their own composition during dinner. This rule applied to the scholastics too. In the second year of my novitiate I had to preach a sermon on St. Stanislaus' day, and seven years later, in 1886, as a theology scholastic at Ditton Hall, I preached again on the day of St. Ignatius, the chief festival of the Order.

These dinner-hour sermons, with their ascetic tenour, delivered amid the odours of hot meat and wine while the "pious congregation" is occupied with its plates and glasses, always had a jarring effect on me. It seemed a frivolous institution, and is undoubtedly a comparatively harmless application of the Jesuit principle—the end sanctifies the means—since the profanation of the sermon assists the oratorical training of its members.

Toni and sermons are continued during the whole of a young Jesuit's training, till the end of the scholastic

and tertiary periods. The great stress laid by the Order on a good public manner and good delivery finds expression in this institution. Indeed, the Jesuit Order might, with better right than the Dominicans, claim the title *Ordo praedicatorum*, Order of Preachers.

It is almost impossible to conceive the seclusion in which the Jesuit novice lives. Exaeten, the novitiate house, was situated in a desolate Dutch plain, but had it been placed in the midst of the roar and bustle of a large city the world without would have been no less dead, in a sense non-existent, for its inmates than it was for us novices among the pines and heather.

No newspaper or similar publication ever reaches a novice, nor does he hear one read. He has no intercourse of any kind. He consorts only with his fellow novices, his two superiors, the Master and *Socius*, and the *Manuductor*. He may not even converse with the other inmates of the house, the father and lay-brothers, without special leave. On very rare occasions the Master or *Socius* take part in the recreation of the novices; but as the conversation at recreation is also intended "to serve the ends of piety and spiritual progress," the discourse of these guests is confined entirely to the Jesuit aspect of virtue and asceticism.

And, indeed, the officially prescribed subjects for conversation contained in the *Catalogus* of Father Natalis which is impressed on the novices twice a year, leaves no room for worldly novelties. In accordance with this the novices and scholastics during the two daily recreations are to discourse on the following :

"1. The life of Christ and Church history. 2. The history of the Society of Jesus, in relation to things as well as persons. 3. The pious desires of the individual and the path of perfection and the fruits of daily meditation. 4. The pious desire to help our neighbours, especially

heretics and infidels. 5. The subjects dealt with in the lectures or sermons, or during the readings at dinner or supper. 6. The spirit and institution of the Society, its constitutions and rules and the grace of vocation, with humility, simplicity, and piety in the Lord, with a view to their complete observance. 7. On their own vocation. 8. On virtues, in particular those which are peculiar to members of an Order, and, above all, the grace and peculiarity of our calling. 9. On the corresponding vices, but not those of the flesh. 10. Death, the Judgment, Hell, Heaven. 11. The secret and open judgments of God. 12. The misery of the world, and the perils of those who live in it. 13. The certainty of salvation for those who live in the Society, but in humility, not preferring it in anything to other Orders, but exalting its grace in the Lord with ardent spirit. 14. Good works for our neighbour. 15. The virtues and religious walk of the fathers and brothers; above all, those who were far away or already asleep in the Lord. 16. The heretics and infidels of our own age, with a view to gaining courage to proceed against them with the sword of the spirit, and to pray to the Lord for their conversion. 17. Finally, they should discourse of such things as may at the same time relax the mind and serve to spiritual edification. Such are far removed from [scientific] speculation and full of worthy and sweet religious feelings." *

The legend relates that Paul the Hermit, who in the fourth century lived alone for sixty years in the Libyan Desert, being accidentally discovered by a traveller, asked him whether men were still born and houses built, and wars waged within the world. A Jesuit novice might ask the same questions, so secluded a life does he lead.

For my own part, when the first weeks and months

* *Instructio 13 pro renovatione spiritus*, cp. 9, *Inst. Soc. Jesu*, Romae, 1870, II. 305, 306.

had gone by and I had grown accustomed to the hardships, I felt the unending silence and seclusion of the novitiate and scholasticate a real source of happiness. This feeling of well-being is adduced by the Jesuits, and other Orders too, as an argument for the grace of God as manifested in the Order. But this is an error. Every human being capable of deep emotions, even if not religious, enjoys the benefits of quiet and seclusion when once he has penetrated to their hidden joys. Lonely mountain heights and valleys, the deep seclusion of a forest, a deserted sea-shore, drive haste and restlessness from our hearts, and make room for rest and contemplation, no less than the "peace of God" which lies over the novitiate house.

The novitiate lays the foundations of piety and asceticism. On this account I must deal with both in detail.

CHAPTER XI

THE PIETY OF THE JESUIT ORDER

PIETY and asceticism, though closely related, are quite distinct. Piety is the inward as well as the visible sign of the soul's relation to God. Asceticism is practice in self-abnegation and mortification, with a religious basis and religious aim. The piety and asceticism of the Gospels, as there set forth in the example and teaching of Christ, are the simplest and attain the highest religious and moral perfection. But while the whole contents of the Gospels have been gradually transformed by visionary fanaticism and pseudo-mystical exaltation, to say nothing of the influence of the State, this is more especially the case with the piety and ascetic practice there set forth.

The piety of Christ culminated in the relation of the child to its Heavenly Father, who is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth. To Him we should pray, not with long prayers, in the closet, not in the street or in magnificent temples. The piety of Christ is simple, natural, and spiritual. So too is His ascetic practice. It may be described as the self-discipline and self-sacrifice of a noble, natural human being, rising in heroic self-denying devotion to the highest ends of the service of God and humanity, ready to bring all necessary sacrifices and make all requisite renunciations; there is nothing violent and distorted in the piety and asceticism of the Gospels.

But if we compare with this lofty type the piety and ascetic practice of the succeeding ages and our own day,

we encounter differences, even contradictions, everywhere, among Protestants and Catholics alike. Inward piety has given place to externals, the simple and natural to the complicated and artificial, and freedom has been superseded by a system of compulsion.

Such differences and contradictions abound above all in the numerous spiritual orders of the Romish Church.

First let me deal with Jesuit piety.

The piety of an Order is the piety of the barracks, regulated in every detail and at every moment. This applies especially to the Jesuits. It kills all individuality, which ought to be the essence and life of true piety. The sign-manual of the Jesuits and the goal of their education, of which piety is one of the most important components, is the levelling, suppression, even destruction, of individuality, turning men out to pattern. Piety is not an end in itself, only, like so much else, one of the means towards its main object, the inward and outward uniformity of its members, who are the tools of its will.

This crass egotism of the Order, its refusal to recognise the right to existence of the individual, is as manifest in the pious exercises of each single Jesuit as in its scheme of study. Nowhere is it more strongly marked than in its system of supervision.

The most secret emotions of the heart, all that should rest exclusively between man and God, must be revealed to the criticism of a superior. This compulsion and criticism manifest in the highest degree the brutal egotism and levelling uniformity of Jesuit piety.

Confession as conducted by the Jesuits furnishes a most effective method of compulsion and criticism. But something beyond this is required, and is supplied by the *ratio conscientiae*, a statement of the condition of the conscience. As the subordinate is compelled to reveal to

the Superior all his religious emotions, and frequently and regularly to lay bare his whole mind and soul, the *ratio conscientiae* gives the Superior complete mastery over the soul of his subordinates. They may not be pious in their own fashion, but only in that of the Superior, or, rather, the Order. It is he who decides the matter, time, and manner of the prayers of the individual, and the whole intercourse of his soul with God.

The Order lays great stress on contemplative prayer. Every day a whole hour must be devoted to it, in the novitiate even two hours; and every Jesuit is expected to spend at least one week in the year in meditation during his novitiate and in the tertiate a whole month. For meditation (*meditatio, contemplatio*) is one, if not the main, essential of Jesuit piety. Yet even in this kind of prayer—which is called “inner,” to distinguish it from oral prayer—the Jesuit may not follow his own individuality, or find his own path to the union with God which he seeks in faith and piety. During the whole of his novitiate the subject for daily meditation is not only prescribed, but actually prepared for him by the Novice-Master or his *Socius* in a half-hour’s discourse, in such a way that the emotions to be aroused by each of the subjects of contemplation, usually three in number, are, as it were, experienced in advance.

During his scholasticate and afterwards, a Jesuit is usually allowed to choose the subject of his own meditation, but the complete dependence acquired in the two years’ novitiate is not to be shaken off, and, in any case, all attempt at original thought is checked by the Annual Exercises, in which the subjects are expounded four times a day for a whole week, and by the Statements of Conscience.

Then there are the *Lumina*. The novice is instructed to note down in a special book his experiences at each

of the meditations, the points that made the greatest impression on him, the resolutions he has taken. These illuminations must be laid before the Novice-Master, who divests them of all individuality and adapts them to the systematic piety of the Order. This supervision of the *Lumina* is perhaps the most effectual piece of levelling undertaken by the Jesuits. The *Lumina* are the meagre remnants of individual piety, which a Jesuit has retained amid the systematised forms of pious observance. By handing even this over to the criticism of his Superior, he destroys almost the last vestige of what is his own, since the Order sets its stamp on his written account of his moods and feelings, and cancels everything, even the wording, that does not fit into its own mould.

The *Lumina* also illustrate another remarkable aspect of Jesuit piety—dissection of a man's self and destruction of all that is spontaneous and impulsive. Without spontaneity and impulse true piety is impossible. A man who is compelled, after every elevation of the soul to God—for such is prayer—to fix in writing all the feelings and emotions which he has experienced, sacrifices the intimate relation of his soul with God, and his piety is only a process of registration.

Of course the Order exercises the same supervision over oral prayer. Here too time, place, and manner are prescribed. Nothing may be hidden from the Superior.

This curiosity of the Order in regard to prayer appears also in the tenth question set to candidates, already quoted. The catechising Jesuit attaches himself firmly to the soul of the postulant; no detail of his piety may escape him. If this is the manner of supervision in the case of postulants, how much more in the case of novices, scholastics, and fathers.

These peculiarities of Jesuit piety, supervision, systematisation, and uniformity, explain their opposition to

The Piety of the Jesuit Order 299

mysticism. The German mystics, such as Tauler and Seuse, with their pious individualism are to the Jesuits as fire to water. Such outpourings of the heart are alien to the Jesuit. But while deaf to this heavenly music he finds room for a very different kind of mysticism.

It is often thought that Jesuit piety has a sober and reasoned character, is free from sentimentality and all excesses in respect of miracles, apparitions, and the like. This is an error.

True, Jesuit piety is careful to regulate the emotions, but only with a view to driving out the individual element and replacing it by the system of the Order. The Order is opposed to all true mysticism, which is the free development of the pinions of the soul, and uncontrolled absorption in the Godhead; for all this is outside the scope of its system. But within the appointed barriers flourishes a rank growth of sentimentality, superstition, and miracle hunting. Indeed, the Jesuit Order was, and still is, a chief promoter of pseudo-mysticism with all its objectionable accompaniments and consequences.

This characteristic of the Order may be traced back to its founder, Ignatius Loyola. About him and his emotional life too many wrong views have been adduced.* If ever there was a pseudo-mystic and pathological hysteric, it was the converted knight of the Basque lands. It would be outside the scope of this book to give a characterisation of Ignatius. I will only give a few instances of his piety and pseudo-mysticism, which are reproduced on a large scale in his creation, the Jesuit Order.

He himself dictated the following to the Jesuit Luis Gonzalez :

“ One night he beheld the most blessed Mother of God

* *E.g.* the views expressed by Riezler (*Geschichte Baierns*, Gotha, 1903, 6, 251) and Gotthein (*Ignatius von Loyola und die Gegenreformation*, Halle, 1895, 4, 416 *et seq.*), on the piety and asceticism of Ignatius, are incorrect.

with the child Jesus standing beside him for a long time. This sight wrought in him such disgust at his past life, especially everything that relates to the lust of the flesh, that he seemed to feel every semblance of such things pass away from his soul. During the whole time of his stay at Manresa, he never cut his hair or beard, or his toe or finger nails. At Manresa (where he is said to have written the 'Exercises'), he saw in bright daylight a shining serpent suspended in the air, the sight of which filled him with delight; afterwards he recognised that it was the devil, and drove it away with his stick. One day he saw the blessed Trinity in the shape of three piano notes, which so filled him with joy that he shed streams of tears, which continued till midday. The creation of the world he beheld in the form of a white object, from which God sent forth rays of light. Often when at prayer he beheld Christ, as a white body, neither large nor small, and without members. In like fashion, too, he beheld the Virgin Mary. These apparitions so much confirmed his faith that he declared that, even if the Bible did not teach the sacred mysteries he was yet ready to die for them. In a Church outside the gates of Rome he saw God the Father presenting him to His Son. While drawing up the Constitutions of the Order, he frequently beheld God the Father, the blessed Trinity, and the Virgin Mary, and during the celebration of mass he was impelled to shed many tears."

The Bollandist * biography gives these details:

One night his room was so brilliantly illuminated by heavenly light that many ran to see what was the matter. On the day when Ignatius began to write the Constitutions, he wept almost without ceasing at mass

* The Bollandists are Jesuit writers who publish the great biographical work *Acta Sanctorum*. They take their name from Bollandus (d. 1665), the first editor. The work is still unfinished; 62 folio vols. of the new edition have appeared.

from emotion and joy. This statement is made by the Jesuit Orlandinus from information given him by Ignatius himself. Ignatius possessed the "gift of tears" (*donum lacrymarum*), which means that when praying and especially during the celebration of the mass he shed streams of tears. Ignatius himself said to the Jesuit Bartoli: "That day my tears seemed to me to be different from the former ones, they flowed slowly, sweetly, and silently, and came from within in a manner I cannot express. When I besought the Virgin Mary to plead graciously for me with the Father and Son, I felt myself raised up to God the Father, my hair rose on my head, and my whole body was penetrated by great heat, then followed a stream of tears together with great sweetness. So great was my delight in divine things, combined with constant weeping, that it seemed to me as though God the Father, my God and Lord, filled my innermost being, whenever I called upon Him. While celebrating mass I wept so much that I feared to lose my sight, so sore were my eyes from weeping. At the words 'May it please thee, Blessed Trinity,' I was seized by a mighty love, and poured forth hot tears. I discoursed with the Holy Ghost, weeping the while, and saw and felt it as brightness and flame." The account of the floods of tears continues: "His eyes were so much injured from weeping that, according to the Jesuit Ribadeneira, he could no longer read the breviary, and the number of his tears was so great that he collected them in a large vessel." Often the countenance of Ignatius reflected such light that it illumined the whole room. He had especial power over devils. This is proved by many instances of the apparition and exorcising of devils.* Emotional prayer and excessive stimulation of the feelings in the pursuit of piety are reflected in a letter written by Ignatius, probably in

* *Acta SS.*, 34, Julii 7, 457, 502, 539, 540, 597-599.

1548, to Francis Borgia, Duke of Gandia, the third General of the Jesuits, who at that time still ruled his duchy as a mere affiliate of the Order.

“In regard to the third point, the mortification of your body, I would, for the sake of the Lord, avoid everything which resembles a drop of blood. And even if the Divine Majesty has given grace for this and for everything that has been stated, I say without giving any other reasons and proofs, that it is better for the future, to avoid this, and instead of seeking or trying to induce a drop of blood, to seek more immediately the Lord of all, I mean in His most sacred gifts, such as an overflow or even a few drops of tears, . . . and these tears are the more precious and costly, the higher are the thoughts and meditations which call them forth. . . . Among these [most sacred gifts] I understand . . . in their order and respect of the Divine Majesty . . . tears, inward consolation, elevation of the spirit, impressions, divine illuminations and all other spiritual joys and emotions.” *

Ignatius does, however, add :

“We should not seek after these things merely for their pleasantness or the joy which they cause us”; but the invitation to seek after mystically sensuous emotions, combined with tears in and during prayer, and the connection between these emotions and the “Lord of all” is not thereby affected.

Strong expression is also given to this desire for pseudo-piety in the Magna Charta of Jesuit piety, the “Spiritual Exercises.” Of these I shall speak in detail later, and therefore give only one example here.

In the Rules which direct “How to unite in right feeling with the Orthodox Church,” the Book of Exercises says :

“. . . We should recommend to the faithful psalms

* Genelli, S.J., *Life of St. Ignatius*. Innsbruck, 1848, pp. 384, 385.

and long prayers (*prolixas preces*) both in the Church and without. . . . We should approve the veneration of relics, and the invocation of saints. Also the Stations of the Cross, pious pilgrimages, indulgences, jubilees, lighted tapers in the Church and other similar aids to our piety. We should greatly exalt the practice of abstinence and fasting. . . . We should praise the pictures of the saints.”*

To this sketch, traced and even experienced by Ignatius himself, originating and ending in the pathological and hysterical, the edifice of piety raised by the Order corresponds completely. For its fundamental basis and its adornment consist in the most miraculous of miracles, a rooted belief in devils and their fantastic description.

My quotations are taken at random from books of edification, private letters that have attained notoriety, the official annual letters (*Litterae annuae*), and the memoirs of the houses (*historiae domus*) of the separate houses, mission reports, lives of saints, and the like. The variegated medley of time, place, persons, and objects will show better than any systematic arrangement the pseudo-mystical, unhealthy tone which attaches equally and uniformly to everything that appertains to Jesuit piety.

From a missionary report :

The Jesuit Francis Cyprian, in the year 1637, on a voyage to India, when at the point of death was translated into heaven. There he was informed by God that he was to return to life and re-open the gates of Japan ; the ship would be wrecked at the Cape of Good Hope, but he would be carried on a cloud as on a throne to Goa ; the destruction of the ship was due to the sins of the crew, one in particular having pierced with a dagger a picture of Mary, but it only touched the painted

* *Institut. Societ. Jesu*, II., 416, Rome, 1870.

cloud that surrounded the image; he had at first hidden the picture away in a chest, but God had removed it thence and taken it up to heaven, where it was restored to the Jesuit Cyprian. The destruction of the ship was averted by the intercession of St. Francis Xavier; but this unfortunately rendered unnecessary Father Cyprian's cloud-journey.*

From two letters of the Belgian Jesuit Montmorancy :

"A noble lady at Trapani, in Sicily, was sick to death. In vain she was touched by all manner of relics, even a fragment of the true Cross was of no avail. At last her confessor, the Jesuit Rossetti, advised her to invoke St. Francis Xavier, through the intervention of the Jesuit Francis Mastrelli, who had recently suffered martyrdom in India. This she does, and at the same time Rossetti touches her with a letter written by Mastrelli. At once her sickness leaves her."

"Recently a deceased Jesuit had appeared to another and told him that, though not in purgatory, he had not yet entered heaven; and because in his life-time he had not shown sufficient zeal in the succour of the dying, he must now afford them this help in the guise of a guardian angel. Several other Jesuits were undergoing the same punishment."†

In this story it is noteworthy that Jesuit piety and love of the miraculous set aside even Catholic dogma, which knows no intermediate state between purgatory and heaven, such as is here described.

From a Book of Devotion by the Jesuit Pemble :

"What sort of undergarment did Jesus wear? It was made of linen, and is preserved at Rome in the Lateran with the superscription : 'The linen undergarment of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was made for him by the most

* From Döllinger-Reusch, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, II., 349.

† *Ibid.*, I., 531, and II., 351 *et seq.*

blessed Virgin Mary.' Was this undergarment distinct from that seamless cloak? Yes, for the cloak, which is also preserved at Rome, was of wool and grew along with Jesus Christ. Of what colour was the seamless cloak? It was violet. Of what wood was the Cross of Jesus Christ? It seems to have been of oak, as is stated in the Greater Articles of the Cross."*

From a book, "Pity the Souls in Purgatory, Marvelous Occurrences in the World Beyond,"† by the Jesuit Rosignoli. He emphasises the attested credibility of his statements:

An aunt of the Emperor Otto IV. heard a knocking at the door. She opened it and the Emperor came in. "I am languishing in the flames of purgatory," he said; "call upon the convents to pray for me, let the monks recite the Psalter and scourge themselves when they say the *De Profundis*." To Pope Innocent III. appeared a pious virgin surrounded by flames who said: "I nearly forfeited my salvation by three sins. But in the hour of death Mary granted me complete penitence. Still I must suffer a long time yet, unless you help me by your prayers." At Ferrara a palace became uninhabitable through the incessant nightly noises. A student offered to live in the house. In the night he saw a horrible ghost; at dawn of day it departed; the student followed it with a consecrated taper till it vanished in the cellar. There they found a corpse, buried it, and said masses for the deceased. Then the disturbance stopped. A Franciscan appeared to a Dominican, and in order to move him to pity caused him to see the flames that tormented him. He also laid his burning hand on a table which was deeply marked by it. A Spanish nobleman on the way to visit

* Bucher, I., 150 *et seq.*

† *Erbarmet euch der Seelen im Fegefeuer. Wunderbare Ereignisse aus dem Jenseits.* (Paderborn, 1878, Bonifaciusdruckerei.)

his mistress, a married woman, recites the rosary, and dedicates his prayer to a man whose corpse he sees hanging on the gallows. When the husband surprises and attacks him the dead man comes to his assistance, and afterwards hangs himself unaided on the gallows again. Two Spaniards stabbed one another before the eyes of their mistress, and she herself was killed by the relations of the dead men. She was a member of the Fraternity of the Rosary; and on this account Mary induced St. Dominic to recall the dead girl to life. She then made a general confession, and lived two days more in order to recite a number of rosaries which had been enjoined on her as a penance. St. Francis has the privilege on his day, October 4th, of descending into purgatory and saving some souls which have done his Order good service.*

From a book by the Jesuit Terwekoren: "The holy water of St. Ignatius Loyola as a remedy for all ills of the soul and body."

While the cattle plague was raging the water was used at a farm, and of fifteen horses not one died. When the cholera was raging at Brügge in 1839 it suddenly ceased in one of the streets through the use of St. Ignatius water. The demand for the water became such that fifty casks were not enough for one week's consumption. For birth-pains the holy water is especially efficacious.†

From the Jesuit journal *Sendbote des göttlichen Herzens* ("Messenger of the Sacred Heart"):

A groom cures his horse's lameness by a prayer to the Heart of Jesus. Wine casks lost on the railway are recovered through a novena in honour of the Heart of Jesus. The building of a Protestant factory is stopped,

* Rosignoli. *Erbarmet euch der Seelen im Fegefeuer. Wunderbare Ereignisse aus dem Jenseits.* Paderborn, Bonifaciusdruckerei, pp. 185, 244, 68, 95, 159, 122, 256.

† Vienna, 1867, pp. 25, 30, 73.

and a Catholic casino erected through the Sacred Heart. (1871, 118, 207.) At Stilfs a pregnant woman was drowned on July 3rd, 1871. When her body was opened the dead infant was found. A prayer was offered for the christening grace of the dead child; while it was being offered its lips and cheeks grew red, and its mouth opened. It was christened, and immediately after it again became rigid and white as wax. (1871, 268.) Near Botzen a child was born dead, it was taken to the miraculous Madonna of Riffian. After the first prayer it gave signs of life, which, however, soon ceased. The child was buried, but disinterred a few days later. Again prayers were offered, and once more signs of life appeared, and the child was baptised. (1871, 184.) A severe eye-trouble was healed by a fragment of the dress of "the blessed Mother Madeleine Barat," (foundress of the female congregation of the Sacred Heart, at whose numerous institutions in England, Austria, France, Belgium, and Italy the daughters of many aristocratic and rich families are educated.) (1872, 17.) Epilepsy is cured by a promise to spend thirty-two kreutzers, every first Friday in the month (Friday is specially sacred to the Heart of Jesus), for candles to be burnt on the altar of the Sacred Heart, to abstain from coffee every Friday for a whole year, and every year to undertake three pilgrimages to the Madonna of Krischeschitz. (1872, 20.) A novena to the Sacred Heart cures hoarseness completely. (1872, 22.) Cattle disease is stopped by a novena for the suffering souls in purgatory. (1872, 44.) A great fire is put out without water by invocation of the Sacred Heart. (1872, 172.) By means of a novena in honour of St. Joseph, a paper hostile to the Church is banished out of a family. A skull broken by a kick from a horse is healed by prayer to Mary, "without inflammation, without suppuration even, the broken skull heals up again." (1872, 206.)

“ In Thann, near Simbach, three persons dedicated themselves to the Sacred Heart, and in accordance with their vow published the fact that they had been untouched by a very severe epidemic of small-pox.” (1872, 213.) A meditation in honour of the three sacred hearts of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, secures exemption from military service. (1872, 215.) A severe stomach trouble is cured by laying “ on the suffering part an Agnus Dei medal consecrated by the Pope.” (1872, 334.) A foot trouble, with threatened mortification, is cured by a Madonna picture. (1872, 338.) A girl who has been lame for fifteen years is cured by a pilgrimage. (1872, 340.) At Duderstadt a fire, “ favoured by a strong wind and other circumstances,” is extinguished by the vow of a novena in honour of the Sacred Heart. (1872, 365.) Emphysema of the lungs is cured by a meditation in honour of the hearts of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, and the blessed Jesuit Berchmann. (1872, 369.) Ring-worm is cured by water from Lourdes. (1872, 373.)

These samples of piety have not been laboriously collected from the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*. Several thousand such instances abound in its volumes. And it is important to realise that this journal has for the last forty years had a very wide circulation among German Catholics of all classes. It was part of my mother's favourite literature.*

* The German edition of this book contains a long extract from the same journal, entitled “ A Thorn in the Heart of Jesus ” (*Ein Dorn im Herzen Jesu*, 1872, 216-219), intended to serve as a warning for mothers of the upper classes. A mother is heard to say: “ My daughter is such an age; to-day she will enter the world ” (the equivalent to the English term “ coming out ”). This is made the text of a sermon on the dangers and wickedness of the world. She is exhorted to educate her daughter “ for God and heaven, but not for the world and the princes thereof. ” “ Do not take her into the world. This month is the festival of the dear Mother St. Anna. Let us pray to her for those poor children whose blind mothers have thrown them into the arms of the Moloch of the world, beseeching her to save that which still can be saved. ”

The Piety of the Jesuit Order 309

From the annual reports for 1579 of the Jesuit College at Cologne: "Three noble brothers, by their terrible experience, gave the Jesuits an opportunity on St. Michael's Eve of encouraging their pupils to the adoration of their guardian angels. In the morning when they were getting ready for school, and the house prefect had just extinguished the light in the room where they had been working, they were violently thrown down by some unseen person and left half dead, uttering the most horrible cries and shrieks. The prefect brought fresh light, and found them, scarcely breathing, lying on the threshold. While he was trying to restore them they suddenly roused themselves, as though from a deep sleep. The trembling limbs and pale faces testify to the truth of the tale. After the matter had been carefully investigated by our members it appeared that they had set out without making the sign of the Cross or using the holy water."*

The Jesuits Höven and Miller tell of the dying Jesuit Johannes Berchmanns, canonised by Pope Leo XIII.:

"The sick man seemed to be asleep; heavenly peace was on his face. Suddenly he sprang up, and fell on his knees in the middle of the bed; his face was distorted, but his eyes gazed fixedly upward to heaven; his lips trembled and he exclaimed aloud: 'No, I will never do it. Should I offend thee, oh, my God? Oh, Mary, never will I offend thy Son. Away from me; rather will I die a thousand, ten thousand, a hundred thousand, a million times.' His loud cries brought several fathers in haste from the neighbouring rooms. The poor man was breathing heavily, and his face was distorted with violent twitching of lips and mouth, he struck about him with his hands, as though surrounded by foes. The priests blessed the bed and the sick man with holy water. . . .

* J. Hansen, *Rheinische Akten zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens* (Bonn, 1896), p. 729.

Gradually he grew calmer, and, turning to one side, he exclaimed in a strong voice, 'Away with thee, Satan. I fear thee not.' *"

The above-mentioned historians call this the "terrible conflict with hell" which Berchmanns had to wage, although, as they assure us, he had never committed the smallest sin. We read there too :

Katharine of Rakanati, being afflicted with blindness, laid one finger of Berchmanns' dead hand first on her right, then on her left eye, and at once her sight returned. . . . Sister Maria Crucifixia Ancaini was dangerously ill, for a polypus had formed near her heart. One side was paralysed, and her convulsions were so violent that the whole bed was shaken by them. At last a state of rigidity set in and all human remedies seemed vain. The Mother Superior brought her a picture of the Venerable † Berchmanns, and encouraged her to set her trust in this powerful advocate with God. But she was no longer sufficiently conscious to pray for the restoration of her health. The picture was placed on her bed. Next morning she began gradually to revive. Suddenly she felt herself animated by great confidence. Praying, she grasped the holy man's picture and pressed it to her breast and forehead. In the same moment she was healed. ‡

The Jesuit Hattler related, in his account of the Venerable Father Jacob Rem, of the Society of Jesus :

"The souls of the dead often came to visit him. . . . It was not uncommon to hear from the churchyard the cries, sighs, and laments of the suffering souls who besought Father Jacob for help. They even came at times to the door of his room and knocked softly or loudly, according to the extent of their torments, and the help which they

* *Leben des heiligen Johannes Berchmanns*. Dülmen, 1901. pp. 173, 175.

† *Venerabilis* and *beatus* are titles preliminary to the final *sanctus*.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

needed. . . . Once there appeared to him one of his comrades in the Order with sorrowful countenance, clad in soiled garments, a sign that his soul was not yet fully purified, and was therefore suffering in purgatory. Father Rem asked what his sin had been. . . . The dead man confessed that he had sinned against the rule of obedience, by frequently scourging himself without the permission of his Superior. . . . All these instances of pity which animated Father Rem for the souls in purgatory were so well known to his fellows in the Order, that after his death they transformed into a chapel the room in which the venerable man dwelt, and where he received the visits of the suffering souls, and it continued, till the suppression of the Order, to bear the name *Locus animarum* (place of the suffering souls).”

“Rem’s contemporary and brother Jesuit, Father Jacob Biedermann, the poet, immortalised this pity and love soon after his death in a Latin epigram, which may be thus rendered in prose. . . . This is the old man, that Jacob, whose streams of tears continuously moistened the flames in which the souls burn beneath the earth to atone for their sins. Scarcely did the shades of night veil the stars than troops of weeping souls approached him. The poor things stood at the door and stretched out their hands in silent lament.”*

The grotesquely miraculous is, in fact, an outstanding characteristic of the very extensive Jesuit literature of the saints, so widely diffused among Catholics. Simple piety, recalling the Sermon on the Mount, is non-existent there. Everything is extreme and extravagant. The more wonderful and startling, the more pious—this seems to be the dominant note in Jesuit hagiography.

Reusch quotes from numerous Jesuit documents

* *Der ehrwürdige Vater Jakob Rem aus der Gesellschaft Jesu.* Regensburg, 1881. pp. 161, 164.

copied by Döllinger from the Munich State archives, and found among his posthumous papers :

“ On November 25th, 1668, the Jesuit Painter writes to the Jesuit Veihelin, Rector of the Jesuit College at Munich : ‘ The Duke of Cellamini, at Naples, wished to have a copy of a miraculous portrait of Francis Xavier, which moved its eyes. Three times, as the artist tried to begin his work he fell down in a faint. After the third attack an excellent copy was found on the canvas on which he had meant to paint. In a Spanish cathedral there were portraits of the founders of all the Orders except Ignatius Loyola. A stranger offered to produce a portrait of him in half an hour. He was locked in the sacristy, but before the half-hour was over an inquisitive crowd forced its way in, and found the stranger gone, and an excellent portrait of Ignatius completed.’ ”

From a Jesuit letter dated Eger, February 7th, 1635 : “ When the Jesuit Gladisch was saying mass for the soul of a dead man, the tapers were put out by a gust of wind and the candlesticks broken, as a sign that the deceased was damned. When the same Jesuit was saying mass for the dead Field-Marshal Pappenheim, mysterious explosions of small cannon were heard. While reading mass for a dead man, about whose condemnation he was anxious, Gladisch felt the sudden conviction that his soul was in the corporal [a cloth laid on the chalice]; at the next mass it was revealed to him that the soul was safe. Once a soul which had been in purgatory for 160 years demanded a mass of him, and threatened that, unless he granted it, he himself after death would have to remain in purgatory until a priest who was not yet born should say a mass for him.”

The Jesuit missionary Kropf reports from the Jesuit Mission in the Philippines, on December 12th, 1732 : “ The Jesuit Finck found among the Tagals some who

had lost their noses. When asked the cause of this, they told him that a former missionary, who had tried in vain to convert them to Christianity, had threatened them with the wrath of God; and, in fact, God did deprive these stiff-necked sinners of their noses.”*

The Jesuit Agricola was commissioned by the Upper German Province of the Order to compose a history of the Province. Here are some samples :

In 1633 the picture of the Jesuit Peter Canisius in Quito (Ecuador), was seen to perspire as a sign that affairs in Germany were going ill. In the Jesuit Church at Ebersberg the following relics were venerated : A fragment of the true Cross, portions of the swaddling bands of Christ and of the scourges, grave, and sudary, a drop of His blood shed on the Mount of Olives, portions of the crown of thorns, the veil and girdle of the Virgin, one of John the Baptist's teeth, two skulls of soldiers from the legion of St. Maurice, two skulls of maidens who attended St. Ursula, one of St. Vincent's fingers, and the skull of St. Sebastian. All these relics, for the genuineness of which, as the Jesuit assures us, there is the most credible testimony (*de quibus omnibus monimentis fide dignissima testimonia adsunt*), were held in great honour by the inhabitants. A woman who had always borne dead children, after confessing to a Jesuit brought forth a living child.†

“The Practice of Christian Perfection,” by Alonzo Rodriguez, a Spanish Jesuit who lived in the sixteenth century, is in great repute in the Order. Novices have to read it for half an hour every day, and twice a year for a fortnight it is used for reading aloud at meals; it is the only book besides the “Imitation of Christ” which may be read during the Exercises, and for most Jesuits, even

* *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1894; *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens*, pp. 279 et seq.

† *Ibid.*, II., 235, 250, 332.

after the completion of their training, "The Practice of Christian Perfection" remains the handbook for piety and asceticism.

In Rodriguez we find the same fruits of Jesuit piety as in all the other devotional writers of the Order.

From the section on "Harmony with the Will of God":

"1. St. Dominic, when in Rome, frequently visited a holy woman, who was suffering from cancer of the breast. One day he expressed a wish to see the wound, it was full of matter, putrefaction, and alive with worms. Amazed at her heroic endurance he begged her to give him one of the worms. She consented on condition that he would give it back to her, 'for it was to her a great joy to allow herself to be devoured by worms in her lifetime.' Scarcely had Dominic taken up the worm than it was transformed in his hand into a precious pearl, and when he again laid this pearl in the wound it was turned back into a worm. By this miracle God showed how well-pleasing to Him was harmony with His will. 2. The sheep is led to the slaughter and does not open its mouth; but the swine, that unclean beast, squeals when it is slain. The same difference may be observed [in regard to the attitude at death] between the just, who are typified by sheep, and the godless and fleshly, who are typified by swine. 3. A pious monk who had served God faithfully for forty years, but never experienced spiritual consolation, complained of this before the altar. Then he heard a terrible noise behind him, as though the Church were falling in, and beheld a devil who gave him a terrible blow with a rod of iron, so that for three weeks he endured the most grievous pains and a horrible stench was emitted from his body. Afterwards it was revealed to him by God that this was the punishment for not surrendering himself with equanimity to the will of God."

From the section on "Humility": 1. A holy monk

had with him a boy who had been previously possessed of a devil. When on one occasion he expressed vain satisfaction that the devil no longer tormented the boy since he had intercourse with him, the devil at the same moment re-entered the boy. "From this we may learn how God detests every word which is aimed in the least degree at the praise of the speaker." 2. Saint Severin, to whom God had granted the gift of driving out devils, besought Him that in order to be delivered from vain thoughts he might himself be possessed. God granted his prayer, and the devil entered into him for five months. 3. Three monks, who had indulged in vain thoughts were handed over by God to three devils, who plagued them terribly for forty days.

From the section on "Temptation": In order to show a monk how differently members of an Order act under temptation, God showed him innumerable devils who continually sent arrows against the brothers. Some of the arrows rebounded against the devils, others fell harmless to the ground in front of the members, some entered the flesh as far as the point, and others entered in more deeply.

From the section on "Improper love for relations": A professor of theology, whose mother had sacrificed the remainder of her money to enable him to complete his studies, had entered an Order and left his old mother in the greatest poverty. She besought him to leave it in order to provide for her. When almost overcome by her prayers he was directed by a speaking crucifix not to obey his mother.

From the section on "The Passion of Christ": A slave felt such devotion at the thought of Christ's passion that he wept incessantly. His master, who would not believe that this was the cause of his tears, had him put to death and his heart opened; "there they found a well-marked picture of the crucified Christ."

From the section on "The Communion": 1. A priest doubted the presence of blood in the consecrated host. While saying mass he saw the host hovering above the chalice and blood flowing thence into the cup. 2. A German priest continued to say mass in spite of many unconfessed sins against chastity. To convert him God caused the consecrated host and wine to disappear out of his hands during three days, so that he could not communicate. The priest confessed, and when he next said mass the three vanished wafers returned and the cup filled itself with thrice the amount of consecrated blood. 3. A Jewish child had eaten of the consecrated bread. When its father heard of it he threw the child, in a passion, into the glowing furnace of the glass-works. The mother, who had searched in vain for her child, found it on the third day unhurt in the hottest part of the furnace, and the child told her that a lady clad in purple had kept the flames away from him and given him food. "This was the effect of the sacred host in the child's body."

From the section on "The Mass": Two youths went early to the hunt; one had previously heard mass, the other not. During the hunt a terrible storm arose, and a dreadful voice cried out: "Strike him, strike him," and the youth who had neglected to attend mass was struck dead by lightning, while the other looked on in amazement. Then the voice went on: "Strike him," but a different voice answered: "I cannot strike him, for he has this day heard the words: 'The Word was made flesh.'" Thus he was saved because he had attended mass.

From the section on "Poverty": 1. The prior of a convent put on the robe of the deceased abbot, which was of specially fine cloth; and at once it burnt him like fire. The other clothes of the deceased, who had sinned against poverty by the purchase of fine cloth,

when thrown on a heap, burnt furiously for several days without any external cause. 2. A dying monk could not swallow the consecrated wafer, while another monk swallowed it easily. After the death of the first monk five pieces of copper money were found on his person. In this way he had sinned against poverty, and was therefore incapable of partaking of the sacrament.

From the section on "Chastity": 1. A monk was troubled by unchaste thoughts, to which, however, he paid no regard. Then a reliquary, which he wore round his neck, gave him blows on his breast. When the unchaste thoughts disappeared the blows ceased, but they always recommenced when the thoughts returned. 2. Once a holy bishop spent the night in a house haunted by devils, who tried to frighten him in the guise of beasts. But he felt only contempt for the devils who appeared to him as lions, swine, and snakes. Then they fled, for the devil cannot endure contempt. 3. A hermit saw Satan seated on a lofty throne surrounded by other devils. Satan asked each what he had done on earth towards the destruction of mankind. He was dissatisfied with all, though they had effected the ruin of many thousands. Only one devil received praise, because after an effort of forty years he had succeeded in seducing one single monk to unchastity. 4. In every convent several hundred devils are occupied in trying to tempt the members to sin, while for all the inhabitants of a large town a single devil suffices.

From the section on "Obedience": It was revealed to St. Francis during a general Chapter of the Order at Assisi, that there were exactly 18,000 devils collected between Assisi and Portiuncula to discuss how they might do injury to the new Order.

From the section on "The Observance of Rules": A monk was possessed of the devil because he had drunk water without previously making the sign of the Cross

in accordance with the rule. The same thing happened to a nun, who had eaten salad without first crossing herself.*

Imagine the effect of such works of edification on the Jesuit mind! During his novitiate and scholasticate, for at least ten or twelve years, he is exclusively nourished on pious books of this kind. As in the domain of knowledge, so, too, in that of piety, the Jesuit knows only books of Jesuit authorship, and all these must be dressed in the same fashion, and abound in the same pseudo-mysticism, the same cult of the miraculous and unnatural piety. There is no counterweight or antidote for such poisonous piety. He has not even the Bible. For, although the fact would seem the final condemnation of a Christian religious Order, it is yet true that the Gospels play an entirely subordinate part in the system of Jesuit piety.

Though the novice is bound every day to read portions of Thomas à Kempis, Rodriguez, and the Lives of the Saints, no time is appointed for reading the New Testament. And if any one were to seek his ideal by reading the Gospels, instead of these pseudo-mystical works (though the "Imitation of Christ" must be partially exempted from this criticism), he would be severely reprimanded by the Novice-Master. For the Jesuit novice only uses the New Testament to strengthen his memory (*exercitium memoriae*).

This brutal disregard of the Scriptures as a means of edification is unaffected by the fact that the subjects for daily meditation are usually taken from the New Testament. For, as I have already explained, the subjects are set by the Novice-Master, and thus the Scriptures as aids to piety and edification are presented to the novice by an intermediary, and in a fashion which does not

* From *The Practice of Christian Perfection*, Parts I., II., III.

The Piety of the Jesuit Order 319

reproduce the pure, simple contents of the words and works of Jesus, but remodels them on to the pseudo-mystical Jesuit pattern. I shall return to this later, when writing of the Exercises.

The Jesuit who has assimilated this kind of piety naturally helps to spread it. And, therefore, wherever the Order is active, superstition and affected piety are rife. Riezler thus sums up the effect produced on the population of Bavaria by generations of Jesuit piety :

“Everywhere the Jesuits introduced the custom of wearing an *Agnus Dei*, a piece of consecrated wax. They induced the Elector Maximilian I. to order that ‘henceforth all subjects, men and women, old and young, should provide themselves with a rosary, and learn to recite it in proper fashion, and make use of it on pain of punishment.’ ”

The belief in devils and in witches connected with it are a natural development of Jesuit piety.

In a former book* I have shown the active part which the Order played in the bloodthirsty and crazy folly of witch-persecution, and have exposed the unhistoric attempts at hushing up the circumstances made by the Jesuit Duhr.† I also show there that the Jesuit Friedrich von Spee was a “white crow” among the Jesuit flock, and that he wrote his *Cautio criminalis* against the belief in witches, not because, but although, he was a Jesuit, and that the Order had no share in the credit which attaches to the book. Riezler, too, a thorough connoisseur of the witch mania, says of Spee :

* *Das Papatum in seiner sozial-kulturellen Wirksamkeit*. I⁴, 470-509, and 551-571.

† In his *Geschichte der Jesuiten in anderen Ländern deutscher Zunge* (Freiburg, 1907, I., 731-754), Duhr, probably impelled by the conviction of dishonest statements by Riezler, Hansen, and myself, kept closer to the truth than in his earlier publications about the attitude of the Jesuits to the belief in witches. But even in this work of the “conscientious historian,” as Duhr emphatically calls himself, the facts are frequently distorted, kept back, or hushed up. And we seek in vain for a recantation of the misstatements which have been brought home to him.

“His merits are indisputable,* but purely personal, and cannot be placed to the credit of the Order.” †

Further details of the Jesuit attitude towards the witch question, and the pious use to which this superstition is put, may be found in my book above quoted. Here I will only quote an Instruction, which Friedrich has published from the Jesuit papers at Munich. It contains directions for the Jesuit confessors in their dealings with captive witches.

“On entering the dungeon he must provide himself with all spiritual aids, such as *Agnus Dei*, holy water, and also offer them to the imprisoned witches. . . . He is to use all his influence to induce them to confess the truth to the temporal authorities, and threaten them with eternal destruction. He is to promise them assistance if they exchange the promise made to their familiar devil for a confession of the true faith. He must beware of looking in the eyes of a witch, for the eyes of such women are hurtful to men (*oculi talium mulierum nocent fascino*). The witches are to be asked: Why, and for how long they have served the devil? Whether they have felt any sign of the wrath of God, so that they would rather serve the devil than God? What promises they have made to the devil? (Usually they promise to renounce the Catholic faith wholly or in part, to surrender themselves body and soul to the devil, to sacrifice to him unbaptised children and become his mistresses.) What kind of witchcraft they have been most addicted to? (Some are hurtful to little children, others to cattle, others to the crops.) Into what shape they transform themselves? Whether into wolves, goats, or other beasts. Whether

* Unfortunately Spee's merits do not appear to be altogether “indisputable,” since it seems probable that he himself lacked the courage to publish his book. Indiscreet friends seem to have taken the manuscript of the *Cautio* to the printers without Spee's knowledge. (Cf. my book, *Das Papsttum*, etc., III., 1, 553.)

† Riezler, *Geschichte Baierns* (Gotha, 1903), 6, 133.

they know the thoughts of those who are present? Whether they cannot dissolve the bond with the devil, if, for instance, they have injured the health of anyone by special signs? (Thus they sometimes make a knot in a rope and as long as this remains there, the pains continue.) From the 'Witch-hammer,' too, questions may be set. The Jesuit must not interfere with the office of the judge, but may be convinced that the trial is a just one, even if the witches maintain their innocence or assert that the confession was wrung from them by torture. Whether they have been re-baptised by the devil, and in what fashion?"

When dealing with Jesuit education I have also shown that the belief in witches was fostered among the boys committed to their charge. The pious works of the Order also abound in proofs of belief in the devil. I may cite some instances:

Weston, the Head of the English Province, towards the close of the sixteenth century published the "Book of Wonders," in which he recorded the most astounding feats of exorcism which he himself had accomplished. The victim who was possessed of a devil had to sit on a stool and drink a "sacred mixture" of whey, oil, goat's rue, and drugs, then his head was held over a dish of burning sulphur, asafoetida, resin, St. John's wort, and goat's rue. Then the exorcism was spoken over the half-suffocated victim.

In Weston's own account of an exorcism of Marwood, he says that he placed his hand on the demoniac's head who at once fell into a fury, and made all to ring with crying, swearing, and blaspheming. "Take away that dreadful hand in the name of all the devils in hell!" was the agonising cry. But the father would not quit his hold. He pursued the devil down his back, his reins, his close parts, his thighs, his legs, *usque ad talos*, and down to his ankle-

bones; then fetching him back along the same route, finally grasped him round the neck. "*Deus immortalis!* Into what a passion was he then cast. Not the tongues of a thousand men (I imagine) can express it."

The names of the devils said to possess the sufferers were: "Frateretto, Flibbertigibbet, Hoberdicat, Cocobatto, Pudding of Thame, Hobberdidance, Lusty Dick, Kellico, Hob, Cornercap, Puff and Purr ('two fat devils'), Kelliorum, Wilkin, Lusty Jolly Jenkins, Bonjour, Pourdieu, Motubizant, Captain Pippin, Captain Fillpot, Hilco, Hiaclito, Smolkin, Lusty Huffcap, Modo, and Malin. When these disappeared it was said that Hobberdidance went off in a whirlwind, Fillpot as a puff of smoke, Lusty Dick as an intolerable stench, while Smolkin escaped from Trayford's ear as a mouse." *

Agricola's history of the Upper German Province abounds in tales of devils worthy of a place in the "Hammer of Witches": "A Jesuit scholar at Lucerne was possessed of the devil, who, when driven out, confessed that a witch who had some time previously been burnt at Lucerne had conjured him into the boy by means of a dog's hair mixed in his food before the boy was a year old. Gradually this devil obtained admittance for others, which entered in the boy when drinking wine or eating apples. The chief devil's name was 'Feather-Jack,' and he had already informed his witch of this (*sagae suae*). The reason why he had only just begun to trouble the boy again, though he was now thirteen years old, was that he had become a member of a Marian congregation. More than ten devils were then driven out of the boy, last of all 'Feather-Jack,' who, in token that he had really left the boy, blew out a wax taper." †

My own experiences in the novitiate and afterwards

* Taunton, *History of the Jesuits in England*. London, 1901. Pp. 157 *et seq.*

† Agricola III., 193 *et seq.*

confirm what has been said about Jesuit piety. In our conversations during the recreations, which were intended to serve the ends of piety, an important place was given to miracles, apparitions, and tales of the devil, stories of the piety even of living Jesuits, fathers who were held in particular respect on account of their age or office. One was supposed to see heavenly visions, another diabolical apparitions, and we estimated their sanctity according to these occurrences. In the dormitory at Exaeten one spot was supposed to be haunted. For a long time my bed stood there, but the only ghost that troubled me was the offensive smell already described.

In the eighties of last century, when I was a theology student at Ditton Hall, the English Jesuits told us the most amazing tales of apparitions of the Madonna and devil, seen by a holy Jesuit scholastic in the Jesuit College at Malta. An eye-witness, an English father, who came from Malta, declared that he had distinctly seen the form of Mary by the bed of the scholastic, and described her as she is usually represented by Catholic artists, dressed in a blue cloak, white dress, with twelve stars around her head.

Reports from over-sea Jesuit missions in Brazil, India, China, were read aloud in public, describing miraculous cures and diabolical possession, etc.

Every year, from March 4th to 12th, in all Jesuit houses a novena was held in honour of St. Francis Xavier. It originated in an apparition of the saint and a miraculous cure thus effected. This novena was known in the Order as the "novena of grace" because any grace then sought would certainly be granted.

In the summer of 1881 we scholastics went with our Rector Hermann Nix on a pilgrimage from Wynandsrade to Aix-la-Chapelle, to visit the "great relics" kept in the Cathedral there, and exhibited every seven years

during the "Procession of the Relics" (*Heiligtumsfahrt*).* These are: the chemise of the Madonna, the swaddling bands of Christ, the loin-cloth worn by Christ on the Cross, the leathern girdle of Christ, the girdle of the Virgin, a piece of the sponge with which drink was given to Christ on the Cross, a piece of the rope with which He was bound to the pillar at the flagellation, the cloth in which the head of John the Baptist was wrapped, a piece of the Cross of Christ.

In order to bring us into the proper frame of mind each of us received a copy of a "Book of the Relics," by the Jesuit Stephan Beissel. I quote a few passages:

"This bridegroom of your soul stands at the door. Behold His swaddling bands and His girdle and His bloody loin-cloth; behold the dress, the girdle, and the many relics of His and thy Mother (Mary). . . . The garment of the most blessed Virgin is a white garment— $1\frac{1}{2}$ metres long . . . its material is cotton with a woven pattern. . . . The swaddling bands of Christ, tradition tells us, were woven by Mary herself, not for the child Jesus, but for St. Joseph, who used them as gaiters on his journey to Bethlehem. So poor was Mary in the shelter of the manger that she had naught else in which to wrap her divine infant. Therefore the good St. Joseph offered them to her for her child. And Mary accepted his offer. . . . The loin-cloth of Christ, the only garment which the divine Saviour wore on the Cross, is a coarse piece of white linen. . . . Only the two ends, which were fastened together in a knot round the holy body, kept their whiteness, all the rest is red with the blood of Christ. . . . In the loin-cloth are only remains and traces of the blood of Christ. The sacred blood on it is dead, separated from the holy body and from the soul of Christ, and not transfigured. We cannot therefore

* Last held in July, 1909.

adore it as we adore the blood and body of Christ in the blessed Sacrament. . . . Still we ought to honour the blood in the loin-cloth more than all the other relics of Christ, because this blood was more a part of Him, and more intimately connected with Him. . . . The sacramental blessing is given many times in the year, the blessing with the loin-cloth only once in seven years, and then only during the Procession of the Relics from the Cathedral. . . . The divine Saviour once said to His apostles: 'Blessed are the eyes which behold what ye behold.' These words apply to all the pilgrims who behold the relics. But they apply chiefly to those who pass by them in the afternoon, because these not only have a better and closer view of the greater relics, but also see the most precious of the smaller ones, *e.g.* the veil of the dear Mother of God, and her girdle, and large portions of the girdle and ropes of Christ. . . . Pray in thy heart: 'By thy girdle, oh, most blessed Virgin, I beseech thee for the grace of the purity suited to my condition.' *"

Beissel, the author of this pious document, is one of the editors of the Jesuit journal, *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, and is regarded in the German Province as an authority on Christian art and archæology. And, in fact, some of his books possess a certain scholarly value. I mention this, because it throws a light on Jesuit piety; learned and unlearned Jesuits alike are pious after the same fashion. They are saturated with the pseudo-piety of the Order. Individual healthy common sense and recognition of what is fitting in religion have perished in the swamp of official Jesuit superstition.

* *Heiligtumsbüchlein, Anleitung zu einer frommen Feier der Heiligtumsfahrt. Mit Abbildung der vier grossen Heiligtümer.* Aix, 1881. pp. 4, 7, 11, 13, 15, 16, 21, 22.

CHAPTER XII

THE ASCETIC DISCIPLINE OF THE JESUIT ORDER

THIS, too, is in sharp contrast to the asceticism of Christ. The asceticism of the Gospels aims at union with God by the development of our own individuality, while the aim of Jesuit asceticism is exclusively the fashioning of suitable and unreasoning implements for the Order and complete repression of all individuality. The means to this end, which is also the theoretical basis of the whole Jesuit ascetic scheme, is obedience. Its place in the Jesuit system and the peculiar character which the Constitutions give it in opposition to all Christianity and morality are worth detailed consideration.

I quote the most important passages from the Constitutions :—

“It is especially profitable and very necessary that all should give themselves up to perfect obedience, and look upon the Superior, whoever he may be, as the representative of Christ the Lord, and show sincere reverence and love towards him, and obey him, not only in the outward execution of his orders, . . . but also strive to attain to inward resignation and genuine disregard of their own will and judgment, bringing their own judgment and will into complete accord with the will and judgment of the Superior in all things (so that it be not recognised as sinful), and place before them the judgment and will of the Superior instead of their own, that they may more closely resemble the first and greatest standard of all good will and judgment, which is the everlasting goodness and wisdom.”*

* Const. III., 1, 23; Summarium, 31.

“All should especially regard obedience, and seek to be distinguished in it; not only in matters of duty, but in others too, if only a sign on the part of the Superior is observed, without an express command. . . . We should strain every nerve to attain the virtue of obedience, in the first place towards the Pope, then the Superiors of the Society, so as to be ready for anything to which obedience with love may extend, and hearken to his voice as though it were the voice of Christ (for it is out of love and reverence for Him that we show obedience), leaving anything we may have begun, even a single letter unfinished, directing all our strength and intentions in the Lord to the perfection of holy obedience in execution, will, and understanding, doing with the greatest speed and with spiritual joy and steadfastness whatever commands are laid upon us. And we must regard everything as right, and in blind obedience renounce every opposing opinion, and this in the case of every command of the Superior, except where it can be shown (*ubi definiri non possit*) that a sin of any kind is intended. All are to be assured that he who lives in obedience must allow himself to be directed by Divine Providence through his Superiors as though he were a corpse, which may be carried hither and thither in any fashion, or an old man’s staff, which serves its owner where and how he pleases. . . . All matters in which no evident sin is involved (*in quibus nullum manifestum est peccatum*) are subject to such obedience.* In regard to execution, obedience is manifested by carrying out the order; in regard to the will, it is manifested when he who obeys wills the same thing as he who commands; in regard to the understanding, when he thinks the same, and regards the command laid on him as right. That obedience is incomplete which does not include agreement of will and understanding between him who commands and him who obeys, as well as in execution.†

* This important passage on obedience, which excludes from its purview only “evident sin” and that which can be defined as sin, appears to the Order to be so important that *Declaratio C*, in which it is embodied, is particularly noted, although in the *Prooemium* to the Constitutions the equal validity of the Declarations has been pointed out. “These Declarations, which are published together with the Constitutions, have the same authority as these (*eandem, quam illae auctoritatem habent*). And the same care must be taken in the observance of both.” (Const. VI., 1, Declar. A.)

† Const. VI. 1, 1, and Declar. B and C; *Summarium*, 35, 36.

“ All should in perfect obedience leave to their Superior the free disposition of themselves and their affairs. . . . And not in any case show that their own judgment is opposed to that of the Superior.” *

A significant addendum to these passages from the Constitutions is to be found in a letter of Ignatius : “ On the virtue of obedience ” (*de virtute obedientiae*). It was addressed to the Portuguese province, but, of course, the document was intended for the whole Order, and, as one of its rules, was adopted in the Constitutions.

“ By all means let other religious orders excel us in fasting, vigils and other privations, which the rule of their Order bids them observe ; but, my beloved brethren, all who serve our God and Lord in this Society must excel in true and complete obedience, and the surrender of their own will and judgment ; and the true and genuine offspring of this Society is to be distinguished by that token. . . . I greatly desire that you should know this too, and lay it in your hearts, that the obedience which only outwardly executes an order is inferior and incomplete, and does not even merit the name of virtue, unless it rises to the second grade, by taking as its own the will of the Superior and entering into such agreement with him as to produce not only outward execution of the command, but also such inward accord that both may will or not will the same thing. That is why the Holy Scriptures say ‘ Obedience is better than sacrifice ’ ; for as St. Gregory teaches, in sacrifice the flesh of others is slain, in obedience our own will (*mactatur*). . . . Therefore, beloved brethren, lay aside your own will, as far as may be, and surrender and sacrifice your freedom, through His servants to your Creator, Who gave it you. . . . Whoever then would attain to the virtue of obedience must rise to this second degree of obedience, and not merely carry out the orders of his Superior, but also make the will of his Superior his own, or rather divest himself of his own, and put on the divine will presented to him by his Superior. But whoever wishes to surrender himself completely to God must attain the third degree

* Const. IV., 10, 5.

of obedience by sacrificing his understanding as well as his will, so that he may not only will, but also think, the same as his Superior, and subject his judgment to his Superior, in so far as a pious will can subdue the reason. For although this intellectual power is not endowed with the same freedom as the will, and although its assent would naturally be given where the appearance of truth is seen, yet in many matters, where the evidence of the truth that is recognised does it no violence, the weight of the will can move it in one direction rather than another. When such cases occur, everyone who recognises the duty of obedience must incline to the view of the Superior. For as obedience is a complete sacrifice through which the whole man, without any curtailment, sacrifices himself to his Creator and Lord through the hands of His servants in the fire of love, as it signifies a complete surrender, in which the member voluntarily renounces all his rights, in order to surrender and dedicate himself to Divine Providence under the direction of his Superior, to be directed and owned, it cannot be denied that obedience includes not only the execution of commands and the will to obey them gladly, but also the judgment, so that whatever the Superior feels and thinks may also seem to the subordinate to be true and right, so far, as I have said, as the will by its power can control the understanding. . . . Unless this obedience of the understanding is present, the accord between will and execution cannot be complete. . . . And we also lose the blind simplicity of obedience when we weigh in our minds whether the commands of the Superior are right or wrong. . . . Therefore obedience, though in the first place it seems to complete the will, making it ready and pliant for the Superior's command, must also, as I have explained, extend to the understanding; and influence it to think the same as the Superior. : : . In the first place, as I stated in the beginning, you must not see in the person of the Superior a man subject to errors and weaknesses; but rather Christ Himself, Who is the highest wisdom, unending goodness, immeasurable love, Who cannot be deceived and will not deceive you. : : . Strive with zeal always to defend even to yourselves the commands of the Superior and never blame them. : : . Be assured that whatever the Superior command is the command and will of God, and just as you are prepared at once with your whole mind and consent to

believe everything that the Catholic Faith declares, so you should let yourselves be driven with a sort of blind impulse of the will that strives eagerly after obedience to do whatever the Superior bids. Thus did Abraham, when he was bidden to sacrifice his son Isaac; thus did the Abbot John, when with great and continuous efforts he watered dry wood for a whole year. . . . This subjection of the judgment and this approval without examination of whatever the Superior may command, . . . is worthy to be imitated in all things by all who strive after perfect obedience in all matters not concerned with evident sin. Still, if anything differing from the opinion of the Superior occurs to you, and it seems good to you, after first praying humbly to the Lord, to set it before the Superior, you are not forbidden to do so. But that you may not be deceived by self-love and your own judgment, you should be careful to be of a perfectly equable mind before and after making your statement, whether you are bidden to do or not to do the matter in hand, and that you approve and regard as best whatever is pleasing to the Superior. . . . I beseech you, by Christ, our Lord, . . . take pains to conquer and overcome the higher and more difficult parts of your mind, the reason and judgment." Rome, March 26th, 1553.*

Never were more unchristian commands laid down under the guise of religion and Christianity, nor more immoral doctrines in the disguise of ethics and morality. Never have the words Religion, Christianity, and Christ been more insolently and shamelessly misused than here in the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and in the letter of its founder. The dignity which a human being, according to Christian doctrine, possesses in the eyes of God, his moral being, made up of reason and will, his moral self-consciousness, and his personal responsibility are completely destroyed. We see before us not a man, not even a trained animal, but only a staff, a corpse, a thing.

Is it necessary to bring proofs for this accusation?

* Inst. S.J. (Roman Edition), II., 27-33.

The wording justifies my statement. Still it may be well to summarise its main points.

1. He who obeys must will and think the same as he who commands.

2. He who obeys must approve the command.

3. He must in no way show that his own opinion is opposed to the judgment of the Superior.

4. His attitude towards his Superior must be that of a corpse or a stick which can be placed and moved hither and thither in any way whatever.

5. He must abdicate his own judgment and will.

6. He must make the will of the Superior his own, or rather he must divest himself of his will and put on the divine will as expounded by his Superior.

7. He is to abdicate completely and surrender all his own rights.

8. He must judge that whatever the Superior commands and thinks is right and true.

9. He forfeits the merit of simple obedience, if he ponders in himself whether the commands of the Superior are right or not.

10. He must subdue his own judgment and approve and think right, without any examination, all the commands of his Superior.

11. He must zealously endeavour always to defend whatever the Superior commands or thinks, and never blame it.

12. He must feel certain that whatever the Superior commands is the command and will of God.

13. Just as he is ready to believe whatever the Catholic Church declares, so he must, with a sort of blind impulse, without any examination, do whatever the Superior bids him.

14. He must see in the Superior, not a human being subject to error, but Christ, Who cannot err.

In the face of these fourteen commands, which are so many devices for stifling the reason and will, the reservations with regard to sin have absolutely no significance. How can anyone prove whether a command is sinful, if he is to obey "without any examination," if he "may not ponder" whether the commands of the Superior are right or not, if he is to divest himself completely of his reason and will, if his attitude towards his Superior is to be that of a corpse or a stick, if he may not show in any way that his own judgment is in opposition to that of his Superior, if he is to recognise in the Superior not a man liable to error, but the Christ Himself, who cannot err?

Even the wording of the reservations reveals their meaninglessness. It is necessary to obey always and everywhere, so long as it cannot be determined (*definiri*) that any kind of sin is concerned, or so long as it not a question of evident (*manifestum*) sin. If then it is not a case of manifest sin—and how many such there are!—if the sin involved in the command is not so manifest that it can at once be determined as such, he must obey. And besides, it is important to remember this—the subordinate is not permitted to examine and test the command of the Superior, and indeed is compelled at once to regard as good and right all that his Superior commands. What opportunity then remains for refusing obedience to a sinful command?

Nay, more. Ignatius does not hesitate even to represent as an object of obedience actual sin and manifest sin.

"Thus," he writes, "impelled by a blind impulse to obey without any examination, did Abraham act, when he was bidden to sacrifice his son Isaac."

It is impossible for theology or piety to dispute away the fact that God laid a sinful command on Abraham, no matter whether He had the will and the power to prevent the sinful act at the last moment. And this obedience,

concerned with manifest sin, the murder of a child, is presented by the founder of the Jesuit Order as worthy of imitation, nay, the highest stage of perfection !

And he goes even further. For in the Constitutions he calls upon the Superiors occasionally to demand from their subordinates a Sacrifice of Abraham.

“ It will be profitable for the Superiors at times . . . for their greater spiritual profit to try them in the fashion in which the Lord tried Abraham.” *

No, the reservations in regard to what is sinful are simply made—I do not hesitate to say it!—in order to prevent the abysmal immorality and the truly inhuman character of Jesuit obedience from being too plainly seen, or in the best case, because the author of such shameful theories wished to satisfy his own conscience with some phrases of reservation.

The immorality necessitates a lack of Christianity, as may be shown by a brief reference to the New Testament. Christ and the apostles also demanded obedience. But of what nature ? The right, or rather the duty, of examination was left unimpaired.

Christ rejects blind obedience and discipleship. He bids us “ Search the scriptures, for . . . they are they which testify of Me.” And the same right of judgment in regard to Christ and His teaching is implied in the words of the Samaritans to the woman of Samaria : “ Now we believe, not because of thy saying, for we have heard Him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world.”

In the sayings of the disciples, too, the doctrine of reasoned obedience, that which rests on the recognition of the reason, is most clearly expressed :

“ By manifestation of the truth commending ourselves to every man’s conscience in the sight of God ” (2 Cor.

* Const. III. 1, Deolar. V., Inst. S.J. I. 43.

iv. 2) "Proving what is acceptable unto the Lord" (Eph. v. 10). "That ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God" (Rom. xii. 2). "That ye may approve things that are excellent" (Phil. i. 10). "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good" (1 Thess. v. 21). "But strong meat belongeth to them that are of full age, even those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil" (Heb. v. 14). "Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God" (1 John iv. 1).

All these quotations contrast sharply with the demands of Jesuit obedience.

One passage in the letter of Ignatius deserves special remark. He insists that, just as the reason and the will are to submit without question to the infallible dogmas of the Church, so subjection to the commands of the Jesuit Superior is necessary. Here we find the characteristic and acme of Jesuit obedience, it must be blind. For a Catholic may not examine the infallible dogmas of his Church to see whether they are true and good; even to attempt such an examination is sin. And this is also to be the attitude of the obedient Jesuit.

A strong light is thrown on this blind submission by the rules of Ignatius "which teach a right feeling towards the Church." They are an addition to the Exercises:

"With absolute annihilation of our own judgment (*sublato proprio omni iudicio*) our minds must ever be ready to obey the true bride of Christ, our holy mother, the orthodox, Catholic, and hierarchic Church. . . . Finally, that we may be in complete accord and harmony with the Catholic Church, we must, if anything appears to our eyes white, which the Church declares to be black, also declare it to be black (*si quid quod oculis nostris apparet*

album, nigrum illa esse definierit, debemus itidem, quod nigrum sit, pronuntiare)." *

As therefore, according to Ignatius, the infallible Church and Jesuit Superior enjoy equal respect (to say nothing of the comparison with Christ already quoted), it follows that the obedient Jesuit at the command of his Superior must declare as white (not sinful) that which he himself regards as black (sinful).

There is, therefore, no possible doubt that in this way the obedience and ascetic discipline of the Jesuit Order lead to sin, *i.e.* that they can compel the Jesuit to sin. I say "in this way" advisedly, for the usual way of trying to establish the compulsion to sin within the Order is a mistaken one.

The fifth chapter of Part VI. of the Constitutions lays it down that all constitutions, declarations, and instructions are only obligatory under penalty of greater or lesser sin (*obligationem ad peccatum mortale vel veniale inducere*) when the Superior commands anything in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ or in virtue of His obedience. This is the passage so commonly misunderstood and brought as a reproach against the Order, to the effect that the Jesuit Superior by the power of obedience can compel to sin (*obligare ad peccatum*). That this accusation has no foundation either in the sense or the wording of this passage should never have been open to doubt. For it is a matter of absolute certainty that the expression *obligare ad peccatum* in the Latin jargon of the medieval and even of the later ecclesiastical orders (Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits) bears the meaning "under pain of sin" and not "compulsion to sin." Bishop von Ketteler has given a striking demonstration of the untenability of the reproach directed against this passage of the Constitutions in his pamphlet "Can a Jesuit be

* Inst. S.J., II., 416, 417.

compelled by his Superior to sin?" Still the negative answer given by Ketteler to the question as a whole, whether a Jesuit can be compelled to sin, is, as already shown, not accurate.*

For the immoral and unchristian commands in its theory of obedience the Jesuit Order has only one defence: the Constitutions, in which they are contained, were sanctioned by the Pope. Thus they take shelter behind the divinity of the Papacy.

There is no need for me to dwell on this defence. In a previous book I have touched on the divinity of the Pope, and the judgment pronounced on it by history in view of the actions and doctrines of the Popes.† In the course of centuries the Papacy has covered many immoral and damnable doctrines with its "divine" authority, and in like wise it covers the immoral and damnable Jesuit doctrine of obedience.

• And this doctrine has given offence even in clerical Catholic circles, though without any lasting result. The letter of Ignatius on obedience was severely censured by the Spanish Inquisition, and afterwards, under Sixtus V., by the Consultors of the Roman Inquisition, and only the influence of the Jesuit Cardinal Bellarmin saved it from condemnation by the Congregation of the Inquisition. A French Jesuit, Julian Vincent, who in the year 1588 denounced the letter to the Inquisition as heretical, was, at the instigation of the Order, thrown into the Inquisition prison and afterwards declared insane.‡ The Inquisition was in a sense compelled to overlook the moral and theo-

* *Kann ein Jesuit von seinem Oberen zu einer Sünde verpflichtet werden* (Mayence, 1874). I mention this pamphlet, because I had some share in it, as Bone, the Director of the Gymnasium, whom Ketteler consulted as a philological authority, gave me some passages of his report on the wording to copy for him.

† *Das Papsttum in seiner sozial-kulturellen Wirksamkeit* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel), 5th Ed.

‡ Crétineau-Joly, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, II., 259, 264. Döllinger-Reusch, *Selbstbiographie des Kardinals Bellarmin*, p. 110.

logical objections to the letter, as the Constitutions of the Order, which laid down the same principles on the subject of obedience, had received the sanction of several Popes.

An interesting addendum to the letter of Ignatius, as well as a testimony to the respect in which it is naturally held in the Order, may be found in an official Instruction to the Superiors issued by the General Claudius Acquaviva in 1604. After laying it down that the letter of Ignatius is to be read by all again and again at short intervals, he continues :

“The completeness of the obedience is indicated by the comparison in the Constitutions to corpses and sticks; but this is not to prevent a Jesuit, after first offering prayer and with inward equanimity, from making representations to the Superior, so long as these representations do nothing else than represent, *i.e.* place the whole case before the Superior, leaving to him the care of the matter represented (*ut vere nihil aliud sit, quam representare, hoc est, ob oculos Superioris ponere, totam ei curam rei expositae relinquendo*).”*

In face of this, of what practical use are representations which, as we have already seen, the Constitutions and the letter allow to the subordinates ?

As regards the injunction of Acquaviva to read the letter often, it is the present custom in the Order to read it at least once a month during meals.

The conception prevailing in the Order as to the blind obedience enjoined in the Constitutions is instructively shown by some statements, three of which are of special importance, two because they were not intended for publication and one because it gives distinct expression to the obligation indirectly implied, to obey sinful commands as well as others.

* *Instruct. de spiritu ad Superiores : De Obedientia, IV., 1, 2 ; Inst. S.J., II., 269.*

A Memorial of the Jesuit College at Munich expounds the 35th and 36th rules on Obedience :

“ He obeys blindly, who, like a corpse or the staff of an old man with neither feeling nor judgment, obeys as though his own judgment were so fettered and, as it were, overshadowed that he can neither judge nor see anything for himself, but has acquired a new judgment, that of the Superior, and this so completely and perfectly that whatever the Superior judges and feels he also actually judges and feels the same and nothing different, and that this judgment becomes his own unalloyed and natural judgment. This is the power of true self-abnegation and true self-blinding (*excaecatio*), to be driven no longer by our own impulse but by that of others.”*

From a manuscript document which Kelle publishes from the Vienna Court Library :

“ If you are commanded anything by the Superior which seems opposed to your own judgment, opinion or power, cast aside all human reasoning and consideration, fall on your knees and renew, when you are alone, the vow of obedience.”†

The Jesuit Antonius de Sarasa in his great ascetic work which has gone through so many editions, “*Ars semper gaudendi*,” treats of the difficulty which may be occasioned to the subordinate, if the Superior commands anything that seems to him unlawful (*illicitum*). He solves the difficulty by means of this thesis :

“ The conscience may permissibly adopt the probable opinion of another, opposed to its own, which maintains that the matter in question is not permitted.” And further on he says : “ But what if this opinion of another is that of his Superior, and he

* Reusch, *Archivalische Beiträge: Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1895, Vol. XV. p. 263.

† Codex No. 10578, p. 66, from Kelle, *Die Jesuitengymnasien in Oesterreich* (Munich, 1876), p. 12.

commands something which his subordinate regards as not permissible [sinful]? May he refuse to obey? In the view of the theologian [quoted, whom Sarasa designates as "weighty and learned"] the subordinate must refuse to obey his Superior: But that this is not permitted in the case in question, is expressly taught by [the Jesuit] Vasquez and others. And indeed, if the view [that it is not necessary to obey the sinful command] were correct, a broad and easy way would lie open for disregarding the commands of the Superior, without the possibility of punishment for disobedience.*

The Jesuit Bartoli says :

"He [Loyola] desired to have corpses, *i.e.* bodies which no longer feel and offer no opposition, however they may be turned or moved. . . . More even than corpses; he desired only passive things, with no activity to help in moving or disposing of themselves, but only in the fashion of the lower agencies, which at the moment when they are moved for action unite their own qualities with the impression of the powers communicated to them from above [*i.e.* by the higher agency, the Superior], so that the two are combined into a single agency. This is what I meant by the union of a man's own will and judgment with the execution of the command through the will and judgment of the Superior."†

The Jesuit Alonzo Rodriguez says :

"Obedience is the essential virtue of the Order. . . . It is better pleasing to God than all sacrifices which can be offered to Him, and includes in itself Chastity, Poverty and all other virtues. . . . This is no exaggeration, but an irrefutable verity. . . . We should also make our judgment conform to that of our Superior, so that we may always be in accord with his views and regard all his commands as good. . . . If we enter an Order we must be content to lay our own wills in the grave. . . . The third grade of obedience consists in the uniformity of our reason with that of the Superior, so that we . . . may hold as reasonable everything that he commands, and submit our judgment absolutely to his. . . .

* *Ars semper gaudendi*, Edit. 4 (Francofurti et Lipsiae, 1750), II., 108.

† Quoted by Gioberti, *Il Gesuita Moderno*.

Incomplete obedience has two eyes, to its own injury; complete obedience is blind. . . . Let us, therefore, be as though completely dead. A corpse neither sees, nor answers. Thus we, too, should have no eyes . . . no words, to make objection to that which obedience enjoins. . . . Let us assume that Christ Himself should appear to you, and command you to do this or that . . . it would never even occur to you to pass judgment on His commands; you would not feel the slightest doubt whether it was good or evil, but would blindly execute His command. . . . If you see in your Superior, not a human being subject to error, but Christ Himself, Who is the highest wisdom, goodness and love, Who can neither err nor lead you into error, all your doubts and considerations will be at an end.”*

It is almost self-understood that the Jesuit Order should employ in the glorification of its theory of obedience one of its favourite artifices—miracles and visions. From among numerous visions in honour of obedience, I will quote one of the most characteristic, which is also an excellent specimen of Jesuit arrogance. According to the statement of the Jesuit Mansonius, Provincial of the Neapolitan Province, Christ said to the blessed Virgin, Joanna ab Alexandro, the penitent of Mansonius, on June 7th, 1598, in the Jesuit Church at Naples :

“ The obedience which I require from the members of My [note the arrogance !] Society, is blind obedience, that they should regard the least hint from their Superior; and it is My desire that they should put off their own will completely. . . . I have vouchsafed this vision to thee, all unworthy as thou art, as a reward for the obedience which thou hast shown to [the Jesuit] Father Louis; all this must thou relate to him and hearken to his pious commands.”†

What more is needed? Christ Himself, in a vision sixteen centuries after His death, declares in favour of the blind obedience of “ His ” Society.

* Rodriguez, *Practice of Christian Perfection*, Book III.

† See Döllinger-Reusch, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, I., 528 et seq., and II., 346

Such are the principles according to which the ascetic discipline of the Society of Jesus, using obedience as its most powerful lever, achieves the completest possible suppression of individual will and reason—the annihilation of the individual.

What form, then, does Jesuit ascetic discipline take in practice? What means does it employ with help of these fundamentals?

Practice of the Jesuit Ascetic Discipline.

In Part VIII. of the Constitutions (1, 6) we read:

“The more dependent are the subordinates on the Superiors, the better for the maintenance of mutual love, obedience and unity.”

From the point of view of rightful love, rightful obedience and rightful unity, this rule of dependence is false. But it hits the nail on the head from the Jesuit point of view.

Dependence on the Superior is the powerful lever which, working day and night, pares and polishes the individuals until gradually, no matter how numerous or how various they may have been, they are transformed into an absolutely uniform Jesuit mass, in which certainly love, obedience and unity prevail unhindered.

The greater the inner dependence on others, the more does individuality tend to disappear. The practice of Jesuit discipline rests on this psychological truth. The Jesuit individual cannot make a movement, cannot move hand or foot, take a step forward or backward, to left or right, either in the affairs of ordinary life or in the sphere of virtue or knowledge; nor can a wish or thought take shape in him, without the knowledge, without the consent or the directing influence of the Superior, *i.e.* of the Order. In this way everything which was the peculiar

possession of the individual tends to vanish, and Jesuit discipline has attained what was desired by its founder, Ignatius Loyola, "the destruction of the individual will."*

I propose to set before my readers four main instruments for the perpetration of this murder, which, in the truest sense, is human murder. These are: The Statement of Conscience, the Espionage system, Confession, and the Exercises. About these four chief methods are grouped a number of lesser ones, which must also be considered.

The Statement of Conscience (*Ratio conscientiae*).

I have already pointed out that confession, even when utilised in Jesuit fashion, does not suffice the Order for securing the subjection and dependence of its members. Accordingly, it prescribes in its Constitutions :

"The subordinates should be transparent to their Superiors, in order that they may be the better guided and governed and directed by them into the path of the Lord. And, further, the more exactly the Superiors are acquainted with all the inner and outer concerns of their subordinates, with so much the greater diligence, love and care will they be able to help them and preserve their souls from the various ills and dangers which might befall them on their way. . . . In order that such missions may be the better conducted, according to the will of God, by sending these and not those, or these for that office, those for another, it is not only of great, but even of the utmost importance that

* A former student of the Jesuit *Collegium Germanicum* in Rome, where young men are trained for the work of spiritual direction in Germany, Austria and Hungary, said to Professor Friedrich, in 1870: "I regret the time which I spent in this institution. The aim which the Jesuits seek to attain is to break the will of the young men and destroy their character. With the Germans they succeed most easily and in the majority of cases, but not with the Hungarians. Of these on an average one-third go crazy, one-third die, and only the last third survives the method." (Friedrich, *Tagebuch*, 2nd Edition, 1873, p. 144.)

the Superior should have a complete knowledge of the inclinations and thoughts of those who are under his charge, and the failings and sins to which they were and are more inclined or easily incited.”*

Of course, this demand of dependence does not lack the stamp of religion and asceticism. In the Constitutions (III., 1, 12) we read: An introductory statement lays it down that:

“Pondering this matter before the Lord in the face of the Divine Majesty, it seemed to us that it would be most advantageous if the subordinates, etc. . . .”

“They should be admonished that they must keep secret no temptation which they do not reveal to the Confessor or Superior; they should rather rejoice in the complete revelation of their whole soul; nor should they reveal only their faults, but also their penances, mortifications, devotions and virtues, desiring with a pure will to be directed by them whenever they deviate from the right path; not wishing to be guided by their own senses, unless they accord with the judgment of those whom they regard in the place of our Lord Christ.”†

“They must conceal no thought or occurrence from the Superior; rather it should be their wish that the Superiors should be exactly informed of everything, that they may be the better guided on the path of salvation and perfection.”‡

“Whoever then desires to follow this Society in the Lord and remain therein to the greater glory of God must under the seal of confession, secrecy, or in any fashion that pleases him and tends to his greater consolation, unveil his conscience with great humility, purity and love, keeping back nothing in which he has offended the Lord of all things, and he is to reveal his

* Exam. gen., IV., 34, 35.

† Const. III., 1, 12.

‡ Const. VI., 1, 2; Summarium, 40.

whole past life, or at any rate the matters of greater importance to the Head of the Society, or to whichever of the Superiors or others this charge may be given, in order that he may proceed in all things with increased grace to the greater honour of the divine excellence."*

From these injunctions was developed the *Ratio Conscientiæ*, which is concerned with the following points :

Whether a man is happy in his vocation. What is his attitude towards obedience, even of the understanding, towards poverty and chastity and the other virtues, and which of them he pursues most zealously. Whether he is troubled by mental anxieties or persistent temptations ; with what ease or difficulty or in what manner he resists them ; to what emotions or sins he is most inclined or attracted. Whether he has formed any judgment contrary to the Constitutions, or any rule or injunction of the Superiors, or has spoken against them. What is his opinion of the Institute of the Society, and the means of which it makes use in order to attain its ends, and what spiritual zeal animates him. What are his feelings in regard to spiritual things ; how much time he gives to prayer, and whether he finds most support in oral or meditative prayer. Whether he finds consolation and edification in the use of spiritual things, or suffers rather from despair, aridity and distraction of spirit, and what is his attitude in these matters. What profit he derives from the Communion, Confession, and Conscience-Searching, especially the " particular examination," and from the other spiritual practices. Whether the progress has been greater or less since the last statement of conscience, and what is his disposition towards the attainment of perfection. How he observes those parts of the

† Exam. gen., IV., 36.

Constitutions and Rules, whether the general ones or those for the special officials, which refer to himself. Concerning mortification and penance and other practices which contribute to spiritual progress, and especially readiness to endure insults, and all else that belongs to the cross of Christ and the desire therefor. Concerning his fellow members, and how by means of intercourse with them he may progress in the Lord, and whether he is on more intimate terms with one than another. Whether he feels dislike for any, whether he has been offended by the Superiors, officials, or any others, and how he is disposed towards the Superiors. Whether he has undergone temptations which were known to others, especially in regard to his vocation.*

This Statement of Conscience is made regularly and frequently, once a week by a novice, once a month by a scholastic; and they must also make it twice a year to the Rector, and once to the Provincial. This significant addendum occurs several times in the Constitutions: "And also as often as it may seem good to the Superior."†

Thus it is left entirely to the arbitrary decision of the Superior to decide when, where, and how often he is to penetrate into the innermost being of his subordinates, to search it with all its emotions, rob it of its individuality and stamp each of its folds and its innermost corners with the mark of the Order.

The disclosures made by the subordinate to his Superior at confession are, at any rate apparently, preserved from wrongful use by the seal of confession.‡ Not so in the Statement of Conscience. Its expressed aim is to enable

* *Instructio ad reddendam rationem conscientiae*, Inst. S.J. II., 33 et seq.

† Const. VI., 1, 2; Exam. gen., IV., 40; Summ. Con., 40.

‡ *Sigillum Confessionis*. Cf. *Das Papsttum in seiner sozial-kulturellen Wirk-samkeit*, II., 563.

the Superior "so to order and arrange" everything that concerns those who thus make these self-revelations, "as may be suited to the general body of the Society." *

To emphasise the secrecy of the Statement of Conscience, and maintain that it is respected, is therefore a meaningless assertion, since it contradicts the above-quoted passage in the Constitutions, according to which the aim of the revelations to be made by the subordinate members is the advantage of the general body.

Indeed a response (*responsum*) sent on May 13th, 1675, by the General Oliva to the Upper German Province shows plainly enough how matters really stand in regard to secrecy. This response, which was not intended for publication, reads thus :

"In spite of the rule of secrecy the Statement of Conscience may prove advantageous for the outward direction. For although a Superior is not allowed to communicate to another anything which his subordinates have revealed to him in the Statement of Conscience, still the Superior can, if the communication has not been made under the seal of confession, apply some external means to cure or check the evils. And if the matter necessitates it, the Superior may induce the subordinate to communicate some of the statements made in confession outside the confessional, or at any rate to be content that the Superior should make use of the knowledge acquired in the Statement of Conscience for his outward direction, without anyone being informed by the Superior as to the reason of his acting in this manner." †

It is a mere pretence too, when, as here and also in VI., 1, 2 of the Constitutions, permission is given to make

* Exam. gen., IV., 35.

† From the Jesuit papers in the Munich State Archives, Friedrich, *Beiträge*, p. 83.

the Statement of Conscience in the form of a confession, *i.e.* under the seal of confession.

For the assumption of the inviolability of the confession would annul the expressly stated object of the Statement of Conscience. Still, as I shall presently show, under the Jesuit system even the seal of confession affords no safeguard. And I may state from my own experience that, though I made no fewer than 350 statements of conscience in my Jesuit days, the suggestion that it might be done under the seal of confession was never once made. And my experience is that of others.

It is easy, therefore, to understand why the Order reckons the Statement of Conscience among the essentials of its Institutions (*substantialia Instituti*).* And it is no less easy to see that the Statement of Conscience forms an essential part of the cruel war of annihilation which each Jesuit has to wage against his individuality. The most painful and severe outward penances are mere child's play in comparison with the Statement of Conscience. For the individual feels instinctively, even if he lacks the clear recognition of the fact, that it sets the axe to the root of his own being. It is not therefore surprising that a dull consciousness of the burden and disgrace of the Statement of Conscience has called forth a feeling of strong repugnance to it in the Order, for mother-nature survives even here, at any rate for a while. We get an inkling of this from an instruction by the General Acquaviva of the year 1600, which designates the repugnance to the Statement of Conscience as a "very dangerous disease of the soul" (*morbis plane periculosus*).† But the Order keeps down with a hand of iron any revolt in its ranks against the Statement of Conscience, and every

* Congregat. V., Decret. 58.

† *Industriae ad curandos animae morbos*, c. 13. Inst. S.J., II. 351.

year it uses it as a means for the destruction of hundreds of existences.

Comprehensive and detailed as is this statement, and complete as is the surrender of the subordinates to their Superior which it involves, its full efficacy still depends on the good will of the person who makes it; for it is only he who can reveal his inner being to the Superior. Now it is doubtless true from the point of view of the Order that the unbroken habit, beginning with the first day of the novitiate, reduces to a minimum the risk of reservation of any secrets, especially as the great majority of Jesuits enter the Order as undeveloped youths, little more than boys. They are like wax, and they become wax in the hands of the Order. It is therefore almost unimaginable that they could offer resistance to making a full and sincere statement of conscience. Still there always remains the possibility. This is averted in the Order by adding to the Statement of Conscience, in which every man is his own accuser, a system of denunciation, which sets all against one, one against all. Thus the Order is furnished with an excellent addition to the Statement of Conscience. And closely connected with a carefully fostered system of denunciation is a minutely developed scheme of levelling uniformity.

THE JESUIT SYSTEM OF ESPIONAGE AND UNIFORMITY

The Constitutions dealing with denunciation (*delatio*).

“To promote greater spiritual progress and especially greater submission and humility the novice should be asked whether he is content that all his errors and faults, and in fact everything that is observed and noted in him, should be reported to the Superior by anyone who has become acquainted with them outside the con-

fessional. Whether he is also content (a thing he should do himself, and everyone else too) to be himself corrected by others and to contribute to the correction of others ; and whether they are prepared to reveal themselves to one another, with all due love, for greater spiritual progress, especially when it is prescribed by the Superior who has charge over them, or when he makes inquiries about it, to the greater glory of God." *

This denunciation order was expounded by the Sixth General Congregation.

All are permitted to reveal to the Superior as to a father every fault committed by another, be it great or small ; that is the meaning of the rule. "As in Chapter IV. of the *Examen generale* it is set before all, and all are asked if they are content that all their faults and anything that may be observed in them, should be communicated to the Superior, our members in so doing themselves renounce their rights to a good reputation which is opposed to this manifestation, and give all permission to report to the Superior everything, even a grievous fault, that they may have observed in them." Even those who have been consulted on account of some grievous error that has been committed may, "for especial and weighty reasons," acquaint the Superior with the fault entrusted to them under the seal of secrecy (though, as a rule, they should not do so), but before so acting they must "carefully study theological authors, in order to proceed prudently and cautiously." †

In these words lie hidden the general outlines of the system of denunciation which permeates the Jesuit Order from top to bottom, and which enables it to obtain the most intimate knowledge of each individual, even without his own help, with the object of shaping him inwardly and outwardly according to the standard and

* Exam. gen., IV., 8 ; Summar. 9, 10.

† Congr. VI., Decret. 32, 1-4.

pattern of the Order, thus to merge human individuals into a Jesuit mass.

In Chapter V. I quoted a very interesting document by a Jesuit Provincial in which denunciation was designated as the "eye" and salvation of the Order. I propose now to dissect this eye, or rather to set down the principal forms in which denunciation is carried out.

Formless, secret denunciation.

There is no regular form appointed for secret denunciation, by far the worst species. It has naturally no limits and no regular form.

The Constitutions permit and invite everyone, when and how he will, to report to any Superior everything that concerns any of his fellow members. And in order to assist denunciation, and check any possible conscientious objections to depriving anyone of the good reputation which even an erring member may possess, the Constitutions expressly state that "Those who live in the Jesuit Order renounce their claim to good reputation."

This passage is one of the most brutal and immoral of the whole Institute, and its harmfulness is not diminished by the question set to novices on entrance, whether they are content that all their faults and anything that is observed in them should be reported to the Superior. For the question is set in such a formal manner, and the weight of its content is so little emphasised, that not one of those who is asked it has the faintest conception of its real meaning, and certainly never suspects that in answering "Yes" he renounces his right to good repute for his whole lifetime. Besides, 80 per cent. of those who enter are mere boys, fresh from the gymnasiums, whose youthful minds are not capable of recognising the scope of the questions set them, and whose youthful shyness would prevent them from raising any objection.

At this point I may make a general observation. The reading, obligatory on entering the Order, and again four times during the novitiate period, of the *Examen generale*, which contains the duty of denunciation and other similar commands, is a truly Jesuitical institution. It throws a net over the unsuspecting new-comer. If as a Jesuit afterwards he comes to realise the meaning of the questions, and makes objections to them, the net is drawn close, and he receives the answer: All this was read to you, and you made no objection.

These instructions as to secret denunciation leave the road clear. Under the shelter of secrecy a flood of accusations, denunciations, and calumnies may be let loose from all quarters on any individual. He has no rights or privileges, and everyone's hand may be against him.

Training in denunciation.

The Order deliberately trains its members in denunciation and gives them practice in espionage, and in doing so the main object is to deprive it of its invidious character by giving it official sanction and establishing it as one of the regular institutions of the Order. It says to its members: "What you may do openly you may also do secretly." Open denunciation is to prepare the way for secret. Hence the numerous statutory denunciatory institutions, to some of which I must refer.

First there are the Prefects of the *turmae*, of the rooms and others. It is their duty to report to the Superior everything that comes within their cognizance; in particular the conversations during recreation and walks. From the beginning of his novitiate the Jesuit is carefully trained in this systematic denunciation, and gradually it enters his very being, so that it no longer seems to him strange.

Then there are the Consultors, Admonitors, and the *socius collateralis*. The habit of observing and denouncing others acquired in the novitiate and scholasticate is naturally continued in a Jesuit's after-life. Important offices have been instituted in order to maintain it.

The General and Provincial appoint for every Jesuit settlement, known as a House, Consultors, whose duty it is to observe the proceedings in the House, the conduct of the individuals, subordinates, and Superior, and to report thereon at regular intervals to the Rector, Provincial, and General. Besides the *Consultores domus* there are also *Consultores Provinciae*, whose denunciatory functions extend over a whole province of the Order. The Constitutions assign to each of the chief dignitaries (Superior, Rector, Provincial, General) an Admonitor, whose duty it is to supervise the private and official actions and report thereon to the higher authorities.

“To every Superior a *socius collateralis* may be assigned, to serve as a support. He is not compelled to obey the Superior, but for the sake of others he is to show him outward respect. It is his business to report to the Provincial or General concerning the actions of the Superior to whom he is assigned.”*

Reports (*formula scribendi*).

The Constitutions contain a section (*formula scribendi*) which includes the following headings: Concerning the Reports of the Superiors (Local Superior, Rector, Provincial, General) about one another, and the reports of the Consultors and Admonitors to the Provincials and General; concerning the *Litterae annuae*; concerning the secret catalogues and secret informations.

These reports are the highest imaginable development of supervision and denunciation. It is laid down

* Inst. S.J., II., 40 *et seq.*

in the Constitutions that the Superiors of the Houses and the Rectors are to write to the Provincial every week, or as often as he may determine. The Provincials are to write once a week to the Superiors and Rectors of the Houses, and to those whose activity lies outside the Houses. The Provincials are to write to the General once a month; the Superiors of the Houses, Rectors and Novice-Masters are to write every quarter to the General. The General is to write to the Provincials every other month, and to the Rectors and local Superiors twice a year. The Consultors of the Rectors and local Superiors are to send sealed letters twice a year to the Provincial and once to the General; the Consultors of the Provincials are to write to the General twice—in January and July. They are to write candidly all they have to say about the Superiors and their method of governing. One Consultor is not to know what the other Consultor writes. If it is necessary to write about some person not belonging to the Society, the letter must be worded in such a way that he may not be offended, even if the letter were to fall into his hands.

In secret matters a cipher should be used which is only known to the Superior; the General is to give instructions as to the method of doing this.*

If a subordinate wishes to send any secret information to the Provincial or General he must put the word *sol*i on the address.† An interesting example of a secret report and the use made of numbers is supplied by an undated document among the Jesuit papers of the Munich archives, which contains statements to the detriment of a Jesuit designated as I^b.‡

The number of reports which the General receives in

* *Formula scribendi*, 18; Inst. S.J., II., 41.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Döllinger-Reusch, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, II., 374.

the course of the year may be gathered from a statement made by Spittler* for the year 1773.

Monthly reports from 37 Provincials, 444; quarterly reports from 612 Heads of Colleges, 2,448; quarterly reports from 340 other local Superiors, 1,360; quarterly reports from 59 Novice-Masters, 236; half-yearly reports from 1,048 Consultors, 2,096—a total of 6,584 official annual reports. Besides these there are hundreds of reports from the over-sea missions, hundreds of letters from individuals to the General, so that we may set down the round number of 7,000 as a total.

The expense of all these reports must have been considerable, especially in former times. Piaget estimates them from an old source to be 30,000 gold thalers a year. Every courier sent to Rome at that time cost the Order 60 to 70 thalers.

A special kind of secret report was the *catalogus secundus*. Whenever the Procurators † of the different Provinces go to Rome, which is usually once in three years, they take with them two catalogues of all the inmates of the Province. The first states the outward circumstances, age, studies, occupation, etc., and is drawn up by the individuals themselves. The second catalogue is drawn up secretly by the Superior from the information which he possesses about each individual, and it gives the inner history of each, indicating them by numbers.‡

Of the existence of this Second Catalogue the Jesuit officially knows nothing. Often it is only after many years that he accidentally hears of it. I, for instance,

* *Über die Geschichte und Verfassung des Jesuitenordens*, Leipzig, 1817, p. 39 et seq.

† A Procurator is the ambassador elected by the Rectors and Professed of a province in the Provincial Congregation, to be sent to Rome. Const. VIII., 2, Declar. B.

‡ *Formula scribendi*, 32–35.

only heard of it in 1883, the second year of my philosophy studies. Francis Miller, at that time my Rector, and very well disposed towards me, informed me, most indiscreetly, that he had reported me in the Second Catalogue as having made good progress in virtue, and as a *homo spiritualis*, a man whose mind was turned towards spiritual things. At the same time he explained to me the nature and object of the Second Catalogue, the attainment of accurate knowledge of the individual.

This systematic denunciation has caused terrible devastation in the Order. Its members designate it as a veritable plague. I shall have occasion to return to this subject later.

I must mention two other institutions, which under the semblance of humility are based on mutual supervision and aim at producing inward and outward uniformity.

Guardian angels (*angeli custodes*).

Two novices are appointed to serve mutually as guardian angels. At regular periods they bestow alms on one another, *i.e.* relate the faults, mistakes, and the like, of which they have taken note. The higher authority is cleverly kept in the background; and the reporting and shaping is performed by equals, who are "whetted" against one another. To what extent may be seen by the second method.

Stone-throwing (*lapidatio*).

Now and then, indeed frequently, the Novice-Master, after the daily instruction, asks who will volunteer for stoning, or sometimes he himself, without waiting for volunteers, appoints the victim. He kneels down before all the other novices, and the stone-throwing begins. Each of his fellow novices points out the faults which he has observed in him. At the end the Novice-Master also

casts his stones, which, owing to the intimate knowledge he possesses of all the pupils, never fail to hit their mark.

The stone-throwing involves a very painful quarter of an hour. The eyes of forty or more perceive a great deal, and what they have observed is expressed freely. The object of this custom is the destruction of the last remains of individuality, even in outward appearance: the gait, position of the head, movements of the hand and arm, manner of drinking, speaking, pronouncing, laughing—everything is subjected to criticism.

The chief disciplinary effect of the guardian angels and the stone-throwing is to file and polish the inner and outer man, and this is assisted by the following rules :

Rules of Modesty.

These rules, together with an Instruction, already quoted,* on conduct at recreation, complete the final stage of filing and polishing.

The head must not be lightly moved this way or that, but in a dignified manner when it is necessary, and when it is not necessary it should be held still with a slight forward inclination, but not to either side. The eyes should usually be cast down; they should not be raised too high, or wander hither and thither. In conversation, especially with persons of superior dignity, the gaze is not to rest on their eyes, but a little below. Wrinkling the forehead, and especially the nose, must be avoided, in order to convey an expression of cheerfulness, which is the indication of inward content. The lips must not be pressed too tightly together nor kept too far apart. The general expression should suggest cheerfulness rather than gloom or any other less well regulated state of mind. The clothes must be clean, and arranged with scrupulous care. The hands, when not occupied with holding up

* Chapter X.

the long robe, must be kept still. The pace should be moderate, without any marks of haste, unless there is any urgency, and even then, so far as possible, dignity should be observed. All movements and gestures should be of a character to cause edification to all. When several members are together they should march in twos or threes, keeping the order prescribed by their Superior. When they have to speak, their words and the manner of their speaking should suggest modesty and edification.*

Members during their recreations should not appear peculiar, unamiable, or hermit-like. They should avoid frivolous movements, be modest, not too talkative nor wrathful, not quarrelsome nor ironical. They must not be too hurried in their movements, and should avoid importunity and bitterness; they must not raise their voices in talking or laugh out loud.†

Human beings who fashion their outward appearance according to such rules become embodied artificiality. The modesty here required is really an odious distortion of the human exterior. So violent and unnatural is this attack on nature that it instinctively takes the defensive, and the dissension between rule and nature produces disgusting hypocrisy, particularly noticeable in the instruction about the eyes. The cast-down Jesuit eyes see everything. The "corners of the novice's eyes," referring to the manner of casting them down taught in the novitiate, are a regular institution, as this is a regular expression in the Order. The Jesuit has learnt to see better with cast-down eyes than non-Jesuits who keep theirs wide open.

Other regulations as to supervision and uniformity.

Of these I give a few instances.

* Inst. S.J., II., 12.

† *Instructio* 13, c. 9 *pro renov. spiritus*; *Ibid.*, II., 306.

When receiving visits from men, no matter of what class or rank or position, the lay brothers who accompany the visiting priest must be careful never to leave him [the priest] a moment alone, both for the sake of religious propriety and also general edification. They must also know that they are bound, on returning home, to inform the Superior, even without being asked, whether there has been any breach of this rule.* Generally no one may enter the room of another without leave from the Superior; and if anyone has leave to enter, the door should remain open as long as he is there, so that the Superior and those appointed for the purpose may enter if it seem good to them.†

A man who enters the Society as a priest may not say mass in public until he has done so in private before some of the inmates of the House, and he should be admonished that in the manner of saying mass he should aim at uniformity with the other members of the Society.‡

Besides these institutions and rules there is an even stronger influence in moulding the Jesuit in the required fashion, because, especially during the novitiate, it dominates him completely from the moment of waking till he goes to rest, and from going to rest till the hour of awakening. I refer to

The daily routine and external life in the novitiate.

With violent and concentrated energy the novitiate seizes on the new-comer and saturates him completely with the Jesuit spirit. He is to be dyed in it through and through. It would be strange if the energy were not specially concentrated on one of the chief points of Jesuit

* Rule 5 for the Lay Brothers.

† Const. III., 1; Declar. D, Regul. Comm., 33.

‡ Exam. gen., V., 7.

discipline, the crushing out of independence. And indeed in this respect the novitiate education compels admiration, of a kind, however, which we must pay to clever criminality. For the destruction of individuality is surely a crime.

The life and daily routine of the novitiate resemble a mill, between the stones of which, with their unceasing motion, everything in a man that is individual, all his corners and edges, all his independent will and thoughts, his capacity for initiative and action, are crushed to atoms. This end is attained by breaking up the day and its occupations into minutest portions, and subordinating the will to that of others in the minutest details.

Such an educational system is the more effective the less it is expressed in strong measures. It is the drop of water that hollows out the stone, slowly but surely; softly and silently it smooths and polishes, instead of injuring by fitful blows. Almost imperceptibly and naturally compulsion takes hold of the entrant in the Order; it takes possession of him completely, body and soul, day after day, year after year, accompanies him in all his actions, and never leaves him till the transformation is accomplished and his independence annihilated. Not only from hour to hour, but from one quarter to another, even for shorter periods of time, his actions are prescribed for the novice. This constantly repeated and quick succession of interruptions affords an effective instrument for destroying independence.

The will and the inclination to any particular occupation are weakened. Everyone knows beforehand that what he is doing at the moment will not continue long, at most till such and such a time; it is possible, nay probable, that the signal for interruption may come even sooner, and he will be utilised for some other purpose. Thus he learns gradually to pass from one occupation to another, with-

out feeling annoyance, to be called away and sent back, five minutes here, ten minutes there; half an hour in the kitchen, an hour in the granary—to-day wielding a broom, to-morrow a log.

Thus a mechanical routine, an easy mobility, an unresisting skill are attained; but just to the same extent is individual independence forfeited. The will of the individual is broken, and exact obedience attained; but in so doing a blow is given to the whole will, it is smoothed till it becomes an easily revolving ball, which fits noiselessly into the ranks of the others that move by its side.

We all know that individuality impresses itself on our surroundings, the room in which we live, the objects which we use, and itself is strengthened and aroused by their special characteristics. Therefore this ally of individuality is also combated.

Not only is the occupation of the Jesuit novice determined for every quarter of an hour, but the place and manner of his actions are prescribed in every detail. During the two years of the novitiate he must frequently change the room in which he spends his time, and even the spot on which his little writing-desk or simple bed stand is not permanent, for if it were it would be an aid to individuality. Every peculiarity, the special characteristics which mark even the exterior of the person, must be removed. The gait, the position of the hands, the inclination of the head, the attitude and movement of the body are regulated minutely.

Literally nothing is left to the free determination of the novice. If he wants a drink of water, he must ask for leave; if he wants a piece of paper, a book, a pencil, he must ask for it too.

All these are rules to which everyone must submit. But in addition there are a number of counsels and direc-

tions which, in view of the readiness with which they are observed, are no less effectual. There are counsels about eating and drinking, speaking, walking, and sitting, counsels about undressing, the position of the body in sleep, in dressing—in short, the whole being, in all his movements and outward bearing, day and night, is seized upon and modelled into shape.*

Confession.

From the Catholic and religious point of view confession is the account of sins penitently related to the priest in order to obtain absolution.†

Even the ultramontane Roman Church, which early in the thirteenth century began to misuse confession for hierarchic purposes, and for this reason instituted a certain amount of compulsion, did not extend it to the choice of a confessor. In this matter there is absolute freedom; a Catholic can make his obligatory annual confession to any priest. It is not necessary to prove that this must be so, that any compulsion as to place, time, number of confessions, and especially the particular confessor, would destroy the very essence of confession from the natural and religious point of view.

But what do Jesuits care about nature and religion when it is a question of attaining their own ends?

Jesuit discipline, therefore, also takes possession of confession. The Jesuit loses all freedom of confession, and that which, rightly regarded, may be a comfort to a sin-laden or doubting conscience, the confidential revelation of the soul in accordance with the forms of religion, becomes in the ascetic system of the Jesuit Order an act of compulsion which even in the Sacrament of Confession delivers the subordinate over completely to the watchful eyes of

* Hoensbroech, *Mein Austritt aus dem Jesuitenorden*, p. 13 et seq.

† Hoensbroech, *Das Papsttum*, etc., II., 512-574.

the Superior. That which, according to Catholic doctrine, was the great means instituted by Christ for the reconciliation of the human soul and God, is stripped of its character by the Jesuit Constitutions and transformed into a disciplinary rule.

“All are to go at least every eighth day to the Sacraments of Confession and Communion, unless for any reason the Superior should determine otherwise. A confessor appointed by the Superior shall hear the confessions of all; if this is not possible, each must have his regular confessor, to whom he may reveal his conscience fully. . . . The manner of confessing and the regular time for it are to be fixed. . . . If anyone should confess to any other than his appointed confessor, he must afterwards, so far as his memory permits, open his whole conscience to his appointed confessor, so that he, knowing everything that relates to the conscience of the penitent, can help him better in the Lord. . . . All must confess to their appointed confessor, in accordance with the order prescribed by the Superior.” *

All are to confess on the appointed day to their appointed confessors, and not to any other without the consent of the Superior.† Non-priests are to confess and communicate once a week; priests at least as often or oftener. On entering the Order everyone must make a general confession of his whole past life.‡

It really seems as though the Order could never have enough directions and regulations to make confession serve the ends of supervision. But it goes even further.

In the first place, those who do not submit to its ordinances are punished by starvation.

“Those who do not go to confession within this period

* Const. III., 1, 11; Declar. Q., VI., 3, 2; Summar. Const., 7.

† Regul. Com., 3.

‡ Exam. gen., IV., 25, 41.

[the time laid down by the Superior] are to be deprived of their bodily sustenance until they partake of spiritual food. . . . If anyone within the appointed period does not go to Confession or Communion, he [the minister] is to inquire of the Superior whether he is to be deprived of his bodily nourishment, until he has partaken of spiritual nourishment.”*

Certain sins are declared to be “reservation cases” from which only the Superior can absolve; and of these special cases the ninth on the list is, characteristically enough, the case when a Jesuit should have confessed to an “external priest” a non-Jesuit.†

As, according to the general teaching of ultramontane moral theology, only grievous sins, so-called deadly sins, are reserved for absolution by the Superior, we meet here with the theological absurdity that the Order accounts as a deadly sin a confession made by a Jesuit to a priest who has all the other requirements of the Church for hearing confessions, but is not a Jesuit, only in order to prevent its members from breaking through the narrow limits of its directions for confessions.

Other no less characteristic ordinances concerning reservation cases are these:

The confessor must be acquainted with the cases which the Superior reserves for himself. He is to reserve such cases as it is necessary or useful for him to be acquainted with, in order the better to apply the remedy and preserve those given into his charge from all injury.

The Superior may refuse the right to give absolution in a reserved case to a confessor who asks for it. The refusal may only be given after careful consideration; but it must be given if there is any fear of offence and

* Const. III., 1; Declar. Q, Rule 10 for the Minister. The Minister has to provide for the domestic arrangements under the direction of the Rector.

† Congreg. 2; Decret. 60.

injury to the reputation of the College or any other persons. In such cases the sinner should himself make confession to the Superior.*

If anyone when travelling has confessed a reservation case to another Jesuit and been fully absolved by him, he must still, when he returns to his own House, confess the matter once more to the Superior of the House, and this must be made a condition of absolution.†

It is scarcely possible to express the compulsion involved in this last ordinance; a confession must be repeated, and to the Superior of him who has already made a full confession, solely in order that the Superior, or rather the Order, may have a complete knowledge of the inner life of all his subordinates. A journey and its occurrences involving a short absence might render the Superior's knowledge of his subordinate incomplete, hence the arbitrary rule, to be justified neither from the religious and Christian nor the dogmatic and theological standpoint, which says: The account which you have settled with God in confession is not yet settled with the Jesuit Order, therefore confess once more.

The consequences that may result from the Jesuit reservation ordinances are shown in a memorial handed to the Pope and the Seventh General Congregation of the Order (1615) by the Jesuit Hernando de Mendoza, who took part in the Congregation.‡

“Because the Superiors reserve to themselves certain sins, some persons remain for years in a state of deadly sin and commit thousands of sacrileges, without daring to confess to the Superior or their usual confessor, because

* Const. III., 1, 11; *Ordinationes Generalium*, c. 6, 2.

† *Ord. Gen.*, c. 6, 6.

‡ When Mendoza failed to pass his reform measures he left the Order. In consequence he is represented by all Jesuit writers as a bad man. All the same his badness did not prevent the Spanish Jesuits from sending him as their delegate to the Seventh General Congregation.

the Superior does not give his consent to absolution, or when he gives it makes many difficulties, and asks so many questions that the seal of confession runs great risk of being broken. The practice of letting the Superiors rule their subordinates by means of confession [must be abolished] . . . also the obligation to make a general confession every six months; for if a sin has once been fully confessed there is no obligation to confess it again. . . . The seal of confession must be respected.”*

The memorial met with no success. Its cry for help was uttered in vain. Undisturbed the Jesuit Order continued to march on over sacrilege, deadly sin, and torments of conscience. The honour of God and the salvation of the individual are of no account when its own weal and woe are in question, and they would be at stake if confession were no longer the mighty instrument of vigilance and espionage into which it has been transformed. This is an adaptation of the famous Jesuit motto, *Omnia ad majorem Dei gloriam*. But this God is not the God of Christianity, but the Jesuit Order itself, the Moloch of its own power and its own pride.

Worthy of note, too, are the final words of the passage quoted from Mendoza's memorial as to the illegally imposed duty of frequent general confessions and the failure to respect the seal of secrecy. In any case it would be impossible that a confession thus made to converge towards the Superior and his function as ruler should be respected. Further, the Statement of Conscience which runs parallel with confession renders the secrecy of confession quite illusory, since here the subordinate, unprotected by the seal of confession, is compelled to inform his Superior of everything which he has to declare in confession. The Superior is acquainted with the whole contents of his confession through the Statement

* *Avis de ce qu'il y a à reformer en la Compagnie de Jésus*, 1615, p. 13 et seq.

of Conscience, and is allowed by the Constitutions to utilise this knowledge for the good of the Order.

Besides these indirect though convincing proofs of the non-secrecy of the confessional, the Constitutions also contain positive directions on the subject.

In the very first part* we read :

“It is profitable that besides the Examiner others, too, should have intercourse with the postulant for admission . . . for this end it is well that he should frequently confess in our church, before his admission . . . in order that we may obtain the knowledge concerning him which is requisite to the honour of our Lord and God.”

Confession then is to be used as a means of obtaining knowledge concerning a candidate for admission. But of what use would the knowledge be if the confessor could not make use of it by passing it on to the Superior? Of course everything is done to the honour of our Lord and God. The more shameful and immoral are the ordinances of the Jesuit Order, the more do they flaunt the spacious folds of their cloak of piety.

As for the respect shown to the secrecy of confession there is something very suspicious about an ordinance which General Acquaviva felt bound to issue in August, 1590, to the effect that in the annual reports what relates to confessions should be omitted,† while the Provincial Congregation of the Upper German Province was obliged in the year 1660 to reiterate the warning :

“Facts which are only known through the confessional are not to be quoted in the annual reports.”‡

It appears then that even in the annual reports, which were intended for public reading, the seal of secrecy was

* Const. I., c. 4, Declar. D.

† J. Friedrich, *Beiträge*, p. 50. From the Munich State Archives.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

broken. What may we not assume then in regard to the secret reports ?

Is it indeed likely that the Order would renounce its chief source of investigation, confession, in the case of its own members, whom it wishes to examine by every possible means, though ruthlessly and systematically using it in the case of externals ?

One historic instance of this use of confession may be quoted here, though I must give others later. The French ambassador at Venice, M. de Canaye, wrote on June 6th, 1606, to King Henry IV. of France :

“ Jesuit documents discovered at Bergamo and Padua prove that the Jesuits made use of confessions in order to gain information as to the capacity, disposition and mode of life of the penitents, the chief affairs of the towns in which they live, and that they have such an exact acquaintance with all these details that they know the strength, means, and circumstances of every state and every family.”*

Several of the Popes also tried to do away with the serious abuses caused by the Jesuit utilisation of confessions. Thus Innocent X. urged them to abolish the practice of appointing as Superiors of a Settlement (House, Residence, or College) Jesuits who had for many years acted as confessors in the same Settlement. For it was almost impossible for the Superior who had been a Confessor not to utilise in the direction of his subordinates, who had formerly been his penitents, the knowledge acquired in the confessional, thus violating the seal of confession. But the Pope did not attain his end. The Eighth General Congregation (1646) coolly set aside the Papal request with the comment :

“ As it might be advantageous to appoint confessors as Superiors, no change need be made in this respect ;

* J. Friedrich, *Beiträge*, p. 49.]

honourable men would not make a wrongful use of the secrets learnt in confession.”*

CONSCIENCE-SEARCHING

Closely connected with confession are two kinds of “conscience-searching” customary among Jesuits. The ordinary kind, which takes place twice a day, at mid-day and in the evening, does not call for any special remark, as it in no way differs from the conscience-searching before confession, which prevails throughout the Ultramontane Catholic Church. But the second kind is quite peculiar to the Jesuits. It is called the “Particular Examination.”

Were it possible carefully to watch a Jesuit during the ordinary conscience-searching, he would be seen to draw out a little pocket-book and make notes in it. That is the “particular examination book.” And were it possible to observe him the rest of the day he would be seen now and then to put his hand under his robe and pull something in the direction of his left shoulder. This means that he is pulling the “particular examination chain.”

The Particular Examination is the searching for a single fault or endeavour to attain a special virtue, both faults and virtues being interpreted in the widest sense, since often little faults, peculiarities in manner, speaking,

* J. Friedrich, *Beiträge*, pp. 67, 69. The official collection of the decrees of the Congregations contain no reference to these interesting proceedings (Prague, 1757; Rome, 1869-70). We shall see later how little reliance is to be placed on the Jesuit publications referring to the Order, no matter how official they may be. Of this I have already cited proofs (Chaps. IV. and V.). The matter is remarkable, too, as showing that Papal wishes are far from being commands to the Jesuit Order. Even distinct commands not infrequently meet with determined resistance from the Order, if it regards its own interests as endangered by them. This instructive point, which throws a curious light on the “unconditional obedience of the Jesuits to the Pope,” will be discussed farther on.

walking, eating and the like, and the attainment of a courteous and polite bearing are made the objects of this examination. As a rule it is the Superiors, Novice-Master, or Confessor who determines which faults are to be combated, which virtues acquired by means of this Particular Examination. In any case they must be consulted about it, so that here, too, there is no scope for individual freedom. The formal and mechanical element, nowhere absent from the ascetic discipline of the Jesuits, and particularly marked in the Exercises, is manifested in very crude fashion in the use of the notebook and chain of the Particular Examination. Every victory over the fault, every achievement of the virtue, is recorded by means of pulling the chain, which consists of movable wooden beads representing units and tens, and at noon and in the evening the number of victories and virtuous actions is recorded in the note-book. These are added up every week and month, and the total compared with that for the previous month or week. In this way an account is kept and a balance struck, and now and then the Superior demands a statement of accounts.

The Order lays great stress on the Particular Examination, and the Exercises devote a special section to it. And doubtless it may prove very efficacious. Its injurious effect on the inner being and the ethical faculty is of no account to the egotism of the Order. It attains what it desires, the smooth polish of the individual, the planing away of all individuality.

THE EXERCISES

The theory and practice of Jesuit piety and ascetic discipline are combined in a powerful whole by the Exercises, which form the apex of the tower of Jesuit perfection.

Whether the Spiritual Exercises are to be regarded as an original work of Ignatius Loyola is a question scarcely worth raising, since it is undeniable that the founder of the Order, and through him the Order itself, gave them their particular impress and as it were monopolised them. But for the sake of historical accuracy, and in view of the extravagant assertions of the Jesuits concerning the origin of the Exercises, a few words may be added on this subject.

Two quotations will show the haughty spirit characteristic of the Jesuits :—

“ Ignatius certainly wrote them, but they were dictated to him by the Virgin. . . : It was not for nothing that during the whole period of their composition she frequently appeared to him, and her light illumined his spirit even more than his eyes. And in order to remove all doubt the Mother of God herself revealed to one whose holiness deserves all credence* that the meditations were well pleasing to her, for she herself in her lifetime had often meditated on these matters, she had afterwards taught them to Ignatius and assisted him in writing them down.†

“ The Venerable Father Louis de Ponte writes in the Life of the Venerable Father Balthasar Alvarez, that according to the faithful tradition derived from Father Jacob Laynez, the second General of the Society, it was generally considered that God had revealed the Exercises to St. Ignatius by special inspiration, and in consequence of a supernatural illumination of a soul sanctified to God. Ignatius, by the influence and through the advocacy of the Blessed Virgin Mary, had attained the knowledge which enabled him to set them down in writing in their present form.” ‡

To these boastful and superstitious absurdities we may oppose the fact that Ignatius found in the Benedictine convent at Montserrat an ascetic book by the

* The Jesuit Alvarez.

† *Imago primi saeculi Societ. Jesu*, Antwerp, 1640, p. 73.

‡ Stöger, S.J., *Die asketische Literatur über die geistlichen Übungen*. Paris—Ratisbon, 1850, p. 43.

Benedictine monk Garcia de Cisneros, published about 1500, which, during his residence at Manresa, suggested to him the composition of his Exercises. For this we have the definite testimony of the Benedictine Chanones of Montserrat, who at that time was the confessor of Ignatius.*

The duration of the Exercises is fixed for a month, and on this account they are divided into first, second, third and fourth weeks. This division is retained even when the Exercises are compressed into eight or only three days.

The full course of four weeks is only for Jesuits themselves, and even they, as a rule, only go through them twice during their life in the Order—in the first year of the novitiate and after the completion of their course of studies in the tertiate. As a rule every Jesuit “makes” a week’s Exercises every year. Down to the end of the scholasticate the Exercises are “given” usually by the Superior or the spiritual father; after the scholasticate the Jesuit directs his own Exercises.

Secular priests, too, as a rule only make a week’s Exercises, and those for the laity only last three days.

In order to give, at any rate, a general impression of the Exercises I shall add a short table of contents.† But obviously it is not possible in this way to give any real impression of the peculiar riches they contain. The text of the Exercises fills forty-three quarto volumes of the Roman edition of the “Institute of the Society of Jesus,” and they deal with various aspects of theology, psychology, philosophy, and asceticism.

The Introduction consists of twenty “annotations,” which assist the comprehension of the Exercises, and are

* Cf. Yopez, *Chronicon generale Ordinis Sti Benedicti*, 1621, 4, 326 et seq.

† The Latin text of the Exercises has been included in the editions of the “Institute,” e.g. the Roman edition of 1870, II. 375–418. There are also a number of separate editions in different languages.

intended to help the directors as well as the congregation.

Then follows the title: "Some spiritual Exercises, by which a man may be so directed that he learn to overcome himself and direct his life free from the influence of harmful inclinations."

After preliminary remarks, which show great psychological insight, as to the mutual understanding and avoidance of misunderstanding between the Exercise-Master and the exercitant and, as a corollary, between men in general, the "Principle or Fundament" is laid down, *i.e.* it is stated in a few effective words, "that man was created in order to praise his Lord and God, and to attain blessedness by serving Him, and that all other things were created for the sake of man, to help him in the attainment of his goal."

Next come exact and detailed directions for the Particular and General Examination, and then begins the first week, with five Exercises, the name given to the meditations for this week in contradistinction to those of the other weeks.

The first Exercise deals under three headings with the "threefold sin," the sin of the angels, through which they were turned into devils; the sin of the first man and woman, through which all evil came into the world; and the deadly sin of any human being, through which he was condemned to hell. The second Exercise has five sections on "our own sins." Third Exercise, repetition of the first and second Exercises. Fourth Exercise, repetition of the Third. Fifth Exercise, with five sections on hell.

1. To see in imagination the great fires of the lower regions and the souls imprisoned in fiery bodies.

2. To hear in imagination the lamentation, howling, crying, and blasphemies against Christ and His saints that issue thence.

3. To smell in imagination the smoke and horrible stench of brimstone and sulphur.

4. To taste the bitterness of hell, the tears, remorse, and the worm that gnaws the conscience.

5. To touch those fires by which those souls are being consumed.

The five Exercises of the first week, as well as those that follow, are introduced by a preparatory prayer and two preludes. In the prayer of preparation the exercitant is to ask for the grace that all his powers and actions may be directed to the honour and service of God. The first prelude is intended as a preparation of the place (*compositio loci*), i.e. in contemplating objects with a visible and tangible basis such as scenes from the life of Christ, the imagination must be called into play to represent the places where the event occurred. But if the subject of contemplation is incorporeal, as, for instance, sin, the preparation of the place consists in imagining our souls imprisoned in our bodies as in a dungeon, and our whole being exiled in this vale of woe in the midst of raging beasts. The second prelude contains a prayer for the fruits peculiar to that particular contemplation. Thus, in contemplating the resurrection of Christ we should ask for the emotion of joy; in the case of His sorrow and suffering, for tears and anguish.

Each Exercise, as well as each of the contemplations that follow, concludes with a colloquy, in which Christ is to be imagined as present, hanging on the cross, and addressed, now as a friend by a friend, now as a master by a servant.

The first week concludes with directions for the distribution of the contemplations among the various portions of the night and day, and additions, "which are very useful for the better performance of the spiritual Exercises and the better finding of that which is desired." The first

contemplation is to take place at midnight; the second early in the day, immediately on rising; the third before or after mass, fasting; the fourth in the afternoon; the fifth before supper.

The additions include the following recommendations : In bed, before falling asleep, a short time should be given to pondering on the next subject of contemplation, as also immediately on waking. For contemplating a man may choose the attitude which will best assist him to attain the desired end, *e.g.* stretched out on the ground with face upturned or downcast, or standing, sitting, or kneeling; when meditating on sin, all cheerful thoughts must be excluded, because they check tears and sorrow, and for the same reason he should deprive himself of all the brightness of light, keeping doors and windows closed, except when reading or eating. . . . He should not look at anyone except when compelled to greet him, he should mortify himself in eating and sleeping, and inflict penance on himself by penitentiary girdles, iron chains, scourgings, and the like. In doing this, however, he should see to it that the pain is confined to the flesh and does not extend to the bones; therefore scourges of small cords should be used, that the blows may only reach the outward, not the inward parts. Those who do not experience the desired emotions, *e.g.* grief and consolation, are to change their practice in matters of sleeping, eating, penance, etc.

The second week opens with the Contemplation of the kingdom of Christ, as though He were an earthly king, calling forth his soldiers to war. This Contemplation has two parts. In the first we are called upon to "imagine an earthly king chosen by God, to whom all other Christian kings and peoples are to show honour and obedience." This king announces to his subjects that he means to subdue every land of the infidels; all are to follow him

and be his comrades, share in his labours and difficulties, as well as in his victory. What answer shall his subjects give? How base were that soldier who should refuse to follow! In the second part the parable is applied to Christ. This Contemplation, which on account of its importance is to be repeated, concludes with an address to Christ, in which the contemplant offers himself to Christ as His closest follower (*quam possim proxime te sequar*), if it be God's will to choose him out for such a life. First Meditation, Of the Incarnation of Christ. It is decreed by the Three Persons of the Trinity in heaven, and carried out in the little house (*domuncula*) of the Virgin Mary. Second Meditation, Of the birth of Christ. Third Meditation, repetition of the two former ones. Fourth Meditation, another repetition. Fifth Meditation, Application of the senses to the previous meditations. The persons should be seen with the eyes; and their conversation should be heard with the ears; the sweetness of their virtues is to be perceived by smell; with the sense of touch he is "to touch and kiss the clothes, places, footprints, and all else that is connected with the holy persons." After various meditations on the life of Christ there follows on the fourth day of this week, as a sort of culmination, the Meditation of the Two Flags; one the flag of Christ, our best Emperor, the other the flag of Lucifer, the chief foe of man. This meditation, too, is divided into two parts. First, the contemplant is to imagine the devil at Babylon, sitting on a throne of smoke and fire, terrible in face and form, summoning the innumerable lower devils and sending them forth into the world. Addressing them, he bids them spare no town, village, or person, but to seduce all to the love of wealth and honour, and so tempt them to pride. In contrast to this picture he is to imagine Christ standing in a lovely field near Jerusalem, fair of form and beautiful to behold, addressing

the faithful and sending them forth to lead men to poverty and humility. This meditation, which must be repeated four times, concludes with three addresses: to Mary, Christ, and God the Father. Then follows the Meditation on the Three Classes of Men. Three men have each 10,000 ducats; they desire to attain salvation, and therefore to rid themselves of unlicensed affection for money. The first wishes it, but does not act. The second also wishes, but would like to bring God over to his own wish. The third remains quite indifferent; he will give up the money or not, just as God will. After a series of contemplations on the life of Christ, the second week closes with detailed directions as to the choice of vocation. In this is inserted an instruction on the "Three Degrees of Humility."

The third week is entirely devoted to contemplations on Christ's passion. To these are appended some "Rules for Moderation in Diet."

The fourth week is devoted to the Resurrection of Christ and His appearances on earth. One of the contemplations deals with the awakening of spiritual love. To this is appended "The Three Methods of Prayer."

This concludes the regular Exercises. They are followed by fifty-one "Mysteries of the Life of our Lord Jesus Christ," which may be utilised as subjects for contemplation.

The whole is concluded by four kinds of rules: 1. For distinguishing the spiritual emotions aroused by the different classes of spirits. 2. For the distribution of alms. 3. For distinguishing the scruples which a demon puts into our minds. 4. For setting our feelings in harmony with the orthodox Church.

The Spiritual Exercises might be called the heart of the Order, since it is the centre whence the Jesuit blood circulates through the whole body. All the Generals from Ignatius downwards are profuse in recommendation

of the Exercises, though it was only little by little and a good deal later that it became compulsory for all members to go through them every year.

Here I may append some words of criticism. The structure of the Exercises is logical, with some psychological subtlety, and in spite of the simple diction they have some æsthetic beauty.

Regarded from the standpoint of theological dogma, they might be designated as the most rigid compendium of the ultramontane Catholic doctrine of God, Christ, and the world. Here, as in the dogmatic system of the Church, there is no place for a world-riddle. Their psychological impetus is due to their absolute completeness, emphasised by the simplicity of outline and the occasional dramatic representation. Those who enter on them with faith are irresistibly seized by their complex impetus, and thus carried in the direction to which the Exercises apparently lead them, unconditional surrender to the Romish Church. I say "apparently" advisedly.

Nor can it be denied that the Exercises inspire a conception of life which raises men above commonplace existence, and surrounds them with an ascetic coat of mail which protects them effectually against attacks from their lower nature. They lead to piety and, by way of purification, knowledge and love, to a higher stage of devotion to God, a devotion which necessarily bears a thoroughly ultramontane Catholic character.

And yet my judgment on the Exercises can only be an adverse one. Not because the premises on which they are based, the Catholic dogma and its doctrines of God, Christ, and the world, are erroneous, and therefore also the pious and ascetic deductions which spring from them, but because the Exercises, in emphasising ultramontane doctrine, force men under the Jesuit yoke most

skilfully and successfully. All who make Exercises, and these include not merely Jesuits, but also thousands of priests, laity, men, women, youths, and maidens outside the ranks of the Society, become, without willing or even knowing it, sworn adherents of the Order; their religious, ethical, and ascetic consciousness receives a Jesuitical impress. And this is the object of the Exercises. That is why I designated the absolute devotion to the Romish Church as the "apparent" result. Behind this stands the final result, subjection of the exercitant to the Jesuit spirit, his adaptation into a Jesuit tool.

I do not, however, believe that this was the conscious aim of Loyola. But, because the Jesuit spirit in its extremist form saturates the Exercises, the attainment of this object is a natural result, and indeed the Order has for a long time consciously used the Exercises for this end. Nowhere else in the wide domain of the system is the Jesuit spirit, so disastrous in its effects on the inner being of man, more strongly marked; nowhere else is its power of destroying personality more effective; nowhere else is its pseudo-mysticism so rife as in the Exercises.

Its main characteristics are two:

1. The supreme dominion of the formal and mechanical element. To anyone with any real comprehension of piety and true asceticism, the mere notion of compiling a detailed system of ascetic piety, with its dictates of "Thus and no otherwise," must appear monstrous. But this monstrous notion has been actualised by the Jesuits, for every individual that comes to them is forced into their system of Exercises. During the time devoted to them, whether four weeks, one week, or only three days, with the object of seeking God in quietude, every individual emotion is forbidden; every detail of the pious practices from first to last is prescribed, there is not the smallest scope for liberty; the deepest emotions of the soul, prayers

and discourses with God, all must follow fixed rules, which settle not only the manner but also the place and time. All the outer and inner faculties of man, his five senses, understanding, will, feeling, imagination, the animal functions, sleeping, eating, everything indeed that relates to body or soul, is subjected to the system established by the Jesuits, and this is done in so impressive a manner, with such minute directions for the employment of every hour and minute, that the subjection of the whole personality is inevitable. Christian liberty is transformed into slavish and complete dependence.

This extreme compulsion exercised over mind and heart is better realised when we remember that they represent the pious and ascetic aspirations of one individual, Ignatius Loyola. He, if we assume that he was the author, created them to satisfy his own particular needs. Then comes the Jesuit Order, and forces upon all, without exception, the Exercises fashioned to suit the bodily and spiritual needs of a Spaniard who died more than three hundred and fifty years ago. The Exercises may have been the expression of Ignatius's individual piety. It is surely unnecessary to prove that they have no such individual application for others. Yet all alike are pressed into the Ignatian pattern, and moulded and shaped until the adaptation of the individual to the dress, not the dress to the individual, is complete. The Exercises may be likened to a machine built nearly four hundred years ago, but still in use to-day; it turns out the persons of all times, countries and classes put into it to one pattern, absolutely uniform in every detail of their being. This mechanical uniformity and the passive attitude of the exercitant find characteristic expression in what might appear a very insignificant detail.

An exercise naturally suggests activity on the part of the agent, but the Spiritual Exercises exclude all personal

participation as much as possible, and lay the chief stress on the orders and instructions of the Director of Exercises. Accordingly Exercises are not made, but given (*traduntur*); the exercitant receives them. He is exercised and drilled by the command of the Director of Exercises and the handbook of Exercises. (*Libellus exercitiorum* is the official designation of the written collection.)

But, and here we come upon one of the most remarkable psychological subtleties, this suppression of independence is carried out in such a fashion that the exercitant is not aware of it, but imagines that his understanding and will are at work, though the Exercises have long ago supplanted his own thought and volition.*

2. Another fault is the prevalence of pseudo-mysticism and of the sensual element. Both are evident in every page of the Exercises, not only incidentally or as a spontaneous development from a particular exercise, but in subtly calculated and systematic fashion.

Piety is practised with the aid of the five senses, and their emotions (tears, sweet and painful sensations, kisses, handling) are as a rule the object aimed at. The preparation of the place for each of the meditations is absolutely fatal to genuine prayer, but it skilfully imitates union with God on a sensual basis, and enwraps a man's being in a pleasant supersensual atmosphere, whose close vapours are only too well suited to produce apparitions and ecstasies, in reality hysterical conditions and auto-suggestion. In the conduct of the Exercises it is really the nerves and, in spite of the emphasis apparently laid on them, not the reason and will, which form the link with God. Consider the effect on a sensitive nature, for instance,

* On this account it seems to me that Holl, in his book *Die geistlichen Übungen des Ignatius von Loyola* (Tübingen, 1905, p. 35), which contains much that is excellent, is mistaken in designating the Exercises as "the highest achievement that can be demanded of a wise system of education." Suppression of the pupil's own activity, while retaining it in appearance, is in my opinion the highest achievement of a false education.

of the Contemplation on hell, which calls into activity eyes, ears and the senses of taste and touch, or the directions as to darkening the room.

Doubtless it is effective from the point of view of the senses to call up Christ and Lucifer by the power of constructive imagination, as is done in the Fundamental Contemplations concerning the Kingdom of Christ and the Two Flags. But is there any true connection between contemplations based on such plastic realism and the true Christ and His spirit? Do they lead us a single step onward into the domain of true spiritual piety? Can they indeed be called religious at all in the sense of the spirit and the truth?

Then consider the part played by the devil in the Exercises. Of course he is introduced as a person, for the personality of the devil is part of Romish dogma. But, according to the same dogma, he is also a spirit, and the impression made on the contemplant to whom he is presented as a corporeal being, endowed with every kind of terror, can only be of a coarsely sensual and pseudo-mystic character. This completely equipped hellish personality meets us in the Exercises at every turn. All the lower emotions in man are represented as inspired by him; and he accompanies the individual everywhere. The Exercises must produce the impression that the world is literally full of devils, who run busily to and fro striving to drive men into the horrors of hell. They serve to arouse coarse sensual terror, and the result is that the terrified exercitant clings closely to the Director of Exercises and through him to the Jesuit Order.

Indeed, the Exercises which every Jesuit has to repeat annually for a week enable us to understand why Jesuit devotional literature is for the most part devil-literature, and why the supersensuous in the shape of miracles and apparitions plays so large a part in it.

And this terror called forth through the imagination is a deliberate aim of the Exercises, since the three days' Exercises for the laity consist almost exclusively of the meditations of the first week, which deal with sin, death, the judgment, hell, devil, purgatory, and leave the widest field for conjuring up fantastic terrors. I have already alluded to this in telling of my Feldkirch experiences.

Their relation to the Scriptures furnishes an instructive contrast.

We should naturally expect that the Gospels would be the first book to be placed in the hands of the exercitant, with the admonition to a careful perusal. But no. The Gospels are brought to him almost exclusively through the Exercise Master. His addresses, which set forth the subjects for meditation on the life and teaching of Christ, supply the book which he is to read rather than the Scriptures. Only once are they even mentioned, quite casually in an unimportant note on the second week, and even here the Gospels, as regards their value for edification, are put on the same footing as ordinary devotional literature which abounds in anti-Biblical pseudo-mysticism and hysterical imitation of piety. The note says :

“ In the second and following weeks it will be advantageous to read in the Gospels or some pious book, such as ‘The Imitation of Christ’ or the ‘Life of a Saint.’ ”

Neglect of the Scriptures is, of course, typical of all Ultramontaniam, but here we encounter a striking Jesuit peculiarity, a pretence of intimate study of the Scriptures through contemplation of mysteries from the life of Christ, in reality an absorption into the Jesuit spirit, which completely dominates and expounds the contemplation of the Gospels.

In this way, unnoticed by the exercitant and indeed almost imperceptibly, piety and asceticism are removed

from their natural soil in the Gospels and transplanted to a Jesuit foundation.

I add some ordinances from the Constitutions and utterances of Jesuit authorities, which throw a strong light on the Jesuit conception of the Exercises, the method of giving them, and the persons to whom they should be given.

“But rarely and only in the case of specially fitted persons should the whole of the Exercises be given; but as many as possible should take those of the first week.”*

The “Directory of Spiritual Exercises,” published in 1599 by General Acquaviva by command of the fifth General Congregation, in the first chapter, “How persons may be induced to go through the Exercises,” states:

“Our members should resolve by agreeable persuasion (*suaviter*) to induce as many as possible to take the Exercises. . . . But they must be careful to do this discreetly and modestly, and at a fitting time and place without being troublesome or giving offence, and above all, taking care to give no room for suspicion that we are desirous of inducing them to enter the Order. . . . Our Father, the Blessed Ignatius, thought and advised that the best manner of doing so was at confession, not inappropriately and suddenly, but when a good occasion offers, arising either naturally or skilfully introduced.”†
 And the instructions concerning the Director of Exercises state that he should be experienced in spiritual things, prudent, discreet, restrained, moderate, and careful in his speech. And he should also be agreeable to the exercitant, in order that he may more willingly give him his confidence.‡

Concerning women and the Exercises, General Acquaviva wrote on July 1st, 1600, to the Jesuit Rector at Speier :

* Const. VII., 4, Declar. F.

† *Directorium in exercitia spiritualia*, I., 1, 2, 3.

‡ *Ibid.*, 5, 1, 2.

“As we have often written before, it does not seem to us worth while to give the Spiritual Exercises to women. . . . It will suffice if our members try to help them by means of spiritual books.”*

Women are intellectually inferior, and the treasures of Jesuit asceticism should not be wasted on them. Such, at least, is the theory. Very different, however, is the practice, for women offer the most fruitful field for Jesuit cultivation. Through women they win influence over men, through women they collect wealth, and this Jesuitical pursuit is specially exercised in giving numerous Exercises to women of all classes. Of this I afterwards had some experiences of my own.

From the Exercises have been developed the Popular Missions, which are really Exercises for the masses. Of these I must treat later.

FRUITS OF JESUIT ASCETICISM

The saying that a bad tree cannot produce good fruits is only true in the physical domain. In the moral sphere even bad trees, persons or systems, may produce some good fruits. Of course they are but secondary products, and can only be recognised when removed from the tree that produced them.

This applies, too, to the tree of Jesuit asceticism; indeed the very worst part of its roots and aims, the constant supervision, has some good effects on the individual, in spite of the general harmfulness of its influence. The knowledge that we are watched by others leads us to watch ourselves; the attempts of others to fashion us inwardly and outwardly according to prescribed rules approved by us, helps us to fashion ourselves.

* From the archives of the German province. Duhr, S.J., *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge*, Freiburg, 1907, p. 467.

This is how Jesuits become past masters in self-control and self-restraint.

Every emotion, even the slightest, every action, no matter how insignificant, is the object of their severest self-scrutiny, and they suppress ruthlessly everything in themselves which does not correspond to the pattern set before them by the Order.

While in the Order I encountered wonderful instances of self-control and restraint; as occasion arises anger is forthcoming, or gentleness, a kindly laugh, or stern earnest, joy or grief. No child passes more naturally from tears to laughter than the well-drilled Jesuit from one emotion to its opposite.

As his own emotions are objects for his contemplation, he looks on his own soul with the eyes of an unprejudiced third person; now he praises, now he blames, now he distinguishes, as though he were an objective, cold-blooded critic of the actions of another. Jesuits must also rise above bodily pain and pleasure, and keep their face unmoved. On one occasion, when I submitted to a very painful tooth operation without moving a muscle, the dentist at München-Gladbach, to whom we Jesuits were sent over from Exaeten when necessary, told me that in his wide experience Jesuits were the only patients who never winced under the most painful treatment.

In similar wise the Jesuit moves no inner muscle, even under the most trying conditions. With a firm hand he cuts and burns away everything in himself which is opposed to Jesuit perfection.

And in this respect I owe much gratitude to the Order. Its system taught me to set myself above things, and to distinguish between subjective feelings and objective facts. If in the terrible experiences which I passed through after my breach with the Order, I never broke down completely, but, in spite of the despair in my heart,

contrived to hold my head erect, this was the result of Jesuit training and the capacity there acquired of keeping in sight, amid the darkness cast by the feelings and passions of my soul, the road of duty and actuality which led beyond them.

But if we set aside the good effects of self-control, which are experienced to some extent by all who give themselves up to Jesuit guidance, whether within the Order or without, the general result of its ascetic discipline, as of its piety, is bad, for it is an unnatural caricature.

I append a few samples of the results of Jesuit asceticism. I have already spoken of St. Aloysius of Gonzaga, whose modesty was manifested in a refusal to look at his own mother, an unnatural trait which has been eulogised in all the lives of this saint as worthy of imitation.

In the Annual Letters of the Austrian Province, S.J., there is an account of the ascetic practices of the Jesuit pupils of the Jesuit College at Homonna in Hungary.

“The wearing of penitentiary girdles, inwoven with torturing hairs of rough iron wire, is of no account even if not common; spurring the body by such goads to higher things is of small account and by no means new; but sleeping on potsherds and on the hard ground is unusual, and, I might almost say, unheard of; lying on prickly boards, on the ground, covered with ice, snow, stones, thorns, nettles—this became a frequent custom with the Congreganists through a new and ingenious pious discovery. . . . In short, there is need of a bridle to hold in the effervescing spirit, and great care in watching lest the bounds of prudence be overstepped.”

The report then relates that a Congreganist, in order to subdue the lusts of the flesh, jumped into a tub of ice-cold water and was submerged in it up to his neck. Only with difficulty were they able to pull him out and thus save his life.

“ Another removed the soles from his shoes, and walked thus on ice and snow until the forbidden fires of Venus were quenched. Another sought to escape from the same fire, but he had no ice wherewith to extinguish the flame. He wasted away with emaciated body. Continuous fasts, frequent scourgings, iron penitentiary girdles broke down his physical strength, then suddenly he discovers in some remote place a decaying corpse which the worms are consuming. By its side the Marian hero challenges the well-nigh triumphant Venus to battle; he falls on his knees, puts his nose to the corpse, kisses it and receives in his open mouth the worms that crawl out of it, until (let antiquity hear it and veteran soldiers wonder!) his shameful lust shrinks in disgust from this precious wine and departs conquered from the high-hearted hero, beautiful amid the dust and dirt. Others, too, are pursued by Venus. In order to drive away the temptresses they spit at them, strike them with books, and at last seize knives and drive them out of the house. A youth of noble family, whose parents are heretics, is to be married. He is summoned from school, and at home finds the proposed bride. She goes to meet the terrified youth; when he, the strong hero, comes to his senses he gives her a box on the ear when she tries to kiss him, which forces the blood from the shameless girl's nose and mouth. Another, in order to restrain his sister from the commission of a sin, seizes a scourge, rushes in amongst his family and belabours his own innocent shoulders and thus prevents the sin. Another yields to the wishes of his parents and lends his feet for a dance to the sound of the lute. But as he enters the circle of dancers he sees a picture of the Madonna hanging on the wall shed tears; he falls on his knees, and exclaims, weeping, ‘ Spare me, lady, patroness; I was mad when I forgot thee.’ ”*

The following is from a report of the Marian Congregation at Cologne to the Jesuit Provincial, Francis Coster, of April, 1578 :

“ The Congreganists went with uncovered heads through streets and villages, and prayed in public extended on the ground, in order

* From Krone, *Zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens in Ungarn* (Vienna, 1893), p. 68 et seq.

to accustom themselves to the jeers and scorn of men. They swept the public streets, stretched themselves on the ground, and kissed it; then cleaned the shoes and kissed the feet of strangers; then made the beds and carried the wood for the kitchen. We will pass over the record of their cleansing of the private places and pressing kisses on them; we will throw a veil of darkness on their washing of plates and knives; and, lest we be too discursive, must not tell how they lay on the ground with their food beside them and thus partook of the mid-day and evening meals. Often they assume an appearance of poverty and go from door to door singing in a pitiful voice and begging their dinner from the rich. Some were so much repelled at the thought of these begging expeditions that they preferred to crucify their flesh for a whole week with penitentiary girdles rather than ask alms even in the dark. But through the power of obedience their resistance was broken down."

Here we see that these ascetic practices were ordered by the leaders of the Congregations.

"In order to bring their resisting asses' flesh (*carnem suam asinam*) under the yoke of reason, they placed many hard bridles upon it; sometimes they deprived it of nourishment, now they beat its hard hide with rough thongs, now they clad it in rough skins—here I refer to penitentiary girdles—saying: 'Cease, O insolent ass, to revolt against your mistress Reason.'"*

We must remember that these unwholesome practices were perpetrated by young people, in whom the desire for such excesses had been infused by their Jesuit teachers and educators as ascetic practices, and that this false Jesuit asceticism was introduced by the pupils and Congreganists into numerous families.

The story which follows about the lay brother Alonzo Rodriguez, canonised a few years ago, is related by his Jesuit biographers as though they thought it edifying

* Hansen, *Rheinische Akten zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens* (Bonn, 1896), p. 719 et seq.

and worthy of imitation. It illustrates the much lauded virtue of blind obedience.

“Once when Brother Rodriguez was ill, the infirmarian brought him in an earthenware dish some soup specially prepared for him. He noticed that the sick man would not touch it, out of love of mortification and dislike of special fare, and he got the Rector to send word that he must eat the whole dish. Alonzo at once began with his knife to scrape the rough earthenware, endeavouring thus to fulfil the order to the letter.”

And the Jesuit, Francis Goldie, from whose *Life of St. Alonzo Rodriguez* I have taken the account of this foolishness, is far from condemning it. On the contrary, he justifies the behaviour of the saint, for it might indeed have been possible that the Rector wished his command, “to eat the whole dish,” to be taken literally.*

During my novitiate and scholasticate these ascetic and edifying stories were generally circulated and greatly admired.

When Behrens was Rector and Master of the novices, one of his disciplinary practices was to say to a novice or scholastic whom he happened to meet: “Remain standing where you are till I return.” Sometimes he did not come back for several hours, though his victim remained stationary in the garden in the glaring sun, or rain, or snow, or darkness. Another of his disciplinary orders was to jump to and fro over a little ditch in the garden for several minutes, or to dig useless holes in the ground.

We novices, with the approval of Meschler, our Novice-Master, used to encourage one another in such ascetic practices as these: when peeling potatoes in the kitchen, to evoke a sensation of self-contempt for each potato; when picking beans in the garden, to bow towards the chapel

* *Life of St. Alonzo Rodriguez*, London, 1902, p. 277.

at every tenth bean in order to adore Christ in the sacrament, at the same time uttering a short prayer.

Ascetic practices of almost daily occurrence among Jesuits are: Kissing the feet of others during meals; taking meals kneeling at a small table in the middle of the refectory; accusing themselves of all manner of faults before all the others in the refectory (the fathers, scholastics and novices do this in Latin, the lay brothers in German); stretching themselves full length on the threshold of the refectory, so that all the others must step over them; saying grace before meals with extended arms.

With subtle calculation Jesuit ascetics are directed towards the mind rather than the body. Not crucifixion of the flesh, but of the will, *i.e.* the destruction of the individual, is the ascetic aim of the Order. And it achieves this murder with systematic skill. I have already shown how the Jesuit system destroys individuality in religious and daily life, and shall show later how it kills intellectual individuality.

Thus the ascetic discipline of the Order transforms a complete human being into a complete Jesuit.

CHAPTER XIII

PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

THE adoption of the Jesuit garb in the morning of November 13th, 1878, by no means accomplished my transformation into a Jesuit novice, still less a complete Jesuit. The saying that "Clothes make men" is nowhere less true than in the Jesuit Order. For there the garb is nothing, the inner meaning everything.

Unconditionally, with my whole body and soul, I surrendered myself to the transformation. From the very beginning the struggle was a hard one for me, harder than for many others.

I never laid great stress on the accidents of the position in which I was born, though there were moments when I too suffered from pride of birth. Still it was a fact that there was an immense difference between the customs of my home and the habits of the novitiate house. In the one were ease and comfort, not to say luxury, in the other limitation, lack of comfort, poverty, roughness. The Count and his social privileges disappeared completely, and in his place appeared the Carissimus, a number among many others. Some outward privations and sources of mortification have already been mentioned, among them the lack of cleanliness.

In Rodriguez' *Practice of Christian Perfection* we read in Part II. :

"Let us examine the nature of a man's body. 'Always bear in mind,' says St. Bernard, 'these three things: What wast thou? A stinking seed. What art thou?'

A vessel full of impurity. What wilt thou be? Food for worms.' If you notice carefully the excretions of your mouth, nose, and the other passages of your body, you will never have seen a more disgusting abomination."

This passage expresses the fundamental attitude of Jesuit asceticism to the human body and its care. And the practice corresponds to it. During the novitiate we used to read a good deal in a Latin book of devotion by the Jesuit Hausherr, containing the lives of particularly pious Jesuits. I forget the title. Among the things worthy of imitation there described are that this or that saint-like Jesuit never took a bath, washed himself but little, and did not remove the vermin from his body. What I suffered from fleas in my Jesuit days I could not describe. When the plague grew too bad a notice was put upon the board of the scholasticate or novitiate, *Hora 10 venatio pulicum* (Flea-hunt at 10 o'clock). Then during the time allotted each of us had to search his clothes, and especially the woollen blankets for the little brownish beasts. Often I bagged as many as twenty of this noble game.

The Constitutions prescribe six so-called "experiments"* to be performed during the novitiate. They are: the Exercises, service of the sick in a public hospital, a begging-journey without any money, the kitchen experiment, catechising, and, if the novice is a priest, preaching and hearing confessions. With the exception of the Exercises all the "experiments" are directed towards outward mortification and self-annihilation. As at the time of my novitiate the German Province was in exile, and was regarded officially as *provincia dispersa*, a scattered province, two of the experiments, service of the sick and the begging tour, were omitted, and the catechising was confined to school practice among the novices; public preaching and hearing confessions were not required of

* Exam. gen., IV., 9-23.

me as a layman. As a result, the only experiment I had to undergo besides the Exercises, which aimed rather at inward than outward mortification, was the *experimentum culinae*. This meant that for one week I was exempt from all other duties, but had to serve as an assistant to the brother cook, and perform all manner of services in the kitchen, always excepting cooking, fortunately for our digestions. But as the object of each experiment was mortification, provision was made here too for this, and the temper and moods of the brother cook, or indeed the particular directions of the Novice Master, afforded plentiful opportunities for a variety of outward and inward humiliations.

Akin to the kitchen experiment were the daily manual labours. Under the supervision of the Manufacturer the novices in their *turmae* had to perform the labours of house and garden. Generally we remained in the same occupation for three or six months; but from disciplinary as well as domestic reasons we were sent for a while to work with other divisions, so that each novice had some experience of every kind of labour in house and garden. For several months I had charge of all the lamps in the house, and afterwards the privies were also placed under my charge. When an addition was made to the building we novices had to wheel up cement and sand in barrows and, forming a chain, throw the bricks from hand to hand to their destination, an occupation which resulted in badly torn hands.

I have already alluded to the difference in age and education between myself and the other novices. This supplied a constant and fertile source of mortification. And the fact that mere boys, who for the most part came from the Second Class of the school, had a right in their capacity of Guardian Angels and Prefects to order me about made no small demands on my self-mortification.

What I found particularly hard was the daily *exercitium scribendi*, writing copies. For a man of twenty-seven, who has passed his law examination and begun to practise, it is indeed no small thing to have to take writing lessons from a mere usher and daily to have faults pointed out to him. My writing master (*praefectus scribendi*) was Carissimus Droste, a worthy Westphalian, who exercised his office with zeal and thoroughness, and attacked my caligraphy unmercifully. This particular exercise plainly revealed its real object, humiliation, and the unpleasant disciplinary effect was thus enhanced.

Another exercise which afforded plentiful scope for painful humiliation was reading aloud at meals. At dinner and supper every day two novices, whose turn was taken in the following week by others, read aloud from Latin and German ascetic works. One of the Fathers—at Exaeten it was the Socius of the Novice-Master, Stellbrink—was *praefectus lectionis ad mensam*, and it was his duty publicly to correct the pronunciation and diction. In a loud voice, which sounded through the hall, he would call out: *Repetat distinctius* (more clearly), or *lentius* (more slowly), and so forth. This public correction was often used for disciplinary purposes, for the reader would be corrected and admonished to read better and more correctly for no reason whatever except to train him in enduring public blame. In such cases *repetats* were frequent, and additional comments, e.g. *Miror te tam male pronuntiare* (I am surprised at your bad pronunciation), added a further sting to the reprimand. These disciplinary schoolings were particularly painful for me, in view of my age and my former social position. But I recognise gratefully that, apart from the intentional humiliation, I improved greatly in clear enunciation.

Soon after my entrance in the novitiate I was initiated into the mysteries of penitential practices. The Novice-

Master handed me a scourge of knotted cords and a ring (*cilicium*) of woven wire, and instructed me in the use of these implements. The scourge was to be applied to that part of the body which at home and at school is the usual recipient of blows; the penitentiary ring was fastened above the knee round the leg. But the rule was to make sparing use of both, and indeed in the Jesuit Order no great value is set on bodily severities. For the Constitutions lay down the sensible principle, that it is better to preserve bodily powers for work than to weaken them by penance. The amount of pain caused by the scourge depends on the energy of the person who applies it to himself. But the *cilicium* acted of itself, and the wearing it for hours or days produced no inconsiderable pain.

But all this and much else was as nothing compared with the struggles to attain an inward transformation.

I have already described the repugnance with which I accepted the "grace of vocation" and took the step of entering the Order. My deep repugnance was not lessened by the typical ultramontane idealism with which I, too, was inspired. It was the motive power which carried my resisting nature across the threshold of the Order, but it in no wise lessened my inborn resistance. All through the long years from November 4th, 1878, when I entered the novitiate house at Exaeten, until the middle of November, 1892, when I took the final resolve of leaving the Order, this repugnance was my constant attendant. Often for long spaces of time it became so strong in me that in order to endure my position I developed a power of will that would be hard to rival.

First there was the general repugnance to entering an Order at all, and the separation from the world. But this was very soon succeeded by the particular repugnance to the Jesuit Order and to some of its essential characteristics. Especially the "Statement of Conscience" and

the system of supervision proved the greatest obstacles to me.

The Statement of Conscience, in which the innermost secrets of the soul must be disclosed to the critical eye of the Superior, appeared to me a measure of violence and a profanation. I felt even then instinctively that this particular fundamental practice of the Order had as its aim a condition of dependence and the destruction of individuality. And it was just this against which my nature revolted.

I was also repelled by the comprehensive systems of supervision and denunciation. As a novice I was not aware of their full extent, nor of the secret confessions, second catalogues and the like; but even then I had a feeling that behind all those outward forms of supervision, and the discipline and self-abnegation at which they aimed, there was yet something more, that a system was striving to grasp me in its hold to which the name espionage could really be applied.

Many and many a time I expressed this feeling to my Novice-Master, Mauritius Meschler, and asked him whether there were not such things as secret reports and the like. He invariably denied it. Once, after one of the daily instructions, I openly, in the presence of the other novices, inquired as to the existence of "conduct-lists." No, he said, there was no such thing. In fact there was no secret supervision at all; in the Jesuit Order there was nothing but what was outwardly visible, and all such measures of supervision as were to be seen were only intended to maintain outward order. It was only many years later that I recognised the insincerity and untruth (the fundamental and traditional Jesuit faults) of this answer.

I also had discussions with Meschler about the Statement of Conscience, in so far as it includes the obligation

of confessing sins without sacramental safeguards or sacramental effect, which at any rate exist theoretically in confession.

When I now remember how credulous I then was, with what simple confidence I accepted all the answers given me, I recognise with absolute clearness how mighty is the influence of education. The religious impressions of my home and the years at Feldkirch had built a wall around me, which repelled all doubts and difficulties. It was only when, in the course of years, it began to crumble, that doubts and difficulties began to penetrate and gradually to take possession of my understanding and will. In the past they had seemed to me temptations of the devil and served only to spur me to greater effort in opposing these diabolical attacks. This point of view was specially emphasised by the Novice-Master, and afterwards by my superiors and spiritual fathers: every doubt, every consideration on any point in the Jesuit system was a temptation of the evil one. This made it easy to encounter doubt, for hesitation and uncertainty were transformed by ascetic dexterity into blows of the hammer which bound the Jesuit structure even more closely and firmly around me.

Indeed, no one outside these circles can imagine the part which the devil plays in the Romish Church and its Orders. He serves as tout and doorkeeper. With his help and the fear he inspires they contrive to stifle every effort after freedom and independence.

I have already stated that, after the first hard struggles were over and I had grown accustomed to my new state, the quiet and seclusion of the novitiate house had a beneficial effect on me. Only one result of this seclusion continued to cause me the greatest trouble, because it was in itself unnatural. I refer to the separation from my relations.

Had this separation been outward only, though a hard sacrifice, I could have borne it. Other professions, too, involved such separations, why not membership of an Order? But Jesuits ask of their adepts far more, and something quite essentially different. They demand complete mental detachment, even renunciation of those with whom we are united in the strongest and most intimate bonds by nature herself, our parents, brothers and sisters, and other kinsfolk.

This demand and its practical application are embodied in the directions already quoted as to leaving father and mother, and instead of saying that he has relations saying rather that he had them. The Constitutions also lay it down that :

“As written or verbal intercourse with friends or relations contributes rather to the disturbance of peace than to spiritual progress, especially at first, the novices should be asked whether they are satisfied to hold no intercourse with these, to receive no letters, and to write none, unless the Superior should judge it better otherwise ; and if they agree that all letters that they may receive or despatch shall be read, and that it shall rest with the Superior to deliver the letters or not, according as it may seem to him best in the Lord.”*

Surely it is not necessary to explain that the words of Christ in Matthew x. and Luke xiv. as to the relations between His disciples and their kinsfolk, which have been adopted in the Jesuit rule, apply only when there is irreconcilable opposition between the service of Christ and affection for relations. And here, as in so many of Christ's sayings, the Oriental exaggeration of the expression, as in enjoining hatred to parents, must be subtracted from the meaning of the command. But the Jesuit Order pushes the actual meaning of the words aside, and repre-

* Exam. gen., IV., 6 ; Const., I., 4, 4 ; III., 1, Declar. B.

sents it as a general rule for the attitude of its members to their relations, instead of applying it only where there is distinct opposition between the love of Christ and of kin. The Rule runs: "They should lay aside all natural inclination towards those to whom they are bound by ties of blood." Thus the true Jesuit becomes a creature without heart or feelings, to whom father, mother, brothers and sisters are nothing but subjects for his activity as a member of the Order, just like any other persons.

The fruits of this principle may be judged from the letter of a novice, written to his father from the novitiate house at Vienna when the Order was suppressed in 1773. It is of great importance, for the writer afterwards became professor of philosophy at Jena and Kiel. He must therefore have been a youth of intellectual gifts, well fitted to grasp and reproduce the aim and essence of Jesuit education. And the fact that this letter was written with the express sanction of his Superior—as, indeed, is the case with all Jesuit letters—is a sufficient proof that Reinhold had rightly grasped and reproduced the attitude of a Jesuit to his nearest kin. Here is the text of this letter, which has an interest from the sociological point of view as throwing light on the Jesuit spirit:

"Now, of course, it occurred to me that I must return home to my parents. But, since the rule of love, of which the Manuductor reminded us, still bids us hold by our holy Jesuit rule, I durst not consciously and willingly think of you and my parental home, since this cannot be done without a breach of the rule, except in the intention of praying for parents and kinsfolk: So zealous a Christian as yourself, my dearest papa, knows almost as well as a priest that there are ties more sacred than those of sinful nature, and that a man who is dead to the flesh and only lives for the spirit, can rightly have no other father than Him Who dwells in Heaven, no other mother than the holy Order, nor any relations but his brothers in Christ, nor other fatherland than Heaven. Attachment to flesh

and blood, as all spiritual teachers agree, is one of the strongest chains with which Satan tries to bind us to earth. Indeed only yesterday evening, and through the night and this morning, I had almost as hard a fight with this hereditary foe of our perfection as at the very beginning of my spiritual life. For he continuously conjured before my mental vision papa and mamma, my brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts, even our housemaid. You may imagine the torments of conscience I had to endure, until at last, at nine o'clock this morning, the Manuductor informed us that the Father Rector gave us all permission to write to our relations and prepare them for our return. For the greater satisfaction of my conscience I asked the Manuductor for special permission to think of my nearest kin, not only while writing but during the whole day; and this was accorded, with the sole exception of the times set apart for meditation, spiritual reading, and the Angelus domini."

After requesting that a special room may be assigned him in his home, in which he may continue as far as possible the mode of life to which he has grown accustomed in the Order, the novice continues :

"From this time forth none of the maids shall enter the room, nor yet one of my sisters. And I desire to remind my dear mamma that Saint Aloysius never looked on the face of his mother."*

It would be almost impossible to give stronger expression to this detestable distortion of nature. And it is only confirmed by my personal experiences. With gentle skill and the constant application of words of Scripture, the Jesuit as novice, and afterwards as scholastic, is systematically divested of his natural affection for his relations. Indeed how could natural emotions, no matter how right or fundamental, be admissible in the case of a tool without will, intended exclusively to serve the ends of the Order? Everything natural must be forced out of the individual, and the whole Jesuit system must be

* Ernest Reinhold, *Karl Leonard Reinhold's Leben und litterarisches Wirken*, Jena, 1825, p. 9 et seq.

forced in. Here, too, the theory of the corpse and stick is valid.

One of my fellow novices, now a valued contributor to the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, the Jesuit Kneller, lost his mother during his novitiate. When I expressed my sympathy to him, he said, in the presence of other novices, that it was wrong to feel sorrow, and that tears for such a death were unworthy a Jesuit. This utterance, which aroused the admiration of the others, affected me like a blow, and I asked the Socius of the Novice-Master, Stellbrink, to explain it and soften the statement. His answer was to refer me to a saying of Jerome, one of the Fathers, addressed, I believe, to his spiritual daughter Eustochium: "Having trodden my mother under my feet I follow after Christ."

The above quoted rule as to correspondence with relations was strictly observed. But as my mother was a devoted admirer and considerable benefactress of the Jesuit Order, since it was her influence which had led my father to assign his Dutch estate Blyenbeck to the Jesuits on their expulsion from Germany, an exceptional position was allowed her in regard to intercourse with me. For the Order has a real genius in keeping on good terms with those who can be of use to it. She was allowed to write a few letters to me, and once even to come and see me. But she never knew that her son, following the ascetic counsel of the Novice-Master, did not read her letters. Even at this day, thirty years after, I cannot restrain my indignation when I remember that under the tyrannical and inhuman influence of Jesuit asceticism I destroyed the few letters I received from such a mother. That, too, was to tread my mother under my feet. But the sacrifice this cost me, none knew but I.

In making this sacrifice I was not so much devoid as regardless of will. I surrendered myself to all mortifi-

cations and self-denial of body and soul with energy and persistency; I do not shrink from saying so, since it is true. Not one of my former superiors or fellow-Jesuits can deny this, if he abides by the truth. I dwell on this, because I desire at once to make it clear that from the very first I tried honestly and with the exercise of all my powers to become a genuine and complete Jesuit. When on the morning of November 13th, 1878, I put on the Jesuit garb, I did so in spite of strong inward resistance—indeed the rather because of this resistance—which seemed to me a temptation, and with a devotion which comprised and penetrated my whole being—reason, will, feeling, body and soul. This complete surrender, with the corresponding spirit of sacrifice, lasted through all the years of my life in the Order, until after torturing struggles a truer understanding gradually dispelled the religious prejudices which had been accumulated by tradition and education.

A little while either before or after Christmas, 1879, the Novice-Master surprised me by the suggestion that I should take the devotional vows on February 2nd, 1880, Candlemas-day.*

The so-called devotional vows (*vota ex devotione*) resemble the simple vows, taken after the completion of the novitiate, of poverty, chastity, obedience; but as they are the outcome of private devotion (whence the name), they have not the canonical force of the actual vows of the Order. Concerning the votive vows the 37th Decree of the 16th General Congregation (1730) lays down:

“The Masters of Novices are to be admonished that these vows may only be taken with consent of the Provincial Superior, and only by such as have given satis-

* The day set apart in memory of the Virgin's dedication in the Temple at Jerusalem. It is called Candlemas, because during the mass the supply of candles required for the following year is consecrated.

factory proof of their virtue and attachment to their vocation."

Permission to take these devotional vows, the existence of which I only learnt through the suggestion of the Novice-Master, was therefore an indication that I had given satisfaction and won the confidence of the Superiors.

Other indications, too, were not wanting that I was regarded favourably in the Order. My fellow-novices were convinced that I should only have to spend a year in the novitiate house and then pass on at once to the studies of the scholasticate. Towards the end of my second novitiate year Anderledy, then Assistant of the German Province, and afterwards General of the Order, wrote to me that he and the General, Father Beckx, had heard with great satisfaction that I was zealously striving to become a good Jesuit. Every time Hövel, the Provincial Superior, paid his annual visitation at Exaeten, he expressed his satisfaction with my endeavours after Jesuit perfection; and I could tell from various indications that my Novice-Master shared his opinions.

During the two years of my novitiate, five or six of my fellow-novices were dismissed from the Order. These expulsions always made a profound impression on us, which the Superiors did all in their power to strengthen. They desired to impress upon us the inestimable privilege of being a Jesuit, the terrible loss and danger to our salvation of forfeiting this grace.

Those who live and die as Jesuits are sure of salvation. That is the dogma of the Order, as binding as any Church dogma. Those who become Jesuits and leave the Order can, theoretically, still be saved, but—but—but—but——

These two doctrines, the Jesuit's security of salvation and the extreme probability of damnation for the ex-Jesuit, furnish an effective means of holding individuals to the Order. The novitiate especially is the period

utilised for fixing the doctrine of Jesuit predestination firmly in heart and soul.

On my very first day as postulant, a pamphlet by the French Jesuit Terrien was put into my hands and recommended for perusal, in which admission into the Society of Jesus was theoretically demonstrated to be a *gage certain de prédestination*, and a number of miraculous circumstances were brought forward to prove this.

Francis Borgia, third General of the Order, in 1569 received a revelation from God that no Jesuit would be sent to hell, with this proviso, that for the present this privilege should only be valid for three hundred years. A similar revelation was made in 1599 to the lay brother, Alonzo Rodriguez, canonised in 1888.

By command of God a dying Capucin in the year 1587 made a similar revelation to the Jesuit Matrez at Naples, adding that though many Capucins were saved, yet some were damned.

Once Saint Teresa saw a number of souls ascending from purgatory to heaven. At their head was a soul that shone more brightly than the rest, and Christ Himself came out from heaven to welcome and embrace it. When the saint expressed her surprise she received enlightenment. This was not surprising, for this was the soul of a Jesuit lay brother, and it was one of the privileges of the Order that Christ Himself went forth to meet every Jesuit soul.*

When they were about to place in the coffin the stiffened corpse of a Jesuit lay brother who had died in Flanders (according to the Jesuit Cienfuegos), the dead man suddenly came back to life and exclaimed: "I come from hell; the devils were already carrying me down below when the Virgin appeared and said: 'Set him free, for he is of the Company of my Son, and duly practised obedience,

* Döllinger-Reusoh, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, I., 524, 526, 527, and II., 348.

therefore it is my will that he make a good confession.'” He confessed, and thereupon died a second time, though not without making the amiable revelation that an immoral secular priest who had died at the same time and been dragged down to hell had not found grace in Mary’s eyes.*

It is interesting to note that here, too, the Catholic dogma that no one condemned to hell can be saved is simply set aside *in majorem Societatis Jesu gloriam*.

John Roothaan, General of the Order 1829–1853, relates that an aged Jesuit had demanded and obtained dismissal from the Order. Soon after he died, and appearing to another said: “I am damned through my own fault. Had I remained two hours longer in the Society of Jesus I should have died a Jesuit and gone to heaven.” †

Such and similar tales are largely current within the Order, and are firmly believed, so firmly that the Professor of Ethics for the Austrian Province, Costa Rosetti, could write that it was a well-founded and very probable belief that all Jesuits went to heaven. ‡

In August, 1880, I was sent with the other novices of my year to Wynandsrade to begin my studies in the Order.

A little while before I left Exaeten the Novice-Master handed me a letter which, without my knowledge, had been lying there for nearly two years. It was from my cousin, Baron Walter von Loë, afterwards General-Adjutant and General Field-Marshal, and at that time, if I am not mistaken, Brigade Commander at Frankfort on the Oder. My cousin, who was many years older than myself, and always showed great interest in me, lamented my entrance in the Order, and called my attention to the badness of the Jesuit system which could, however, be combined

* Döllinger-Reusch, I., 532.

† *Ibid.*, I., 534.

‡ *De spiritu Societatis Jesu*, Freiburg, 1888, p. 258, from D.-R., *Ibid.*, I., 534.

with partial goodness on the part of the individual Jesuit. The letter, torn into fragments, went the way of all flesh. I smiled at his illogical idea that a system could be bad and yet the individuals who composed it be good.

Many years afterwards Walter Loë, at that time General in Command of the Eighth Army Corps, repeated his opinion to me by word of mouth. I no longer smiled at it, for the recognition of the truth of his illogical conception had begun to take root in me.

In his old age, Walter Loë, who formerly was anything but ultramontane, became a fanatical adherent of Ultramontanism, and was often quoted as such by the party in the Rhinelands and Westphalia. Unfortunately his influence in this respect has had a reactionary effect on the Court at Carlsruhe even to the present day. He was one of the most intimate friends of the old Grand Duke and Duchess. The Catholic sympathies of the Dowager Grand Duchess Luise, who still governs though she does not reign, owe their origin to Loë, though also of course to her mother, the Empress Augusta.

My migration from Exaeten to Wynandsrade was the close of my novitiate and the beginning of my scholasticate. But as the two years' novitiate required by the Constitutions did not terminate till November 4th, 1880, the anniversary of my admission as postulant, I still remained a novice till I took my vows on November 13th, 1880, the festival of the Jesuit saint, Stanislaus Kostka. After that day I was a scholastic.

CHAPTER XIV

THE INNER CONSTITUTION OF THE ORDER

THESE vows, which I took on November 13th, 1880, in the presence of the Jesuit Hermann Nix, at Wynandsrade, marked my admission into the Order. For a novice is not in the full sense a member of the Order, since he has not taken the vows.*

Here, then, I begin my description of the scholasticate—*i.e.* the real life of the Order. This is, therefore, the place for a purely objective account of the organisation of the Order as set forth in its Constitutions, to be followed by a detailed criticism of the whole system.

The Jesuit Order, under the official designation of *Societas Jesu*, was established by the bull of Paul III., *Regimini militantis ecclesiae* of the year 1540.

Its founder, Ignatius Loyola, a Basque nobleman, was also the author of its Constitutions. But the completion of the organisation was achieved later, mainly under the Fifth General, Claudius Acquaviva.

Like the "Exercises," the origin of the Constitutions is surrounded by Jesuit arrogance with a nimbus of miracles.

"The primary author (*auctor primarius*) of the Constitutions was the Holy Ghost, the secondary author

* Properly speaking, the scholasticate continues till the last vows are taken, whether those of "Formed Coadjutor" or of "Professed," and as when I left the Order at the end of 1892 I had not yet taken these last vows, I was, strictly speaking, a scholastic during the whole of my stay in the Order. But in the year 1887 I passed the important examination in philosophy and theology, and so concluded my studies and began my work in the Order. That is why this year marks the end of my scholasticate.

(*auctor secundarius*) was St. Ignatius." This thesis is demonstrated by Francis Suarez (the greatest theologian of the Jesuit Order) in his treatise *De Religione*, and is approved by the Bollandists.*

"What Ignatius wrote down in the Constitutions," says the Jesuit Orlandinus, "was not so much his own as it was dictated by God," (!) and the Jesuit Ribadeneira modestly adds: "The Constitutions of the Jesuit Order are so perfect that they would suffice for reforming all other ecclesiastical orders in their likeness." †

The Jesuit Alonzo Rodriguez also maintains, in his "Practice of Christian Perfection," that the Constitutions and Rules were suggested to Ignatius by God Himself.

That monumental Jesuit volume, the *Imago primi saeculi*, whose importance in assisting the comprehension of the Jesuit spirit I shall demonstrate in a later chapter, states:

"No less are the Constitutions of the Society a super-human work and one worthy to have been taught by the Virgin Mary. Our holy Father [Ignatius] himself testifies in one of his writings that the Mediators, under which name he designates Jesus and Mary, often came to him while he was composing the Constitutions, that the Society might know that the laws it obeyed were those of Jesus and Mary rather than of Ignatius." ‡

The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus consist of ten parts of varying length.

Part I.—Of admission to Probation: Cp. 1. Of him who has the power to admit. Cp. 2. Of such as may be admitted into the Society. Cp. 3. Of the impediments to admission into the Society. Cp. 4. Of the manner of admission.

* *De Religione*, tom. 4, tract. 10, lib. 1, c. 4, n. 4. *Acta S.S.*, 34, Julii 7, 486.

† *Acta S.S.*, *Ibid.*, 503.

‡ *Imago primi saeculi* (Antwerp, 1640), p. 73 *et seq.*

Inner Constitution of the Order 409

Part II.—Of the dismissal of those who have been admitted to probation and are found unfit for the Society :
Cp. 1. What persons may be dismissed and by whom.
Cp. 2. Of the reasons for which anyone may be dismissed.
Cp. 3. Of the manner of dismissal. Cp. 4. What should be the attitude of the Society towards those who leave it of their own accord or are dismissed by it.

Part III.—Of the superintendence and advancement of those who continue their probation. Cp. 1. Of their superintendence in those things which pertain to the soul and to progress in virtue. Cp. 2. Of the care of the body.

Part IV.—Of the instruction of those, who are retained in the Society, in letters and other things which contribute towards the assistance of our neighbours : Cp. 1. Of the commemoration of founders and benefactors of the Colleges. Cp. 2. Of those matters which relate to the temporal concerns of the Colleges. Cp. 3. Of the scholastics who will be stationed in the Colleges. Cp. 4. Of the care of the scholastics who are admitted. Cp. 5. Of the subjects to be studied by the scholastics of the Society. Cp. 6. How the scholastics may be helped to learn the subjects thoroughly. Cp. 7. Of the schools [for externs] of the Colleges of the Society. Cp. 8. How the scholastics are to be instructed in those matters which relate to the [spiritual] benefit of their neighbours. Cp. 9. Of the removal of scholars from the study of letters. Cp. 10. Of the government of the Colleges. Cp. 11. Of the taking over of Universities by the Society. Cp. 12. Of the sciences which are to be taught in the Universities of the Society. Cp. 13. Of the manner and order of teaching these sciences. Cp. 14. Of the books to be expounded. Cp. 15. Of the courses and degrees. Cp. 16. Of those things which appertain to good habits. Cp. 17. Of the officials and other persons appointed at the University.

Fourteen Years a Jesuit

Part V.—Of those things which pertain to admission into the body of the Society: Cp. 1. Of admission and who shall admit, and when. Cp. 2. What kind of persons are to be admitted. Cp. 3. Of the manner of admission to profession. Cp. 4. Of the admission of the Formed Coadjutors and Scholastics.

Part VI.—Of those who are admitted and co-opted* into the body of the Society: as regards their persons. Cp. 1. Of those things which pertain to obedience. Cp. 2. Of those things which pertain to poverty and follow from it. Cp. 3. Of those things with which the members of the Society should be occupied, and of those from which they should abstain. Cp. 4. Of the help which is given to those who die in the Society and of the offices rendered after their death.

Part VII.—Of the distribution of those who have been admitted into the body of the Society for the benefit of their neighbours in the Lord's vineyard: Cp. 1. Of the missions of the Superior of the Society. Cp. 2. Of willingness to travel in any direction. Cp. 3. In what things the houses and colleges of the Society may benefit their neighbour.

Part VIII.—Of those things which contribute to the mutual union with their Head and among themselves of those members who are dispersed: Cp. 1. Of that which helps to promote the union of minds. Cp. 2. In what cases a General Congregation should be held. Cp. 3. Who are to be summoned to it. Cp. 4. Who is bound to summon the General Congregation. Cp. 5. Of the place, time, and manner of assembling. Cp. 6. Of the manner of deliberation at the election of a General. Cp. 7. Of the manner of deliberation when the

* Curiously enough, the word "*co-optare*" is used, although admission to the Society of Jesus in no way depends on co-option, but is at the absolute discretion of the Superior.

Inner Constitution of the Order 411

discussion concerns matters other than the election of a General.

Part IX.—Of those things which relate to the Head of the Society and the government proceeding from him: Cp. 1. That the General placed at the head should be appointed for life. Cp. 2. What manner of man the General should be. Cp. 3. Of the authority of the General over the Society, and of his office. Cp. 4. Of the authority or supervision which the Society must have over its General. Cp. 5. Of the manner in which the Society should proceed in matters appertaining to the General. Cp. 6. Of those things which will assist the General to discharge his office worthily.

Part X. consists of a single section on the manner in which the whole body of the Society may be preserved and advanced in its good estate.

The Constitutions are prefaced by “The First and General Examination, which must be submitted to by all who seek admission to the Society of Jesus.” Cp. 1. Of the Institute of the Society of Jesus and the various persons in it. Cp. 2. Of certain cases concerning which those who seek admission into the Society should be asked as to whether they have occurred to them. Cp. 3. Of certain questions to assist the better comprehension of those who desire to enter. Cp. 4. Of certain things which it is specially important for those who are admitted into the Society to know from among those rules which they must observe after entrance. Cp. 5. Of another somewhat more detailed examination, which is suitable for men of education, both the spiritual coadjutors and scholastics. Cp. 6. Of another examination suitable for coadjutors only. Cp. 7. Of another examination suitable for scholastics, especially before they are admitted as scholastics. Cp. 8. Of another examination suitable for indifferent persons.

Besides the *Examen Generale*, the official editions of the "Institute of the Society of Jesus"—e.g. the Roman edition of 1869-70*—contain: 1. "The Decrees of the General Congregations." 2. "General and Particular Rules." 3. The "Formulæ for the General, Provincial, and Procuratorial Congregations." 4. "Ordinances and Instructions of the Generals of the Order." 5. The "Spiritual Exercises." 6. The *Ratio Studiorum*.

The "official" edition, published at Prague in 1757, also gives in eighty-one folio pages† seventy-two bulls, briefs, etc., granted by twenty Popes in favour of the Order. Since 1757 the number of pontifical favours has greatly increased.

Among the most important privileges are these: There is no appeal from the decisions of the Superiors of the Order to the bishops or other ecclesiastical authorities. Even the appeal to the Pope is only allowed when the permission to bring it has previously been obtained from him. The Order has the right to adopt new constitutions and alter the old ones without first consulting the Apostolic See. In such a case the decisions of the Order are *eo ipso* to be regarded as confirmed by the Pope. The Order may found settlements without the permission of the spiritual or temporal authorities. Members may everywhere preach, hear confessions, and discharge the other sacraments without permission from the ecclesiastical authority. The Order, with its members and possessions, is immediately subject to the Pope, and no bishop has any jurisdiction over it. The Order is exempt from all taxes and dues; authorities who attempt to tax it are excommunicated. The Order may make purchases for profit (a privilege granted by

* All references in this book, unless otherwise stated, are to the Roman edition of 1869-70.

† *Inst. S.J.* (Prague, 1751), I. 265-336.

Inner Constitution of the Order 413

Gregory XIII. in 1582). The Order can confer academic degrees. The Order can establish schools anywhere unhindered. The houses and churches of the Order have the right of sanctuary. Bishops who try to check gifts to the Jesuit Order are suspended. Everyone who attacks the privileges of the Order is excommunicated. Though not themselves monks, the Jesuits share all the privileges of the monastic orders. The bishops are compelled to consecrate to the priesthood without further examination all whom the Jesuit Order introduce for that purpose. Every Jesuit in any trouble of conscience may be satisfied with the judgment of his Superior. In case of expulsion no judicial forms are necessary; the General decides without any formality.

The quintessence of the Constitutions is laid down in the so-called *Formula Instituti*, which has been included in the confirmatory bulls, *Regimini militantis*, of Paul III. of 1540 and *Exposcit debitum* of Julius III. of 1562. The formula is as follows:

“Whoever wishes in this Society, which we desire should be distinguished by the name of Jesus, to fight as a soldier of God under the banner of the Cross, and to serve only the Lord and His bride, the Church, under the Roman Pope, the earthly Vicar of Christ, after taking the solemn vow of eternal chastity, poverty, and obedience, must realise that he is a member of a Society mainly established for the defence and propagation of the faith and the advancement of souls in the life and doctrine of Christ, by means of public preaching and the ministration of the Word of God, by Spiritual Exercises, and especially the instruction of boys and the unlearned in Christianity, and to supply spiritual consolation by the confession of the faithful and the other sacraments. He must also render service in reconciling quarrels, giving charitable assistance to those in prison and in hospital, and by other

works of love such as are suited to the honour of God and the general weal, doing all this without pay or reward for his labour.”

After this general sketch of the aims and means of the Society of Jesus, the Formula gives general directions as to the internal structure and organisation: Obedience to the General who is elected by the Society; the establishment of General Congregations; the special vow of obedience to the Pope; emphasising of poverty; directions as to the colleges to be established, exclusively for those scholars who already belong to the Order (as scholastics); breviary for the priestly members of the Order; uniformity of outward life.

But, as we shall see presently, the quintessence, strangely enough, does not correspond absolutely to the *Substantialia Instituti*, the “essential contents of the Institute”; these the Order carefully keeps in obscurity.

GRADING

To the Society of Jesus in the widest sense belong “all who live under obedience to the General, including the novices and all who submit to probation with the intention of living and dying in the Society.*

In a limited sense it consists of the Professed, Formed Coadjutors, and Scholastics; in the strictest and narrowest sense (*acceptio maxime propria*) of the Professed (*professi dumtaxat*), not because the Society has no other members, but because the Professed are the most important.†

For the degree of “Professed” the requirements are:

1. A knowledge, attested by examination, of philosophy and theology sufficient for teaching these subjects. The

* Const. V., 1; Declar. A.

† *Ibid.*

qualification of learning may be replaced by a special gift for governing or preaching.*

2. The possession of virtue exceeding mediocrity. Mediocrity in virtue is supposed to be surpassed "if anyone, as a rule, acts in accordance with virtue; if it may be assumed that he would act in like manner even in more difficult cases; if he avoids the lesser faults and gladly accepts admonitions and penance and is improved thereby; if his moral conduct satisfy his superiors and co-members." †

Besides virtue surpassing mediocrity a definite amount of knowledge is also required for profession.

"Towards the end of the fourth Theology year the last examination, which must extend over at least two hours, must be undergone by every student with a view to his profession. A variety of questions are to be set on the principal points of philosophy and theology. No one shall be adjudged fit to make his profession who has not attained sufficient knowledge of philosophy and theology to be able to teach both branches satisfactorily. If anyone whose knowledge does not reach this standard shows such conspicuous gifts for ruling or preaching that they cannot be overlooked, the decision in the matter rests with the General. He, too, must decide about those whose remarkable knowledge of the Humanities or Indian languages entitles them to some consideration in accordance with the 29th Decree of the sixth General Congregation." ‡

The "Formed Coadjutors" are divided into Spiritual Coadjutors (priests) and Temporal Coadjutors (lay brothers). Both belong to the same class of member.

Besides these classes the *Examen generale* also men-

* Congreg. 7; Decret. 33, 3; *Ratio Stud. Reg. Provinc.*, 19, 11.

† Congreg. 9; Can. 19.

‡ *Ratio Stud. Reg. Provinc.*, 19, 11.

tions "Indifferent persons"—i.e. such of whom it is not yet decided to which class they will belong, and it adds significantly :

"All who enter should, as far as they themselves are concerned, belong to the fourth class" (the Indifferents).*

The distribution of the Order is according to Assistancies and Provinces. At the present time there are four Assistancies, with twenty-four Provinces and three Missions. To every Assistancy belong several Provinces. The Assistancies are: Italy, with five Provinces; Germany, with six (Germany, Austria, Hungary (since 1909), Galicia, Holland, Belgium); France, with four provinces; Spain, with five provinces; England, with four provinces and three missions.

At the time of the suppression of the Order (1773) the total of membership was 22,589. In 1901 it had again risen to 15,145,† including 6,647 priests; and at the present time its membership has probably passed the sixteenth thousand.

CONSTITUTION

The Vows.—Like all other Orders, the Society of Jesus is based on the three vows of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience. But the ordinances of the Jesuit Order in regard to its vows contain much that is unusual and noteworthy.

The Jesuit Order has three kinds of vows: the so-called simple vows (*vota simplicia*), which the novice takes after the completion of his two years' novitiate, and by means of which he passes into the class of scholastics; the final vows, which are divided into the solemn

* Exam. gen., 1, 7.

† *Staatslexikon der Görresgesellschaft*, (2) 4, 183.

Inner Constitution of the Order 417

vows of the Professed and the non-solemn vows of the Formed Coadjutors.

The simple vows of the Scholastics and of those Spiritual and Temporal Coadjutors who have not yet taken the last vows are as follows :

“ Almighty, everlasting God, I, N—— N——, although altogether unworthy of Thy divine countenance, yet trusting in Thy endless goodness and mercy and impelled by the desire to serve Thee, vow before the Holy Virgin Mary and the whole Court of Heaven of Thy divine Majesty, to maintain everlasting poverty, chastity, and obedience in the Society of Jesus, and I promise to enter this Society with the intention of living in it always, understanding everything in accordance with the Constitutions of this Society. And I ask of Thy endless goodness and mercy, humbly through the blood of Jesus Christ, that Thou mayest receive this sacrifice of sweet savour, and that as Thou hast given the grace to desire and offer it, so Thou mayest give sufficient grace to carry it out.”

These “ simple vows,” through the bull *Ascendente Domino*, published by Gregory XIII., May 25th, 1584, have the effect of constituting an impediment to marriage—i.e. even the Jesuit scholastic, from the moment of taking the vow, usually before the attainment of his twentieth year, is “ incapable ” of marriage, though in other orders the effect of the simple vows is only to make marriage non-permissible, but not invalid (*matrimonium illicitum sed validum*).

The vow taken by the Professed is as follows :

“ I, N—— N——, make profession, and I promise Almighty God, before His Virgin Mother and the whole Court of Heaven and all here present, and before Thee, O Venerable Father, General Superintendent of the Society of Jesus, or thy Representative, to maintain everlasting poverty, chastity, and obedience, and in

accordance with obedience I promise to give especial care to the education of boys conformably with the mode of life which is laid down for the Society of Jesus in the Apostolic Letters and in the Constitutions of the Society. Further, I promise special obedience to the Pope in regard to missions, as is laid down in the Apostolic Letter granted to the Society of Jesus and in the Constitutions."

The Professed of three vows, who do not constitute a separate class, take the same vow, but without the promise of obedience to the Pope.*

Besides these solemn vows, the Professed take five so-called minor vows :

1. Never to change the rules of the Order as to poverty unless it were to strengthen them.
2. Never to strive after any dignity within the Society.
3. Never to strive after any dignity outside the Society, and only to accept one when obedience requires it.
4. To report anyone who shows any such desire.
5. To pay heed to the counsel of the General Superior, even if the rank of a prelate outside the Society has been attained.

The final vows of the Spiritual Coadjutors have the same wording as those of the Professed, with the omission of the promise of obedience to the Pope and the five minor vows of the Professed.

The final vows of the Temporal Coadjutors (lay brothers) are the same as for the Spiritual Coadjutors, with the omission of the promise to help in the education of youth.

Mode of Government.—The opinion is very generally current that the government of the Jesuit Order is an absolute monarchy, and that the General is constitutionally an autocrat. But this is not the case.

Undoubtedly an immense deal of power is concen-

* Exam. gen., 1; Decl. D. Const. V., 2, 3, and Decl. C; Cong. 4, Decret. 54.

trated in the Head of the Order, the General, and as a rule the whole of the executive power is in his hands. For all that, he is anything but an absolute ruler, and it would be hard to find a community in which the various powers are more delicately interbalanced than the Jesuit Order. This skilful balance of equilibrium finds expression in the Constitutions :

“ It is very important that the individual Superiors should possess considerable power over their subordinates and the General over these Superiors, but also that the whole Society should have considerable power (*multum potestatis*) over the General, so that all may be able to do all things for good, and that if they [the individuals] should act unwisely, they may be entirely subordinate [to the others].” *

At the head of the whole Order is the General. He is elected by the General Congregation for life, but may be deposed on certain grounds.

With extraordinary wisdom and statesmanship, though clearly and concisely, the Constitutions set forth the necessity of electing a General Superintendent (*Praepositus generalis*, the official title of the General of the Order) for the term of his life.

“ As it is necessary that in all well-regulated states besides those persons who pursue particular aims there should be one or several charged with the care for the general welfare and who direct their labours towards this end as their own particular duty, so it is also necessary for this Society, that besides those who preside over the different Houses, Colleges, and Provinces, there should be one whose duty it is to care for the whole Society, and this is the General, who is to preside over the Society for the term of his life, because the experience thus gained, the practice in government, the exact

* Const. X., 1, 8.

knowledge of the individual members, and the authority gained over them, contribute greatly to the good administration of his office. A second advantage of appointing the General for life is that it gives less consideration and opportunity for ambitious aspiration (*omnis cogitatio et occasio ambitionis longius recedet*); also it is easier to find one person suited to this office than several. A third is the example furnished by important communities; thus, in the ecclesiastical domain the Pope and bishops, in the secular the princes and lords, are appointed for life. Again, the authority of the General will be greater in the eyes of the world if he cannot be changed, than if he were elected only for one or several years . . . and with our members the knowledge that he will presently abdicate his office and be their equal or even inferior would lower his authority." *

Among the various gifts with which the person to be elected General should be specially endowed, the Constitutions, after enumerating moral and intellectual qualities—*e.g.* virtue and wisdom—go on to speak of "the rank and wealth which he had in the world, his honourable position, and other similar things. To these circumstances, too, some regard should be paid, other things being equal; but the former are more important, and should suffice for election, even if the latter be lacking." †

The powers of the General, which extend to the whole outer and inner direction of the Order, are enumerated under twenty headings in the third chapter of Part IX. This power is balanced by the "authority or supervision which the Society must have over its General." This supervision falls into four main divisions:

1. The Society sets a professed Jesuit by his side as his Admonisher (*Admonitor*). 2. The Society has the right to veto the acceptance of any dignities offered to

* Const. IX., 1, and Declar.

† Const. IX., 2; Declar. C.

him which are incompatible with the execution of his duties as General. 3. The Society appoints a Vicar-General by means of a Congregation specially summoned for the purpose through the written suffrages of a definite number of Professed members, in case the General should "prove himself careless and idle in matters of importance," or should fall ill. 4. The Society can depose the General, if he commits deadly sins which are revealed to the world; above all, if he enters into a fleshly union, inflicts a grievous wound on anyone, applies any of the revenues of the colleges to his own use, gives any of the revenues to persons outside the Society, sells the possessions of the houses or colleges, preaches false doctrine.*

Only the General Congregation has power to depose.

"If his faults are not sufficiently great for deposition, other matters should be discussed, so that it may seem that the Congregation was summoned on account of these, and that which concerns the General should be kept secret, and, as far as possible, never be made known. . . . If it should be decided to deprive him of his office, the matter should be discussed with him secretly in order that he may himself resign, so that this may be made public and his sin and his deposition from office on its account may be kept secret." †

"If the faults of which he is convicted are such as not to merit deposition, but only correction, four professed members should be chosen who are entrusted with the duty of considering what punishment is suitable, and if the votes are equal, so that they do not come to an agreement, a fifth, or else three more, should be added." ‡

"If it should happen that the General (on account

* Const. IX., 4; Declar. A—E.

† Const. IX., 5; Declar. C.

‡ IX., 5, 5.

of age, illness, or any other cause) is incapable of governing, a Vicar-General should be appointed, with full powers but without the title of General." *

"The Society is to appoint four Assistants to assist in the affairs of the General. These are to be appointed by the same General Congregation which has elected the General. If one of them should die, the General can nominate another Assistant, but not without the previous consent of all the Provincials." †

The General's activity extends to every domain. Every issue, great or small, is brought to his tribunal for decision or approval. For instance, in a letter addressed on March 12th, 1649, by General Vincent Caraffa to the Provincial of the Upper German Province, Laurence Keppler, we read :

"The admission of Father Francis Strobel to an academic degree is retrospectively approved. During the session of the Provincial Congregation there is to be no display of any kind ; at dinner there are to be only two courses, and sweets (*bellaria ex saccharo*) are only to be served when they have been presented as a gift ; excursions for amusement are not permitted." ‡

This comprehensive activity of the General is facilitated by the system of reports already described, which grew into a regular network of espionage, with the General in the centre as receiver.

Yet, in spite of his apparent omnipotence, the power of the General, as already shown, is subjected to constant supervision through the Admonitor and Assistants, with a view to the eventual limitation and even abrogation of decisions already taken.

For above the General stands the General Congregation. The subordination of the General to the Congre-

* Const. IX., 5, 6.

† IX., 5.

‡ Döllinger-Reusch, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, II., 319 et seq.

gation provided for by the Constitutions finds distinct expression in an ordinance of General Peter Beckx of May 11th, 1862.

“The 21st Congregation, in its 20th decree, has handed over to us the whole matter [ordinances as to the publication of books] and commended it most warmly to us. We therefore, desiring to carry out its instructions with suitable zeal (*nos igitur ea qua par est diligentia obsequi cupientes*), are of opinion, etc.”*

The General Congregations constitute the highest supervising and legislative court of the Order. The Constitutions say that “they are not to be held at regular intervals, nor yet too often.”† They must be summoned for the election or deposition of a General and for the discussion of matters of great importance and permanent interest. The General Congregation is summoned by the General or Vicar-General.

The Congregation is composed of a fixed number of Professed and, “if it thus seem good in the Lord, also some Formed Coadjutors.” Usually three persons are sent from each Province to the General Congregation—the Provincial and two others elected by the Provincial Congregation. Besides the three persons elected by the Provincial Congregation, the General and Provincial can appoint two others to attend the General Congregation; but more than five representatives of the same Province may never be present at the General Congregation. If the matter under discussion is the election of a new General, only the Professed have the right to vote and stand for election. Each Professed has one vote at the General Congregation; the General has two. If the votes of the Professed are equal, the Provincials have the casting vote; if they, too, are equally divided, the General has the casting vote.‡

* *Inst. S.J.*, II., 253.

† *Const.* VIII., 2, 3, 4.

‡ *Ibid.*, 3.

Besides the General Congregations, there are also Provincial and Procuratorial Congregations.

The Provincial Congregation.—All the Professed, the heads of houses, Rectors of colleges (even if not Professed), and Procurators—*i.e.* those who control the finances of the Province—are entitled to a seat and vote in these. The Provincial Congregation elects the delegates to the General Congregation, and the Procurators for the Procuratorial Congregation.

Every third year a Congregation of selected Professed, called Procurators (who must not be confused with the Procurators mentioned above), assembles about the General. Each Province sends two Procurators. The Procuratorial Congregation has to decide whether and when the General is to summon the General Congregation.*

Innocent X. decided in 1646 that General Congregations were to be held every nine years, contrary to the Constitutions, which do not appoint them for any definite intervals. In vain the Eleventh and Twelfth Congregations sought the repeal of the Papal decision. It was not till 1746 that it was repealed by Benedict XIV.†

The Provinces are governed by Provincial Superiors, appointed by the General, as a rule for a period of three years. With them he associates five or six Consultors and a *Socius*, who also plays the part of Admonitor. The *Socius* and Admonitor have to supervise the official actions of the Provincial and report on them to the General.

The Settlements (houses, colleges, etc.) are directed by Rectors, Superiors, Presidents; with them, too, Consultors and Admonitors are associated.

The governing power, therefore, rests in an ascending scale in the hands of local Superiors, provincial Superiors

* *Formula Cong. Gen. Provinc. Procurat.*, II., 9 *et seq.*

† *Inst. S.J.*, I., 149, 221.

and the General; and when these are assembled together the General Congregation dominates all with absolute sovereign power.

How carefully the Order proceeds in the nomination of those who are to take part in the government is shown by the "informations" prescribed by the Constitutions. They serve to complete the ordinance already quoted as to supervision and espionage.

"Information about those who seem suited to become Superiors.—The Provincial with his Consultors should read through the list of all the priests in the province, and with their help select those about whom information is to be obtained. When the selection has been made he should obtain information about each in accordance with the scheme. From the answers he receives he should make a short but clear synopsis, adding numbers but omitting names [in the secret reports numbers are used instead of names], in some such fashion as this :

"Concerning Father N—— N——, information received from four fathers. 1. Father Antonius Pamphilius, a Roman, forty years of age, has been in the Society for twenty years; has studied philosophy and theology or morals and made good progress, or slight, or very slight, in the opinion of three persons; exceeding mediocrity in the opinion of two, or in the opinion of all. 2. He has not yet held a post as Superior, or he was Minister of this or that college or house for two years, and in the opinion of three, or two, or one, he proved satisfactory or unsatisfactory. He was Rector of a college to the satisfaction of the external students, in the opinion of all, or some; but not to the satisfaction, or the moderate satisfaction, of our own members. This is the opinion of two, or three, or one, or all. Similarly as to the other offices he has held. 3. The procedure as to the other ten

essential points resembles that in these two. These are :

“i. Whether he has ever been a Superior : where, for how long, in what offices, with what satisfaction to our members and others. ii. How he is disposed towards spiritual things—prayer and other methods of union with God. iii. As to the overcoming of the passions, gentleness, humility, love of poverty, or any peculiar qualities he may possess. iv. As to vigilance, prudence, courage in business. v. As to love, gentleness, reserve in regard to subordinates. vi. As to religious discipline, straightforwardness, and constancy. vii. How well versed in our Constitutions and Rules, and whether he strives, by help of their spirit, to lead our members to perfection, not with human and political wisdom ; and whether he has peculiar views of his own not in conformity with the views of the Society. viii. How he is disposed towards foreign nations and Provinces (of the Order), and whether he has particular feelings towards individuals which would lead him to offend others in his manner of ruling. ix. As to his spiritual zeal and his endeavour to help others, and whether he promotes this endeavour in our members ; as to his obedience towards his Superiors, and as to his own judgment. x. Whether he has ever been known to seek after a post as Superior or to have obtained one. xi. Finally, whether there were any circumstance which would make him fit or unfit to govern.

“The answers to these questions should be read and examined by the Provincial and his Consultors, and after discussion they are to give their views on the separate points, and are to add them to the information in this fashion : To 1. Father Antonius Pamphilius, Roman, forty years old, etc. This information is then to be sent to us [the General].” *

* *Ordinationes generalium*, c. 17, pp. 2, 3, 4 ; *Inst. S.J.*, II., 236 et seq.

Inner Constitution of the Order 427

Similar "informations" are to be obtained about those who are to be admitted to the final degrees of the Society (the Formed Coadjutors and Professed).

One ordinance in this information deserves notice :

"The informations are to be obtained by the Provincials, not only from the Consultors, but also from the older and more prominent fathers, who are best acquainted with the persons proposed, either because they have been their Superiors or because they have entered into confidential relations with them."*

The informations, then, are based on knowledge obtained by the informers in confidential intercourse, and even on knowledge which the Superior possesses of a subordinate who is bound to make his Statement of Conscience to him. Accordingly the informations are derived from communications which ought really to be secured from revelation by the seal of confidence and almost of the confessional.

* *Inst. S.J.*, II., 237.

END OF VOL. I.

FOURTEEN YEARS A JESUIT

A Record of Personal Experience
and a Criticism

BY

COUNT PAUL VON HOENSBROECH

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY

ALICE ZIMMERN
(Girton College, Cambridge)

Reproduced in Electronic form
2002

Bank of Wisdom®
A LIMITED LIABILITY COMPANY

P.O. Box 926
Louisville, KY 40201
U.S.A.

1911

Reproduced in electronic form
2002

Bank of Wisdom®
A LIMITED LIABILITY COMPANY

P.O. Box 926
Louisville, KY 40201
U.S.A.

The purpose of the Bank of Wisdom
is to again make the United States the
Free Marketplace of Ideas that the
American Founding Fathers
originally meant this Nation to be.

Emmett F. Fields
Bank of Wisdom.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
15. A CRITICISM OF THE INNER CONSTITUTION OF THE ORDER : SOME GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS	1
16. THE CRITICISM CONTINUED : THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE VOWS	49
17. THE CRITICISM CONTINUED : THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE CONSTITUTIONS	105
18. THE CRITICISM CONTINUED : POLITICS AND CONFESSORS	133
19. THE CRITICISM CONTINUED : COURT CONFESSORS	172
20. SCHOLASTIC YEARS AT WYNANDSRADE, BLYENBECK AND DITTON HALL	199
21. THE SCHOLASTIC STUDIES	227
22. THE PHILOSOPHICAL AND THEOLOGICAL STUDIES OF THE SCHOLASTICATE	246
23. THE ATTITUDE OF THE ORDER TO LEARNING	270
24. JESUIT MORALITY	286
25. JESUIT MORALITY AND THE STATE	338
26. EXAETEN	369
27. BERLIN	399
28. THE TERTIATE AND THE END	412
29. GENERAL VERDICT ON THE JESUIT ORDER	423
30. FROM THEN TILL NOW	447
INDEX	469

Fourteen Years a Jesuit

CHAPTER XV

A CRITICISM OF THE INNER CONSTITUTION OF THE ORDER : SOME GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

By the "inner constitution of the Order" I mean the spirit of the Order. Theoretically, it is manifested in the Constitutions of the Order, and, practically, in its activity. Thus the inner and outer are combined, the organism of the Order, with its actual and its historical life, being formed by both.

Criticism will, therefore, extend to the whole of this domain. But, first, some preliminary questions must be answered.

1. Have we the real, and, above all, the complete Constitutions of the Order in the extant editions of the "Institute of the Society of Jesus?"*

A positive answer cannot be given. We can only take what is offered as the "complete" Constitutions in good faith, trusting in the honour of those who issue them, namely, the Jesuit Order itself. Nor is corroboration by another authority of the completeness of the Constitutions, to be found anywhere—of course I am only

* Prague, 1757; Rome, 1870; etc. The latest edition of the "Institute," published in Florence in 1893, cannot be obtained at ordinary booksellers. When I sought to procure a copy from the Order through the Berlin branch of the Herder firm of publishers at Freiburg i. Br., which is closely connected with the Order, my request was refused. They would not supply me with the latest edition, even for payment.

thinking of an ecclesiastical authority—which has had an insight into the original documents, the first drafts and editions of the Constitutions. The Order alone tells us, “These are my constitutions and rules.” But not even the Order itself has ever stated officially and solemnly, “These are my complete constitutions, my complete rules: there are no others.”

Serious doubts arise as to their completeness when we peruse the *Summarium Constitutionum* and the *Regulae Communes**—i.e. those portions of the Constitutions which are supposed to contain a summary, the quintessence of the principles and rules: “A summary (*summarium*) of those statutes which relate to the spiritual direction of our members and which are to be observed by all.”

An incoherent mass of matter is to be found here, consisting of fifty-two points and forty-nine rules. Regulations dealing with mere externals stand side by side with others concerned with ascetic discipline. Fundamental rules for the structure and direction of the Society alternate with what is obviously unimportant and transitory. What astonishes us is not so much the lack of arrangement as the lack of coherence. We are sensible of gaps, and involuntarily the thought arises, “Has not something been omitted here and here and here?”

The *Summarium* and the *Regulae Communes* were read once every month during meals from the pulpit of the refectory. The more often I heard them the more strongly I doubted: “Am I hearing something complete or something consciously and intentionally curtailed?” In important and decisive conversations, to be mentioned later, I expressed my doubts to the Provincial of the German Province, Father Jacob Ratgeb. I received the evasive reply: “Leave alone such quib-

* *Inst. S.J.*, II., 70-78.

Criticism of the Inner Constitution 3

bling. Take things as they come ; what lies in the future does not concern to-day.”

The Transactions of the fifth General Congregation (1593-1594) afford abundant food for doubt and consideration from this point of view. We know them only from the Decrees published by the Order itself. Incidentally, why has the Order never yet published the complete minutes of even a single General Congregation—and there have been twenty-five of these up to the present time ? Space, surely, has not been lacking in its numerous and voluminous works on the inner and outer history of the Order. But even from these Decrees it can clearly be seen that there is intentional obscurity with regard to the Constitutions, so that we have a full right to doubt their completeness when printed and published by the Order.

We find, in the first place :

“ Everything in the *Formula Instituti* which was laid before Pope Julius III. and sanctioned by him and his successors, and everything in it referring by way of explanation to our Constitutions is and must be looked upon as the substance of our Institute. And although there is other matter belonging to the substance of our Institute, the Congregation has decided that it need not be discussed at the present time.” *

Directly after this we read that a request was made to explain more clearly what are the substantials [of the Institute], and a question was raised as to whether it would not be advantageous to add some examples of substantials, which seemed opportune, to the sentence, “ There is other matter belonging to the substance of the Institute.” The Congregation consequently determined to amend the Decree.†

The 58th Decree is the result of the amendment :

“ The substance of the Institute is, in the first place,

* Decree 44.

† Decree 45.

that contained in the *formula* or *regula* of the Society, which was submitted to Pope Julius III. and was confirmed by him and some of his successors; in the second place, that without which the contents of the *formula* could not hold good at all, or only with difficulty, namely: (1) There are some essential impediments to admission; (2) a judicial form need not be observed on dismissal; (3) a statement of conscience must be made to the Superior; (4) everyone must be content that anything about him, which has been learnt outside confession, should be notified to the Superior; (5) all must be prepared to show suitable love and charity to one another. And other similar points, the confirmation of which the Congregation has no time to consider at present, especially as the Generals can confirm them when necessary, if they are not confirmed in other General Congregations."

But the seventh General Congregation of 1616 decrees almost in contradiction to the fifth:

"The Congregation decided that it would be more advisable to abstain from the confirmation of other things pertaining to the substance of the Institute, besides those expressed in the *formula*, because it is not possible to express everything in summary. If anybody should feel any doubt, he can apply to our worthy Father [the General of the Order] and learn from him what he ought to think in this respect." *

There is here an evident unwillingness to make known the complete "*substantialia* of the Institute." It is a mere pretext for the seventh General Congregation to say that they cannot be summarised; and there is an avowal of the existence of still other *substantialia* when the fifth General Congregation says that "There is other matter besides." †

* Decree 40.

† See Chapter XIV. for the *Formula Instituti*.

Criticism of the Inner Constitution 5

The doubt concerning the incompleteness of the editions of the statutes, etc., published by the Order becomes a certainty through the proceedings of the eighth and fourteenth General Congregations.

The Order carefully conceals in its published collections of the Congregational Decrees* the transactions and resolutions of the eighth General Congregation (1645-46) as to an important letter by Innocent X., dealing in eighteen points with comprehensive reforms of the Jesuit Order.

At the fourteenth General Congregation in 1696, the General, Thyrsus Gonzalez, proposed that the Congregation should agree that the past events—*i.e.* the dispute as to the General's attack on *probabilism*—should not again be touched upon. The Congregation decided accordingly, but this important resolution is missing in every official publication of the Decrees.† The editions of the Decrees intended for publicity must not contain anything which could throw an unfavourable light on inner transactions. How frequently may this summarised procedure have taken effect? How can history be written when founded on such "official transactions"?

In the rules of the *Socius* of the Provincial also, allusions are made to secret statutes of the Order, only existing in manuscript form.

"He must take care of the separate archives of the Province of the Order, inasmuch as they contain manuscripts, which are especially important for the direction of the Province." Amongst these books are included, "The book which contains the unprinted regulations (*ordinationes*) by the Generals of the Order binding on the whole Society. The book which contains another kind of unprinted circulars of the Generals." ‡

* Prague edition of the *Inst. S.J.*, I., 449-696; Roman edition, I., 139-461.

† For proofs of this see Döllinger-Reusch, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, II., 214.

‡ *Inst. S.J.*, II., 86.

The latter book especially must be characterised as a secret book.

Secret statutes must also be inferred from an utterance of the Spanish Jesuit Miranda, appointed as Assistant to the General, which is contained in a letter written to a friend in 1736, and communicated by the Jesuit Ibañez in his report on the Jesuit state of Paraguay.

“Until I came here [Rome], where I first obtained accurate information about everything, I did not comprehend what our Society was. Its government is a special study, which not even the Provincials understand. Only one who fills the office which I now occupy can even begin to understand it.” *

Since Miranda was a Provincial before he was nominated Assistant, he must have understood what he was writing about. Ibañez also mentions unprinted “ordinances, regulations, and letters of the General and Provincials” which doubtless were to be kept secret. †

The words of Don Juan de Palafox, Bishop of Los Angeles, whom the Jesuits hated with a deadly hatred and persecuted even in the grave, are significant in this connection. He says in his famous letter of January 8th, 1649, to Innocent X., to which I must refer again later :

“What other Order has Constitutions which are not allowed to be seen, privileges which it conceals, and secret rules and everything relating to the arrangement of the Order hidden behind a curtain? The rules of every other Order may be seen by all the world. . . . But among the Jesuits there are even some of the Professed who do not know the statutes, privileges, and even the rules of the Society, although they are pledged to observe them. Therefore they are not governed by their Superiors according to the rules of the Church, but according to certain

* *Le Bret Magazin*, II., 458.

† *Ibid.*, II., 373.

Criticism of the Inner Constitution 7

concealed statutes known by the Superiors alone, and according to certain secret and pernicious denunciations, which leads to a large number being driven from the bosom of the Society." *

2. Has the Jesuit Order secret instructions, and are the oft-quoted "*Monita privata*" authentic?

From what has been and must still be said I have not the least doubt that the Order has secret statutes, which it guards carefully. The Jesuit Order merits the designation "secret society" more than any other association.

The question as to the authenticity or spuriousness of the *Monita* cannot be answered so easily and simply.

The *Monita privata Societatis Jesu* ("Secret Instructions of the Society of Jesus") first appeared in print at Cracow in 1612, after they had already been circulated in manuscript form. The editor seems to have been the ex-Jesuit Zahorowski. Almost innumerable editions and reprints in all civilised tongues followed one another. The latest edition was published at Bamberg in 1904.

The importance of the publication follows from the fact that, directly after its appearance, the General of the Order, Mutius Vitelleschi, twice (in 1616 and 1617) instructed the German Jesuit, Gretser, a prominent theologian of the Order, to refute it, and that up to most recent times Jesuit after Jesuit has come forward to repudiate it.†

A few years ago, Adolf Harnack asked my opinion as to whether the *Monita* were genuine or not. I replied

* Don Juan de Palafox, *Letters to Innocent X.* (Frankfort and Leipzig, 1773), p. 118 *et seq.*

† See Duhr., S.J., *Jesuitenfabeln*, 4th edition (Freiburg i. Br.), 1904, p. 90 *et seq.*

that we had to distinguish between the genuineness of the form and of the matter, and I still hold to this distinction.

The genuineness of the form—*i.e.* that the *Monita* were drawn up by the Order itself in the published text as a secret supplement to the official Constitution of the Order—is hard to prove.

Of the genuineness of the contents—*i.e.* that the *Monita* contain regulations in harmony with the spirit of the Order, whether its author were a Jesuit or an enemy of the Jesuits, whether he wished to write a serious or a satirical work—I am as positive as of the existence of secret instructions of the Order.

But even the genuineness of the form cannot be as easily disposed of as has been done by the Jesuits, and recently, in an especially superficial manner, by the Jesuit Duhr.* In face of the historically indisputable facts bearing on the *Monita*, it only remains to the disinterested and conscientious examiner to pronounce “Not proven” over the genuineness of the form.

Ecclesiastical opinions (those of bishops, Congregations of the Index, etc.) regarding the genuineness are of no value, because they are partial, are prompted by the Jesuits themselves, and condemn them as false without attempting to produce proofs.

It is natural that the Jesuits themselves should deny the genuineness in a flood of refutations. But such denials only merit the belief or unbelief which the denial of every defendant deserves. Only sound proof can turn the scale against the genuineness of the *Monita*. And such proofs have not been produced up to now by the Jesuits. Nor has any convincing invalidation of the facts advanced on behalf of its genuineness been produced.

The advocates of their genuineness rely essentially on

* *Jesuitenfabeln*, p. 91 *et seq.*

Criticism of the Inner Constitution 9

the fact that the manuscript copies of the *Monita*, upon which the printed edition is based, were to be found in Jesuit colleges. The discovery of such copies in the colleges of Prague, Paris, Roermond (Holland), Munich, and Paderborn is beyond question. The copy in the Jesuit house at Paderborn was found "in a cupboard in the Rector's room" (*in scriniis rectoris**). The manuscript copy at Munich, belonging to the contents of the library of the Jesuit college of this place, which was suppressed in 1773, was only found in 1870 in a secret recess behind the altar of the old Jesuit Church of St. Michael at Munich. It would be a decisive token of genuineness if it could be proved positively that the Prague copy was already there in 1611—*i.e.* before the first printed edition of 1612. J. Friedrich's statement† makes this seem probable, but not certain. What the Jesuit Duhr ‡ writes to the contrary is of no value. It is certain, however, that the discovery in Prague was so disagreeable to the Jesuits that the chief champion of the spuriousness of the *Monita*, the Jesuit Forer, considered it advisable to pass it over in silence in his work of repudiation, *Anatomia Anatomiae Societatis Jesu*. On the other hand, he zealously demonstrated—what no one disputed—that the copy at Paderborn was only brought to light after the first edition had been published. Forer's silence is the more remarkable, as a manuscript note, intended for his book, treats the Prague discovery as a fact.§ The saying that those who keep silence when they could and should speak seem to give consent, comes to my mind in the case of this ominous silence.||

* *Anatomia*, p. 49.

† J. Friedrich, *Beiträge*, p. 8.

‡ *Jesuitenfabeln*, p. 94.

§ Friedrich, pp. 9 and 65.

|| Créteineau-Joly, who writes in the pay of the Jesuit Order, has indeed the audacity to designate the discovery of the manuscript *Monita*, in the Jesuit Colleges of Prague and Paderborn as "a base historical lie" ("*un grossier mensonge historique*"). (*Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*. Paris, 1844, III., 372, 2.)

I will give a few extracts from the edition in the *Arcana Societatis Jesu*, 1635 (without place of publication), from the manuscript* found by Christian von Braunschweig in a secret drawer belonging to the Rector in the Jesuit college at Paderborn, adding my own remarks.

“What attitude ought the Society of Jesus to take up on re-organisation?” The directions supplied (attainment of the favour of the population through the rendering of services, almsgiving, edifying behaviour for the edification of others) are in absolute harmony with the Constitutions and rules.

“How should the friendship of princes and other great people be gained?” Although the means indicated for ensuring princely favour cannot be verified in detail from the statutes, the whole tendency of the precepts given corresponds with the official “explanation” (Declar. B) to Part 10 of the Constitutions: “Above all, we should retain the goodwill . . . of temporal princes and great men and persons holding prominent positions.” † The practice of the Order also in greeting and receiving princes with a display of magnificence and grandiloquent speech harmonises with what is said on this point.

“What attitude must be taken up by court-chaplains and princely confessors?” The answer suggests a commentary to General Acquaviva’s “Ordinance” of 1602. The confessors must seem to exercise reserve in political matters.

“Of their attitude to other religious Orders.” Quarrels with other Orders are recorded on almost every page of Jesuit history. They arose mostly because the Society of Jesus, under a pretence of humility (*haec minima societas*—this most humble society) represented itself

* Friedrich, pp. 4-32.

† *Inst. S.J.*, I., 130.

Criticism of the Inner Constitution 11

as greater and superior in virtue and perfection to all other Orders. The advice given for making good the reputation of highest perfection everywhere is written in the Order's arrogant spirit, of which I shall speak later.

"How may rich widows be kept well disposed towards the Society of Jesus?" The chief directions in this section concern the appointment of Jesuits as confessors and spiritual guides, their interference in household regulation and private affairs, incitations to donations and alms-giving, and correspond to the actual attitude of the Order, which I myself have observed in my home and in many other houses of near relations. Especially the securing of money from wives and widows under the mask of piety (confession and exercises) is a world-wide and ancient malpractice of Jesuit confessors and spiritual guides. The activity of the Jesuit Order in England at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century affords very interesting examples of this. The English Jesuit, Gerard, relates of himself: "I also received many general confessions; among others that of a widow lady of high rank (Lady Lovel), who for the rest of her days applied herself to good works and gave me an annual sum of 1,000 florins for the Society; another widow (Mrs. Fortescue) gave 700."*

The Catholic priest, William Watson, reports more fully: "In like manner he (the Jesuit Gerard) dealeth with such gentlewomen as the Ladie Louell, Mistresse Haywood, and Mistresse Wiseman, of whom he got so much as now shee feeleth the want of it. By drawing Mistress Fortescue, the widow of Master Edmond Fortescue, into his exercise, he got of her a farme worth 50 pounds a yere and paid her no rent. Another drift he hath by his exercise of cousinage: which is to perswade

* *The Life of Fr. John Gerard* (London, 1882), p. 63, quoted by Taunton. *History of the Jesuits in England* (London, 1901), p. 162.

Fourteen Years a Jesuit

such gentlewomen, as haue large portions to their marriage, to give the same to him and his companie, and to become nuns. So he preuailed with two of Mr. William Wiseman's daughters, with Elizabeth Sherly, with Dorothy Ruckwood, with Mary Tremaine, with Anna Arundell, and with Lady Mary Percie." * What is said in the *Monita* of "careful excitement of the sensuous faculty" in women and widows does not correspond with reality, from my knowledge of facts.

"Of the means by which sons and daughters of our confessional children are to be brought to a spiritual state." The directions contain nothing which has not been practised hundreds of times. The chapter, "Of the choice of young men for our Society and of the manner of keeping a firm hold on them," is taken from life.

"What attitude should be taken up by our followers in regard to those dismissed from the Order?" The spreading of evil reports, here recommended, about those who have either been dismissed or have withdrawn is an almost regular practice. The advice to ill-treat those to be dismissed and to hinder their advancement after dismissal is confirmed by the practice of the Order. The German Jesuit, Streicher, relates in a confidential letter (now in the State archives at Munich) from Spain, dating from the eighteenth century, "Half a year before dismissal the person to be dismissed is thrown into a dungeon and there reduced (*maceratus*) by a diet of bread and water. Every Friday he is brought, with chains fastened on both feet, by a lay brother into the refectory, and he must scourge himself there [before the others]. Our members have also contrived that no one who has not withdrawn for legitimate and conclusive reasons shall be appointed to a parish or any other benefice." † That this

* *Decacordon of Ten Quodlibetical Questions* (London, 1602), p. 89 *et seq.*

† Reprinted from Friedrich, *Beiträge*, p. 73 *et seq.*

Criticism of the Inner Constitution 13

inhumane treatment was customary not only in Spain is proved by a saying of the Archbishop of Lemberg, Demetrius Sulkow, recorded by Harenberg*: "It is difficult for the persons dismissed [by the Jesuits] to attain to any ecclesiastical dignity . . . owing to the antipathy engendered by the Jesuits in the King towards the persons dismissed. It is certain that they wished to dissuade me from appointing any persons dismissed from amongst them to positions in my diocese, and when I asked why, they replied, 'The person dismissed must vanish into some obscure corner, so that he may not mislead others.'"

From my own experience regarding the behaviour of the Order towards dismissed persons, I shall give at least one staggering case further on.

3. Is there a secret class of members existing side by side with the grades of the Order mentioned in the Constitutions? Are there affiliates of the Jesuit Order?

We saw in Chapter V. that the Jesuit Order does not recognise so-called second and third Orders, such as the Franciscans and Dominicans organised among the laity, but that the Marian Congregations might be characterised as third or second Orders of the Jesuits. But however closely the Congreganists may have been connected with the Jesuits, they were not attached to the Order by the bond of obedience. This bond alone constitutes real affiliates, and the Jesuit Order possesses them.

The possibility of affiliates seems to me to be chiefly indicated in two passages in the official "Institute." It is stated in the Constitutions:

"The Society in the broadest sense of the word com-

* *Pragmatische Geschichte des Ordens der Jesuiten* (Halle-Helmstädt, 1760), II., 965.

prises all who owe obedience to the General, also novices and whoever, with the desire to live and die in the Society, places himself in a position of probation for admission into it and to any of the grades which will be discussed." *

And the 129th Decree of the first General Congregation (1558) is as follows :

"May the laity who take the vows in a military Christian Order be admitted into our Order, although it must be supposed that they will not make their profession in our Society? Answer: They may be admitted." †

In the first passage reference is made to those who owe obedience to the General, including novices, and to others who place themselves in a position of probation with the desire to be admitted into the Society. Unless we assume gross tautology, a distinction is drawn between those mentioned in the first place and those in the second by the "and"—*i.e.* those mentioned in the second place, as opposed to those already belonging to the Order, the novices, are "in a position of probation," but do not (yet?) belong to the Society—*i.e.* are consequently affiliates.

The second passage clearly speaks of "laity, who are to be admitted into the Society without making their profession." I acknowledge that the word "profession" may be understood in a restricted sense—*i.e.* in opposition to the vows of the coadjutors; but the possibility of understanding it in a general sense—*i.e.* in the sense of the vows of the Order generally—cannot be denied. We have, then, here also to do with affiliates.

Moreover, the Constitutions openly mention in Part 10 a class of members who might properly be styled affiliates—namely, all those Jesuits who have become bishops or cardinals.

* Constit. V., 1; Declar. A.

† *Inst. S.J.*, I., 170.

Criticism of the Inner Constitution 15

“He must also vow to God that if ever he is compelled to accept any preferment outside the Society he will at all times listen to the advice of the General for the time being, or of any person appointed by him to take his place; and if he thinks what is so recommended to be desirable, will perform it; not that he who is preferred holds any member of the Society in the place of the Superior, but that he desires of his own free will to be bound in the sight of God to do that which he shall perceive to be best for God’s service; and is content that there should be one to set it before him in charity and Christian liberty, to the glory of God and our Lord.” *

This regulation is, it is true, directly opposed to the general canonical definitions, according to which a bishop or cardinal is no longer bound by an oath to the superiors of his Order (when he has been a member of an Order), but only to the Pope (*solis R. Pontifici*), but it is for that very reason a particularly striking example of the pertinacity with which the Jesuit Order retains those belonging to it in bondage, in the interests and through the egotism of the Order. Ecclesiastical decisions do not regulate its conduct, but its own interests and extension and the consolidation of its own power.

It will also be observed how skilfully the words chosen conceal their opposition to the canonical law. The Jesuit who has become a prelate has no Superior in the Society—this is not allowed. He only chooses “of his own free will” someone to obey, and this happens to be the General of the Order.

Thus all bishops and cardinals chosen from the Jesuit Order are its affiliates according to the Constitutions.†

Let us, however, disregard what the Constitutions

* Constit. X., 1, 6.

† See Chapter XIV. for the vow of the professed Jesuits.

say, secretly or openly, regarding affiliates. The historical fact of their existence is clear and unmistakable.

The founder of the Jesuit Order, Ignatius Loyola, made a number of affiliations. Thus the Spaniard, Miguel Torres, whom Ignatius called "the apple of his eye," lived as a man of the world. No one knew that he was a Jesuit and that Ignatius himself had admitted him years previously into the Order. Francis Borgia governed his Duchy of Gandia, living outwardly as a duke, although he had already four years previously made the Jesuit profession with Ignatius's consent. And when Borgia was canonised in 1724 by Benedict XIII., reference to his affiliation was even inserted in the bull of canonisation :

"Whilst still Duke of Gandia he was permitted by our predecessor, Paul III., at St. Ignatius's request, to take the vows with the knowledge of only a few members of the Order. He was granted four years by the Pope to arrange his affairs." *

Ignatius did the same with the rich Spanish abbot, Domenech, and the secular priest, Vergara, who nearly became Grand Inquisitor of Spain whilst still a secret Jesuit. The Infant Dom Luis of Portugal also joined Ignatius's Order as an affiliate.†

We have even a positive theoretical recognition of affiliation by Ignatius. Ex-members of other Orders wished openly to join the Jesuit Order. Ignatius rejected the open union, but caused his secretary, the Jesuit Polanco, to write in general terms :

"I observe that some are joining the Society and helping it according to the talent given them by God, and although they are really not Professed, Coadjutors, nor

* *Inst. S.J.* (Prague, 1757), I., 181.

† The evidence is given by Gothein. *Ignatius von Loyola und die Gegenreformation* (Halle, 1895), pp. 359 *et seq.* and 788.

Criticism of the Inner Constitution 17

Scholastics, they faithfully perform the same duties as these, and may, on their part, possess the merit of obedience." *

In an Italian record, dating from 1617,† regarding the aims of the Society of Jesus and the means of attaining them, we are told :

“That the Jesuits in England had succeeded in appointing an archpriest, who was a Jesuit by vow (*hanno fatto eleggere uno arciprete Giesuita in voto*), and who had persecuted the priests outside the Jesuit Order like a ravening wolf, brought them to extreme distress, and been so successful that almost all the priests in England were Jesuits by vow” (*Giesuiti in voto*).‡

Prince William of Orange forwarded to his ambassador in London, Dykvelt, an intercepted letter from the Jesuits of Liège to the members of their Order in Freiburg-i.-Br., in which it was stated that the King of England, James II., the father-in-law of the Prince of Orange, had become an affiliate of the Jesuit Order. Even Créteineau-Joly did not dare to pronounce the letter apocryphal. He only says, “*Authentique ou controuvé . . . une correspondance dont l'original n'a jamais pu être représenté.*” § J. Friedrich supplies a valuable confirmation of the affiliation of the English king here reported, in an original letter from the Jesuit Ruga, in London on March 13th, 1687, to the Jesuit Pusterla in Milan, which is to be found amongst the Jesuit papers in the State Library at Munich. || The Jesuit Ruga there says that, at the first audience which he obtained soon after his arrival in England, James II. said to him, “I

* Gotthein, *Ibid.*, p. 361.

† Reprinted in Döllinger-Reusch, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, II., 376-390.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 388.

§ *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 4, 174.

|| *Codex lat. Mon.*, 26,473, f. 311; Friedrich: *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens* (Munich, 1881), pp. 30, 78; *Abhandlung der kgl. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Class III., § Vol. XVI., Part 1.

am a son of the Society of Jesus," and the Queen, "I am its daughter." A few days after this the Queen repeated to him, "It is my ambition to be a daughter of the Society of Jesus."

A document of the seventeenth century, "Instructions for Princes as to how the Jesuit Fathers rule,"* speaks openly of affiliation.

"There is a class of secular Jesuits of both sexes, which, with blind obedience, attaches itself to the Society, adjusting all its actions in accordance with the advice of the Jesuits and obeying all their commands. This is mostly composed of gentlemen and ladies of rank, especially widows, also citizens or very rich merchants. Women especially are led on to renounce the world by the Jesuits, who then receive from them pearls, garments, furniture, and revenues. Another class of Jesuits consists of men holding clerical and lay positions, who live in the world supported by the Order and obtain pensions, abbeys, and benefices through it. These must solemnly promise to put on the garb of the Order at the General's command; they are called Jesuits *in voto*. The Order makes wonderful use of them for the support of its rule. They are kept at courts and near the most prominent people in all kingdoms, so that they may act as spies and give an account of all that is transacted to the General of the Order."

A despatch of the Paris Nuncio of February 8th, 1773, communicated by Theiner,† coincides with this assertion:

"Far from acquiescing in the dissolution of the Jesuits, I know from her [Madame Louise, Carmelite, daughter of Louis XV. of France] that not only is she convinced that the suppression will never come to pass,

* Manuscript of the Parisian *Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds italiens*, No. 986.

† *Geschichte des Pontifikats Klemens XIV.* (Leipzig, 1853), II., 321.

Criticism of the Inner Constitution 19

but also that the Pope has not sufficient authority to carry it out. This is also the opinion which all Jesuit tertiaries secretly propagate everywhere.”

Therefore such a well-informed man as the Papal Nuncio recognises the existence of “Jesuit tertiaries” as a matter of course. Since, however, the Jesuit Order does not possess real tertiaries—*i.e.* a third Order, as the Dominicans and Franciscans do—only affiliates of the Order can be understood when the expression chosen by the Nuncio is used.

Saint-Simon also recognises affiliates.

“The Jesuits always have lay members in all the professions. This is a positive fact. Doubtless Noyers, Louis XIII.’s secretary, belonged to them, and also many others. These affiliates take the same vows as the Jesuits so far as their position allows—*i.e.* the vow of absolute obedience to the General and the Superiors of the Order. They are to substitute for the vows of poverty and chastity the service rendered and protection afforded to the Society, and especially unlimited submission to the Superiors and confessor. . . . Politics thus come within their scope through the certain help of these secret allies.” *

The Jesuit Lallemand reported in 1642 from Canada that there, with the consent of the Provincial of the French Province, to which Canada belonged, lay members were attached to the Society of Jesus. They took the vow to serve the Jesuit Order throughout their whole life wherever their services were required. The vow was modelled on one which was previously commonly used, with the consent of the General, in the Champagne Province of the Order. It was taken secretly, without outward ceremony, in presence of the confessor. Those joined to the Jesuit Order in this manner received the

* *Mémoires*, 12, 164.

official designation, "*Donnés.*" * This points to a whole class of affiliates.

We also meet with the same arrangement in the English Province of the Order. In the "Records of the English Province," † published by the Jesuit Foley (a lay brother), the following entry is to be found :

"Oliver, George, Rev., D.D., born in Newington, Surrey, on February 9th, 1781; ordained priest in 1806. He was the last survivor of a number of Catholic clergymen, scholars of the English Jesuits, who, though never entering the Society, always remained in the service of the English Province [of the Order] and subject to its [the English Province's] Superiors. . . . He died at Exeter a few years after 1851."

In England, therefore, the institution of affiliates, already mentioned, in 1617, was maintained for nearly two hundred and fifty years—to 1851.

These historical events are so convincing that the secret institution of affiliates must be admitted as an irrefutable fact.

To be sure, the Jesuits still deny the proofs which I have brought forward and which are also known to them, suppress them, and content themselves with an avowal of the existence of affiliates during the first period of the Order. Thus the arch-falsifier, the Jesuit Duhr, who has already been unmasked frequently and will be unmasked yet again, writes :

"A few cases in (*sic*) the difficulties of the first period do not give any right to generalise or speak of an 'Institution.'" ‡

"The few cases of the first period" (which Duhr carefully suppresses, however) are the above-mentioned affiliations of Duke Francis Borgia, Miguel Torres, etc.

* *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland, Burrow Brothers and Company), XXI., 293 *et seq.*

† VII., 559,

‡ Duhr, S.J., *Jesuitenfabeln* (4), p. 921.

Moreover, everything is really admitted by the avowal that there were affiliates during the first period. For what was then possible and actual, "owing to special circumstances," is always possible, and will always be actual when the special circumstances again occur. Their occurrence consequently only depends upon the will of the Superiors of the Order. If they declare that the circumstances have occurred, they have occurred.

4. Are the Constitutions of the Order, and the Jesuit Order itself, authoritatively directed against Lutheranism and generally against heresy ?

A distinction must here be drawn between the form and the matter, as in the question of the genuineness or spuriousness of the *Monita*. Ignatius Loyola, when founding his Order and drawing up his Constitutions, can scarcely, indeed, have had Lutheranism and heresy formally in mind. It is certain, however, that the Jesuit Order from its very foundation actually considered the combat with heresy, and especially Lutheranism, to be its chief task. We have the strongest evidence of this.

Urban VIII.'s Bull of Canonisation of Ignatius Loyola in 1623 states :

"God's inexpressible goodness and mercy, which provides for every age in wonderful ways, raised up the mind of Ignatius Loyola . . . when Luther, that horrible monster (*monstrum teterrimum*), and the other detestable plagues (*aliaeque detestabiles pestes*), with their blasphemous tongues,* strove to destroy in the northern regions the ancient religion, with all its sanctity and

* What extraordinary expressions (let us take this opportunity of remarking) the Papacy employs, even in its most authoritative proclamations, against the Reformation and the Reformers ! Rome is not bound by scruples or dignity of utterance when heretics are in question. Then the most vulgar abuse is in place. It claims as its right not only freedom to abuse, but also to anathematise. I certainly do not recommend that the Papal tone should be imitated by the non-ultramontane party. But we must not marvel too much when this occurs.

its ideal of a perfect life, and to degrade the authority of the apostolic see. This Loyola surrendered himself so implicitly to the guidance and fashioning of the Divine authority . . . that after the establishment of the new Order of the Society of Jesus, which, amongst other works of piety and love, entirely devoted itself, according to its Constitutions, to the conversion of the heathen and the leading back of heretics to the true faith,* he came to a saintly end."

The conclusiveness of this Papal pronouncement is strengthened greatly by a remark of Cardinal Monte, which he addressed to Pope Gregory XV. in the secret consistory in connection with the canonisation of Ignatius Loyola in 1622 :

"When in the previous century the devil sowed tares in the well-tilled and prepared field of the Church and tried to undermine religion by Luther's blasphemous tongue in Germany and Henry VIII.'s unprecedented ferocity in England, God's inexpressible goodness and mercy . . . raised up Ignatius Loyola." †

It is explicable, therefore, that Clement XIV. actually states in the Brief, "*Dominus ac Redemptor*," of July 21st, 1773, by which he suppressed the Jesuit Order :

"It is certain that the Jesuit Order was founded . . . for the conversion of heretics."

The official historian of the Order, Crétineau-Joly, who wrote his voluminous work with the material and intellectual support of the Order, also lets slip this admission :

"In the Society of Jesus missions are of secondary importance (*accessoires*). The chief object is . . . the battle against heresy in Europe." ‡

Numerous proofs from the sphere of the Order itself

* *Inst. S.J.* (Prague, 1757), I., 119 et seq.

† Döllinger-Reusch, *Selbstbiographie des Kardinals Bellarmin*, p. 336.

‡ *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, I., 318.

Criticism of the Inner Constitution 23

can also, of course, be produced of the extreme hostility of the Jesuit Order to heresy, even though the Constitutions be not actually directed against it.

Thus, to begin with the founder of the Order, the activity of Ignatius in the interests of the Inquisition is especially noteworthy. He writes, in 1542, to his fellow member, Simon Rodriguez, in Lisbon, that Pope Paul III., at his instigation, has decided to set up a Cardinal's Congregation of the Inquisition. Thus Ignatius Loyola is the intellectual originator of the Roman Inquisition which exists even to this day,* and of its bloodshed. Ignatius also tried his hardest to prevail on Paul III. to consent to the request of John III. of Portugal and establish the Inquisition there on the same lines as in Spain. Indeed, in a letter to the Jesuit Miron, of June 20th, 1555, he declares that he is prepared to place members of his Order at the head of the Portuguese Inquisition, but wishes, so as to keep up appearances, that this should be done at the express command of the Pope.† The matter fell through, however.

The hatred of heretics, and not only heresy, which blazed up in the Inquisition to a bloody persecuting fury, is therefore a pious legacy to Jesuits from their founder. They guard the inheritance carefully and augment it forcibly by putting themselves forward in their writings, from the commencement of their existence to the present day, as definite supporters of the bloody persecution of heretics. I refer to the leading theologians of the Jesuit Order—Tanner, Laymann, Castropalao (seventeenth century); Perrone, Wenig, de Luca, Grandera, Laurentius (nineteenth and twentieth centuries).‡

* *Cartas de San Ignacio* (Madrid, 1874), I., 132, quoted by Druffel; *Ignatius von Loyola an der römischen Kurie* (Munich, 1879), pp. 12 and 38.

† Genelli, S.J., *Leben des hl. Ignatius von Loyola* (Innsbruck, 1848), p. 256 et seq.

‡ Cf. my work, *Moderner Staat und römische Kirche* (Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke u. Sohn), pp. 146 et seq.

Some passages from one of the most outstanding works in Jesuit literature and from the official *Ratio Studiorum* of the Order may still further illustrate theoretically its hatred of heretics, while a historical occurrence and a personal experience may supply practical illustration.

We read in the *Imago primi saeculi* :

“ A time ago it was 1617. The Lutherans reckoned this as the centenary of their godless religion, because a hundred years before there appeared the first sparks of the pestilential flame, which afterwards spread quickly, with a hopeless fury, like a storm, first through Germany and then through some neighbouring provinces. . . . Ignatius, whom God in His eternal wisdom raised up to oppose Luther, shall confront him in our work, too. . . . In presence of Ignatius does Luther, the stigma of Germany, the Epicurean swine, the ruin of Europe, the monster who brought disaster on the globe, the outcast of God and man, deserve a centenary jubilee? * After Luther, false to God and religion, had forsaken the ancient faith, he was joined by a mob of petty schoolmasters, insolent grammarians, degenerate poets, frivolous little Hellenists, drunken orators, and Heaven knows what other ridiculous objects of philosophers and philologists. The dregs of the population, cobblers, dyers, butchers, and weavers followed their example. . . . From all sides streamed together the most vicious people—persons notorious through infamy, condemned by judges, bearing visible brands of shame . . . they trampled down everything humane and godly. . . . In front marched Luther, carrying the godless torch which, in the form of an abominable treatise, tried to make all believe that unchastity was more necessary than food, drink, and sleep. . . . This infamous apostate [Luther] led to

* *Imago primi saeculi*, pp. 18, et seq.

battle ignorant persons, who had sprung from foul dens and the lowest dregs, of godless and infamous life, notorious through immorality, harpies of the Holy Scripture. With what an honourable and well-equipped host—really with word and deed—did the Society of Jesus oppose him.* Certainly we do not deny that we have entered into a bitter and eternal struggle for the Catholic religion against heresy. Like St. Jerome, each of us says to-day, ‘I cannot agree with you on one point—namely, that I spare the heretics [not “heresy”; *haereticis*, not *haeresi*] and do not prove myself a Catholic. If this is the reason of our disagreement, I can die, but I cannot be silent.’ It is in vain for heresy to expect to attain friendship with the Society of Jesus through silence alone. As long as there is life in us, we will bark at the wolves for the defence of the Catholic flock. Peace is out of the question; the seed of hate is innate within us (*Desperata pax est, odii semina innata sunt*). Ignatius is for us what Hamilcar was for Hannibal. At his command, we have sworn eternal war at the altars.” †

In the *Ratio Studiorum* the thirteenth “rule for the external students of the Order” is as follows:

“They must not go to public exhibitions, comedies, or plays, nor to executions of criminals, except perhaps of heretics.”

This fine injunction remained in force to 1832. Only then—when, indeed, there were no longer executions of heretics—was the permission to Jesuit scholars, boys of tender age, to find edification in executions of heretics cancelled.

The historical event—one of many—was the “Massacre of Thorn,” brought about by the Jesuits.

On July 17th, 1724, the Jesuit College at Thorn was destroyed by a section of the students and population. A

* Pp. 550–552.

† Pp. 843 *et seq.*

Protestant had not bared his head whilst a procession was passing by, and because a student of the Jesuit college struck off his hat, the fanatical Jesuit scholar was thrown into prison by the Protestant magistrate. This led to a great disturbance, and the destruction of the Jesuit establishment on the following day. The matter came before the high court of justice and the assessorial court at Warsaw; and the president and vice-president of Thorn, Rösner and Zerneke, as well as nine citizens of Thorn, were condemned to death.

This terrible sentence was mainly due to an inflammatory speech delivered to the judges on October 31st by one of the Jesuits.

“ ‘Oh, thou Mother of God, thou has fallen amongst Tartar heathendom at Thorn. See how the godless trample thee under foot! . . . Thou art no Queen in Poland to the inhabitants of Thorn; rather has a godless and most ignominious insult transformed thee into a wench condemned to the pyre.’ The Jesuit recalled to mind the oaths taken by the judges in the Marian Congregations, ‘I will never permit anything against thine honour to be done by my subordinates.’* . . . The crucified God entreats and stretches out the hand hacked off by the inhabitants of Thorn, ‘Do right and further justice! . . . The head of the serpent must be bruised. . . . I could here speak on behalf of my house, but the wounds of my brothers [the Jesuits], caused by heretical hands, are marks of honour in suffering disgrace for Jesus’ sake. I do not ask for corporal or capital punishment; being a priest, I do not thirst for blood.’” †

The further details of the affair show what was really

* A very instructive example of the trenchant effect of the Congregations on the public life.

† *Diarius von dem in Thorn a. 1724, d. 17, Juli entstandenen Tumulte und darau erfolgten Jesuitischen Prozessus*, VIII., 51; *Städtisches Archiv zu Thorn*; Jacobi, *Das Thorner Blutgericht*, 1724 (Halle, 1896), pp. 91 et seq. and 173.

Criticism of the Inner Constitution 27

intended by this hypocritical expression of gentleness on the part of the Jesuits.

To the sentence of death was added the rider: The sentence is only to be carried out if a Jesuit, together with six conjurors from the Polish nobility, shall corroborate on oath the guilt of the accused. This oath was taken by a Jesuit at the command of the Jesuit Rector, and the heretics were put to death on December 7th, 1724, in the cruel manner then customary.

Leaving all non-essentials out of the question, this much is certain—that the lives of nine people, whose offence consisted in the fact that they had not prevented the destruction of a house belonging to the Jesuits, depended on the oath of the Jesuits. The Jesuits took the oath, and the lives of the nine were forfeit.

I put the question, "Who and what are Jesuits?" They themselves reply, "A band of people following Jesus in a quite special manner, and making His principles their own." The religious and ethical significance of the massacre at Thorn instigated by the Jesuits lies in this question and answer: The strongest antithesis to Jesus Christ, the most furious hate towards "heretics."

A few events connected with the murderous oath of the Jesuits set it in the worst of lights.

The Papal Nuncio, Santini, begged the Rector of the Jesuit College in a letter not to permit the oath to be taken, so as not to be the cause of a ninefold murder. He made this request to the Jesuit Superior by agreement with and at the desire of the Polish Lord High Chancellor, who considered that "such an action would be in keeping with the sanctity of their [the Jesuits'] position." * The letter was placed in the Jesuit Superior's hands in good time, as is shown by his answer, dated

* Text of the entire letter: *Leben und Tode Papst Benedikts XIII.* (Frankfort, 1731), I., 714.

December 10th, 1724. Though the "Annual Reports of the College of Thorn," drawn up by the Jesuits, state that it came a day too late, these "Annual Reports" deserve no credence, as they contain entirely uncontrolled Jesuit statements and are also contradicted by the reply of the Rector to the Nuncio's letter. Besides, it is certain that the judges drew the Jesuit Rector's attention, directly before the oath was sworn, to the fact that the Papal Nuncio had advised him against it. But for all that the Jesuit permitted his subordinates to take the oath.

Moreover, a real piece of Jesuit cunning and Roman-ultramontane hypocrisy came to light during and after the act of swearing. When the judicial assembly of Thorn saw the Jesuit with his six conjurors before it, ready to take the oath, attention was drawn to the fact that, according to the canonical law, priests might not assist in a death sentence, and the oath to be taken involved such assistance. The Jesuit Rector replied that he knew the prohibition, but it did not apply here, because the Jesuit whom he had chosen to take the oath was a lay brother—*i.e.* not a priest!*

After the oath, which resulted in torture and death for the nine unfortunate men, the Jesuits, with tears, implored mercy for the condemned. They thereby assumed a real and fitting Inquisitorial hypocrisy, which the Papacy carried on for centuries so as to be able to justify outwardly the noble expression, "The Church does not thirst for blood." †

After the actual drama had taken place, the bearing of the Jesuits remained worthy of the beginning and

* With reference to the infamous Jesuit action at Thorn, *cf.* Jacobi, *Das Thorner Blutgericht*.

† *Cf.* my work, *Das Papsttum*, etc., in which I have exposed the absolutely infamous untruthfulness of this Popish entreaty for the life of the heretics condemned by the Popish Inquisition.

continuation. Greed for the possessions of the heretics was associated with bloodthirstiness against the heretics.

In the judgment, the excessive compensation of 36,400 florins was awarded to the Jesuits. This was finally reduced to 22,000 florins after the Jesuits had shown themselves very obstinate in their demands. Eight thousand florins were to be paid them in cash, and for the remaining 14,000 florins they received the municipal estates of Lonzyn and Wengorzyn. The estates were only to revert again to the municipality on the payment of 14,000 florins, together with interest at 6 per cent. The estates remained in the Jesuits' hands till the autumn of 1730. The town found it very difficult to raise the 8,000 florins in cash. A merchant, Marianski, advanced this sum to it, taking as security the plate of one of the executed men, the Burgomaster Roesner, and the Jesuits quietly pocketed this sum, which might doubly be termed blood-money. *

This is unsurpassed hate on a large scale. A personal experience may show in what a paltry manner hatred of heresy may be expressed.

When I was stationed in 1889 at Exaeten, as "scribe," the *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, by Johannes Jansen, was read aloud at table. In connection with this the question arose during recreation as to whether we should put the accent on the second or first syllable of the word "*lutherisch*." I was of opinion (mistakenly, however) that the pronunciation "*lûtherisch*" expressed more contempt than the pronunciation "*lutherisch*." Accordingly, I requested the *Praefectus lectionis ad mensam*, the Jesuit Spiellmann (then chief editor of the magazine *Katholische Missionen*, and a writer of juvenile works which were very much read in Germany), to put a stop to the contemptuous pronunciation "*lûtherisch*"

* Jacobi, *Das Thorner Blutgericht*, pp. 137 et seq.

during the reading at table. This suggestion was indignantly received; it was considered that the more contemptuously this word was pronounced the better. And from that time onwards, as often as a reader said "*lutherisch*," the "*repetat*" of the Jesuit Spiellmann resounded with especial emphasis. It was desirable that the contemptuous "*lutherisch*" should be drummed into the young scholastics (it was they who read aloud).

THE SPIRIT OF THE ORDER

As the Society of Jesus, the Jesuit Order prides itself on possessing in a quite special manner the spirit of Jesus Christ. The opposite is the case.

Whoever reads the Constitutions of the Order carefully will at once notice how very highly they esteem wealth, rank, prominent position, and, in short, that which is desirable and coveted from a worldly point of view, whereas Christ's teaching stands in sharpest contrast. He designates the lowly, the poor, the small, the insignificant, the despised, as His own.

As I shall deal in separate sections with the arrogance of the Order, its craving after honours and wealth, and similar important points, I will here give only a few selections from the Constitutions in order to illustrate the conflict between the "Society of Jesus" and Jesus.

In the choice of a person for the position of General the man who, as the head of the Society of Jesus, should therefore most resemble Jesus, nobility of birth, the possessions which he had in the world, honours and the like, are considered as desirable qualifications.

Noble birth and riches serve likewise as grounds for admission to the profession of the three vows. Though not expressly mentioned in the Constitutions, both the

Criticism of the Inner Constitution 31

exponents whom I have to thank for my intimate knowledge of the subject, my Novice-Master, the Jesuit Meschler, and my Instructor during the Tertiate, the Jesuit Oswald, always quoted them at the appropriate point in their instructions.

The Constitutions allow women of rank an exceptional position as compared with those of the middle class.

Finally, the all-permeating spirit of worldly wisdom—of course expressed in unctuous religious form—stands out in the words :

“ Above all things, it is necessary to retain the goodwill of the Apostolic See . . . next, that of princes and great men (*magnatum*) and persons holding prominent positions, upon whose favour or disfavour it depends to a large extent whether the way be open or closed for the service of God and for the salvation of souls.”*

Such instructions do not exactly breathe the spirit of Jesus Christ.

We have seen already in the description of its educational activity how this worldly, arrogant and selfish spirit influences the conduct of the Order in such things as magnificent buildings and exhibitions, preference for the nobility and contemptuous treatment of poor scholars. We shall encounter it in a still more pronounced form in other domains of the extensive Jesuit field of labour. It is so evident that it strikes all who come in close touch with Jesuits. A remark made by the first Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, Nicholas Wiseman, the author of the much-read book *Fabiola*, may here be quoted in place of numerous proofs. Wiseman writes to his friend, the Oratorian father, Frederick William Faber, in a confidential letter, dated October 27th, 1852 :

“ The Jesuits have a splendid church, a large house, several priests. . . . Scarcely was I settled in London,

* Const. X. ; Declar. B.

than I applied to their Superior to establish here a *community* in due form of some ten or twelve fathers. I also asked for missionaries to give retreats to congregations, etc. I was answered on both heads, that dearth of subjects made it impossible. Hence, we have under them only a church, which by its splendour attracts and absorbs the wealth of two parishes, but maintains no schools, and contributes nothing to the education of the poor at its very door. I could say more, but I forbear.”*

A second characteristic of the Constitutions is their cosmopolitanism. When this point is discussed, the Jesuits reply (and I myself believed for a considerable time in the validity of the answer): “We are no more and no less international than Christianity.” This is false and a lie when spoken by Jesuits.

No doubt Christianity desires to spread amongst all nations, but not to deprive any nation of its individuality, nor does it aim at reducing all nationalities to a dead level. This is, however, just the aim systematically pursued by the Jesuit Order. It discourages most severely every national movement and every national peculiarity; and that not only in the case of its own members. The same international levelling effort is brought to bear on the young people entrusted to it for education.

Kink tells us that a national colouring could not be given to Jesuit instruction, if only because the teaching staff of the Order was composed of men from all lands of Catholic Christendom. Although the Emperor Ferdinand I. had commanded, in 1558, that the Jesuits who occupied the two theological chairs [in Vienna] should also have a mastery of the German language, his order was not obeyed. It frequently occurred later on that not even one of the Jesuits teaching at the University

* Purcell, *Life of Cardinal Manning* (London, 1895), II., 3.

Criticism of the Inner Constitution 33

could understand German, and that many government decrees had to be translated into Latin on their account.*

As I have minutely discussed the internationalism of Jesuit instruction and education in previous chapters, I will not go further into it here. I have already quoted the text of the cosmopolitan and unpatriotic rule of the Order—the 43rd of the *Summarium*. This is illustrated in an extremely instructive manner by the secret report of a Visitor† of the Upper German Province of the Order in 1596 :

“ I do not refer to the party divisions between Catholics and heretics, for the heretics are not worthy of being included under the word ‘ Christian ’ [in the rule quoted], because, on account of their faithless life, they oppose Christ and true Christians. Nor do I believe that this rule prevents us from rejoicing at the victory of Catholics over heretics, or forbids us to deplore in our discourses the hostility between Catholics brought about by the heretics. . . . To this is due the misfortune that there are some people in our Society who have not a good opinion of the brothers outside our nationality, and who occasionally, in jest and earnest, unkindly censure their customs and their national failings, and cannot bear that such should be sent into this province. This is a very bad fault. It is to be shunned like the plague, and the old confidential intercourse between the different nations is very desirable and should be revived. Formerly there was scarcely a greater ornament of the Society—it was almost a miracle—than that members of such different nationalities should dwell amongst one another on such friendly terms. When this unity ceases, how can we

* *Geschichte der kaiserl. Universität Wien* (Vienna, 1854), I., 410.

† A Visitor is a Jesuit commissioned by the General of the Order for the inspection of one or several Provinces of the Order.

speak of a Society, and how can it exist? . . . May those be cut off who disturb this harmony, and rend the seamless mantle of the Society with their poisonous tongues.”*

Cosmopolitanism is particularly noticeable in the mixture of the various nations within the individual Provinces of the Order. The German Province, to which I belonged, numbered Danes, Swedes, English, North Americans, Brazilians, Irish, Dutch, Swiss and Austrians amongst its members. I have already mentioned that Alsatians (before 1870) and French Swiss were rectors of the German school at Feldkirch.

The destruction of national sentiment is inevitably connected with cosmopolitanism. To quote from my first little book against the Jesuit Order :†

“ Even if we merely conceive the Order as a whole and as what it is meant to be—an organism animated by the same life, the same feelings and the same thoughts—it becomes clear that there can be no question of fostering or even maintaining patriotism. If Germans and French, English and Russians, Poles, Spaniards, Italians, Americans, Swedes, Danes, Hungarians, Japanese and Chinese are to be permeated with the same sentiment, the distinct characteristics which each one of these nations possesses must be suppressed, but it is just in this distinct and characteristic trait that the centre of gravity of patriotism lies.

“ It is useless to point to Christianity, which also desires to animate all these national dissimilarities with one spirit and yet does not kill patriotism. In Christianity this one spirit is supernatural, directed towards the world beyond. Christianity unites the nations in an ideal community, and, above all, Christianity leaves each member, the individual Christian, in the place and circumstances in which he was born and bred, and does not mix

* Reusch, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens : Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1894, XV., 2, p. 264 et seq.

† *Mein Austritt aus dem Jesuitenorden* (Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel.), 10th thousand, p. 36 et seq.

up peoples and nations. But Jesuitism, though also striving after an ideal, and though also aiming at an ideal community, belongs absolutely to this world in its social aims, for nobody could seriously assert that the Jesuit Order would persist as an Order in the world to come: Its methods, therefore, for attaining this temporal ideal of unity are also directed towards this world, *i.e.* even in this world, national, social and political diversities must disappear as much as possible, so far as the members of the Jesuit Order are concerned. The more cosmopolitan the Jesuit, the less attached to native country and home in his feelings as well as in his actions (this point is important), the more indifferently he views the form of government under which he lives, the better he is and the nearer does he approach to the ideal of a Jesuit.

“In this connection, the term which almost takes the place of the word ‘patriotism’ in the Constitutions of the Jesuit Order is very characteristic. The Jesuit should be animated by universal love (*universalis amor*) towards the Christian nations and princes. And this must be so; it cannot, indeed, be otherwise, if the Jesuit wishes to be what he ought to be.

“It is impressed upon the Jesuit, from his very admission to the Society until the end of his life, that he exists for the world and not for this or that nation. He is made to understand this practically by being despatched to the most dissimilar countries: He goes from Germany to France, America, India, Brazil, Italy and Sweden, and in each he has to accommodate himself as exactly as possible to the existing social and political conditions, and adapt himself to the character and views of the people.

“Such a system may produce forces working with irreproachable uniformity, but not patriots.

“I have already defined patriotism as self-sacrificing love of our native land. By native land, however, I do not only mean the land *i.e.* the fields, woods, mountains and rivers, but above all, the social and political institutions of the land in question, and the ancient and traditional arrangements upon which its inner life rests. A real patriot must love these, too, devotedly. Thus, for example, real patriotism with regard to Germany is necessarily connected with a monarchical sentiment. If within a society the adherence of the members to hereditary and national

institutions is diminished by the system then prevailing, their patriotism is also destroyed. If, in spite of this, the individual member preserves true patriotism, he does so in opposition to the system. No further exposition is required to show that the Jesuit system must level away patriotism. So international a Society, consisting of so many heterogeneous national elements must strive for the abandonment of monarchical or republican preferences.

“Besides their chief domiciles which are situated abroad, the German Jesuits have their greatest field of work in lands across the sea, such as South America and British India, which are both republican and monarchical. That state of affairs has nothing to do with their expulsion from Germany. Within this great sphere, comprising such numerous and such vast national and political differences as Europe, America, and Asia, the German Jesuit has to live and work, not as a permanent resident, however, but with the pilgrim's staff in his hand. Now he is in the free North American republic, now in monarchical India, now in Brazil, which is always in a state of political ferment, now he is recalled from any one of these lands to work in the old monarchical European states, as teacher, educator, preacher and superior. He would not be human if he did not lose little by little the old national, patriotic form of sentiment and perception, and gradually assume the universal form of cosmopolitanism.”

In presence of these and similar developments, the Jesuit Order makes a great boast of its patriotic activity during the campaign of 1870-71, when the German Province of the Order sent many of its members into the German military hospitals to nurse there, “for love of the Fatherland.”

In the first place, there is really no reason to boast of this work of mercy as something unusual. If the “German” Jesuits had avoided giving assistance, it would have been simply disgraceful, and—as they knew very well—they would have damaged their reputation very much. But the patriotic motive for the assistance may well be impugned. The cosmopolitanism of the

Order is also displayed in this patriotic work. There were, for example, fifty non-Germans amongst the "German" Jesuits nursing "from patriotic motives," including Swiss, Austrians, Dutch, Luxemburgers and Irish. The statistics which the Jesuit M. Rist has added as an appendix to his vainglorious book, *Die deutschen Jesuiten auf den Schlachtfeldern und in den Lazaretten 1866 und 1870-71*,* reveal this imposing number of "Germans." Now, with the best intentions, we cannot speak of German patriotism in the case of these fifty foreigners, and when amongst one hundred and sixty-nine Jesuits (the number given by Rist) there are fifty non-Germans, evidence is afforded of the innate Jesuit untruthfulness, which extols fifty foreigners in a book entitled, "The German Jesuits," etc.

Rist's book throws at least indirect light on the "patriotic" conduct of the "German" Jesuits in 1866. Whilst the "German" Jesuits were giving free rein to their hate of Prussia in their school at Feldkirch, as I have shown in Chapter VI., the same "German" Jesuits were simultaneously acting as pro-Prussians in the military hospitals at the seat of war. This is double-faced "patriotism."

I do not wish to disparage the nursing activity of the individual "German" Jesuit; protest is only raised against the fact that it is placed to the account of the Order's patriotism. Constitutionally, the Jesuit must know no patriotism, must be absolutely international. Let then the truth be honoured by the Jesuits, and let them not adorn themselves with a word which is not to be found in even the most exhaustive index in the voluminous works on the constitutions and rules of the Order.

The heart of the Society of Jesus (if we may speak of a heart at all) was with Austria in 1866 and with

* Freiburg, 1904.

France in 1870-71, and, therefore, pretty far removed from "German patriotism." This is self-evident, because of the strong Jesuit antagonism for everything non-Catholic; and my own experiences at Feldkirch and in my home also prove it.

The brutal egotism of the Order, which has already frequently been emphasised, but cannot be emphasised enough, and which manifests itself in everything within the Order, is the main root of Jesuit cosmopolitanism, and also the poison which corrodes patriotism. It is in the interests of the Order to be international and un-patriotic—away, therefore, with the noblest emotions of the natural human heart! But an occasional pretence of such feelings is also in the interests of the Order.

I have already brought forward numerous proofs of this egotism, as manifested in the work of education and the bringing up of the young. Since, however, this side of Jesuit egotism is particularly pernicious because it extends into the world outside Jesuitism, I will supplement the particulars by further historical facts.

Prantl, in his *History of the Ludwig-Maximilian University*, gives a clear statement, based on original documents, of the egotistical intrigues of the Order at the Ingolstadt University during a period of more than two centuries (1550-1773).

The University continually complains, he asserts, "of the greed of the Jesuits in seizing upon everything (*cupido occupandi omnia*)."
 "Ambition and self-interest came into play always and everywhere when Jesuits were concerned."
 "The Jesuits did everything in their power to calumniate the professors and vice-chancellor at Munich."
 "They placed themselves on the same level as the lord of the land, as if he were a mere party to an agreement."
 "It is of no use even to set precise limits, because this vermin creeps through all the same (*isti caniculi semper*

subrepunt).” “They want to share the artistic faculty like the lion in Æsop’s fable.” The Jesuits are “a restless and domineering race (*inquietum et imperiosum hominum genus*) which seeks to subjugate everything.” That zealous Catholic, Professor Giphanius, declares (in a report of 1597): “For some time the Jesuits alone had the ear of the Government and were alone honoured by it, whilst the remainder, no matter how able, were set aside with contempt; whoever desired promotion had to apply not to the Duke, but to the Jesuits, and whoever failed to submit to them not only attained nothing, but had reason to fear that he would be dismissed.” On April 8th, 1609, the University directed its attacks against the attempt of the Jesuits to seize upon the entire jurisdiction over the students: “It seemed to be the premeditated plan of the Jesuits to overthrow (*evertendi*) the University and to seize upon the entire control at the expense of the temporal professors.” From a memorial “of maturer students” to the Senate of the University on March 28th, 1610: “The Jesuits tried to ruin the legal faculty, the Jesuit Heiss openly compared the law-students to swine and oxen, and the Jesuit Mayrhofer, in a sermon, called the students of jurisprudence ‘sons of corruption and of the devil.’” “They forbade that confession should be made to the Franciscans, and lately some students were expelled because they had attended vespers and a procession at the Franciscan Church.” At the end of May, 1610, the University reported to Duke William V.: “The Jesuit craving for rule aims at arrangements such as are to be found in the Jesuit colleges at Dillingen, Graz and Munich; the Jesuit professors only came to the sittings of the Senate when their own interests were in question, and at divisions they supported a particular regulation more in the interests of the Order than in those of the University; they immediately followed up every trivial

concession by seeking for another ; every remark by the Rector of the University was rejected with the words : ‘ It is contrary to the Constitutions of the Order, and our Provincial has already decided about it.’ ” In a memorial of February, 1611, the University complained of “ the omnipotence of the Jesuits.” “ They [the University] had positive proof that the Jesuits only sought to obtain advantage and glory for themselves.” “ As at Cologne, Louvain, Paris, and Padua, the Jesuits also try to obtain the mastery at Ingolstadt over every one.” “ Ingolstadt would no longer be an independent University, but a Jesuit College.”*

As at Ingolstadt, Jesuit egotism also caused disturbance at the University of Freiburg in Breisgau.

As the Jesuits had the bigoted Archduke Ferdinand, afterwards second Emperor of that name, entirely in their hands, it was easy for them to induce him first of all to found a Jesuit College at Freiburg. From this vantage ground the Order would proceed to take possession of the University. The Archduke issued a letter to the University on August 9th, 1577, stating : “ That he purposed to found in his Austrian borderlands [Breisgau] a college of the Society of Jesus which might be incorporated with the University as had been done at Ingolstadt.” The University set itself in opposition and replied : “. . . Least of all would the Society of Jesus benefit the discipline, because the youths educated by it are particularly inclined to pride, disobedience and malice, either because they are set free from control too early, or because they are not taught how to use their liberty at the Universities wisely and profitably. Finally, as to the manner in which the fathers of the Society dealt with collegiate affairs, Ingolstadt had supplied proof that peace and

* Prantl, *Geschichte der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität* (Munich, 1872), I., 230, 248, 260, 252, 253, 258, 351, 356, 357 et seq., 361, 363, 370.

concord amongst the professors had been disturbed by their admission." The Jesuits achieved their end, however, and after a hard struggle even obtained the supremacy in the Academic Senate.*

The Order also provided egotistically for its material welfare at Freiburg, and this at a time when the country was suffering under the distress of the Thirty Years' War.

The Jesuits caused 16 measures of wine, 20 bushels of wheat, 22 bushels of rye, 6 bushels of barley and 4 bushels of oats to be supplied yearly for their two members of the Senate. They even planned to get the whole income of the University into their hands, "because they could administer it better." In this case, the professorial salaries would be paid by the Order. The plan was unsuccessful. How much its revival was dreaded, however, is shown by a remark in the University records of 1665: "*Attendite Posteris; requiescit enim hic ipsorum (Jesuitarum) spiritus, sed non dormitabit*" [Beware, O posterity! The spirit of the Jesuits is reposing, but it will not sleep] † They refused to share in the payment of the war tax imposed on the University. A memorandum of March 10th, 1640, from the University records, reports: "Although a third portion of the contribution is not unjustly assigned to the Jesuits, they have paid none of this up to now, and the University has made everything good. And yet they have enough to reimburse themselves by considerable properties and other means." ‡ The amount of means they possessed is shown by the fact that, in 1745, 8,000 florins, which they had once advanced, were returned to them by the University. They stipulated that this should be paid in French or Spanish gold.||

* Schreiber, *Geschichte der Albert-Ludwigs-Universität zu Freiburg i. B.* (Freiburg, 1868), II., 309, 413.

† *Ibid.*, II., 309, 413.

‡ *Ibid.*, II., 428.

|| *Ibid.*, II., 449.

Fourteen Years a Jesuit

It is not surprising that at Freiburg also their egotism should have led them away from German and national interests; but the fact is so noteworthy in its singularity that it merits special emphasis.

In the Peace of Nimwegen (February 5th, 1679), Freiburg was yielded up to France and remained French till the Peace of Ryswick (October 30th, 1697). The University had taken refuge at Constance, where it was to be re-established. Louis XIV. wished, however, to have a University in his new acquisition, and the Jesuits willingly offered to help. Although the question as to whether the University was to be an *adpertenens* of the town of Freiburg had been answered in the negative at the Diet of Ratisbon, and it was recognised as a *corpus independens*, the Jesuits opposed themselves to this secretly and openly, even in the sermons in their Marian Congregations, and sent their adroit negotiator, Father Migazzi, to Versailles, where he was graciously received at court and abundantly provided with money. These fathers, therefore, to a great extent attained the establishment, besides the German University at Constance, of a French one (*studium gallicum*) at Freiburg, and the privileges from the former and their establishments in Alsace-Lorraine and Breisgau were transferred to the latter, whereby the Jesuits not only predominated entirely over the secular professors, but enjoyed other prerogatives besides, which they never had and never could have had formerly.*

The state of affairs at the Vienna University presented the same disagreeable picture after the Jesuits set foot there and gradually assumed the power; endless conflict and wrangling on all sides ensued.†

* *Ibid.*, II., 434, from the records of the Syndic of the University, Dr. Rosenzweig.

† Cf. Kink, *Geschichte der kaiserlichen Universität Wien* (Vienna, 1854), I., 304 et seq., 323 et seq.

The Jesuits were only brought within bounds by hard struggles when, owing to Maria Theresa's confidence in him, the Dutchman, Gerhard van Swieten, was called to Vienna in 1745 (first as physician-in-ordinary, then as professor of medicine, prefect of the Court Library and superintendent of the censors.)*

I cannot enter into van Swieten's interesting struggle with the Jesuits, which lasted for years, or into all his remarks about them. It will be sufficient to put before the reader some passages from a memorial to Maria Theresa :

“The Society makes religion its excuse to . . . ensure to itself a profit at the expense of the printer and the bookseller. . . . I have most ample evidence to prove that the real aim of the Society is to enrich itself, and that religion is only a cloak under which it abuses the piety of Your Majesty and your glorious ancestors. . . . I hope that the examples I have brought forward are sufficient to demonstrate the cleverness of the Society by means of which they blandly rob ‘externals’ and enrich ‘our own people.’ . . . The Society tries to

* Van Swieten is one of the men best hated and most slandered by the Jesuits, for no other reason than that he was their convinced opponent. A very little reflection must, however, make even the Jesuits realise how baseless their calumnies are, precisely in van Swieten's case. For if Maria Theresa, who, both as woman and Empress, was overwhelmed with praise by the Jesuits, and whose confessors were Jesuits, valued van Swieten more and more as time went on, and trusted him implicitly, it is very plain that he deserved her confidence. It is inconsistent to praise Maria Theresa and calumniate van Swieten; and hatred of the latter can afford the only explanation. Van Swieten was also a good Catholic, whatever the Jesuits might say. He had even been forced to resign his position as teacher in Holland owing to his religion, and, therefore, his opinion cannot be put aside offhand with the favourite saying, “Antagonistic towards Catholicism.” Even a man like Kink, who was so favourably inclined towards the Jesuit Order, and, therefore, did not cherish kindly feelings towards van Swieten, acknowledges with regard to his religious attitude: “He exercised practical Christianity and also observed the rules of Catholic worship.”

appropriate the profits of 'the externals' for the benefit of 'our people.'"*

Jesuit egotism is shown most unpleasantly in the form of envy and lust for power, by its attitude towards other religious Orders and the secular clergy.

In the first place, Kink gives a full account of the Jesuit feud against the Dominicans in Vienna :

"The pious fathers of the most humble Society of Jesus (*minima societas Jesu*, a term of extreme lowliness which the Jesuits loved to apply to their Order, and under which immeasurable arrogance is concealed) did not rest until an imperial decree of December 2nd, 1656, "excluded the Dominicans for ever from the office of dean, . . . and refused their opponents [the Dominicans] the personal qualification for academic offices."†

Kink goes on to relate :

"The Franciscans, Carmelites, Augustinians and Benedictines in Vienna gave instruction in Latin and theology in their monasteries in exactly the same way as the Universities, but without the privileges in the matter of conferring degrees, which belonged to the latter alone. In particular, they permitted their scholars to hold public disputations, and that in their churches. This arrangement dated back to the times when the monastic schools were almost the only educational institutions. For this reason, the Vienna University, which had found this custom in existence at its foundation, had never raised a protest against it. However, in 1626, consequently three years after the Jesuits had taken over the philosophical and theological faculty, the Jesuit Order passed a resolution at the consistory to the effect that these public debates were forbidden to the above-named religious orders. The religious orders, however, found a supporter in the papal *legatus a latere*,

* Memorandum of December 24th, 1769; complete French original text in Fournier, *Gerhard van Swieten als Zensor: Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Vol. 24, p. 337 et seq. Vienna, 1877.

† *Ibid.*, I., 383 et seq.

Caraffa, who, on October 20th, directed the University not to interfere any more with persons and places which were exempt from the academic statutes. In spite of this, the theological faculty soon afterwards refused the printing licence for their *theses disputationis* requested by the Franciscans. As a punishment for this disobedience, the nuncio then commanded that not only were the *theses* to be approved, but that, in addition, all doctors of theology belonging to the Society of Jesus should appear in person at the debates held by the Franciscans. They obeyed, but appealed to the Roman See, which, however, upheld the customs of the religious orders, and in 1627 gave a decision to the same effect as the nuncio: The Jesuits now succeeded with the aid of temporal power where they had failed with spiritual. The religious orders were commanded to cease holding their debates in public and to omit on the *frontispicium* of their printed *theses* the expression *sub præsiede*. This command was specially renewed on August 23rd and October 12th, 1725, in the case of the [Benedictine] Scotsmen.”*

So far as the secular clergy are concerned, it is a well-known fact that they decline to have the Jesuits as permanent colleagues, however willingly they make use of them as temporary assistants in the cure of souls.

The Order enters into the keenest competition with the secular clergy. It attracts congregations, especially wealthy ones, from the parish churches† into the churches of the Order, and tries, where its feet have become firmly planted, to obtain a mastery over the secular clergy, a mastery which is very oppressive to the subordinates. This endeavour emanates from the general spirit of arrogance and self-seeking in the Order, which tolerates no other gods but itself.

The “ordinary” priest is of inferior value in the Jesuit’s eyes; he requires guidance and supervision. He can only be properly shaped by the Jesuit Exercises.

* *Ibid.*, I., 415 *et seq.*

† *Cf.* the remarks of Cardinal Wiseman quoted on p. 31.

I have heard Jesuits express this opinion hundreds of times.

This characteristic of the Jesuit Order is as old as itself. On this account there is generally secret strife between Jesuits and the other Orders and the secular clergy, a strife which is only made public in rare instances. Both parties try, in the general ecclesiastical interest, to avoid all din and fury in the warfare.

The "resolutions of confidence" which the secular clergy pass on the Jesuit Order, especially at times of persecution, do not alter this state of affairs. Such resolutions are only passed in the general ecclesiastical and hierarchical interest, and are in reality "an illusive representation of spurious facts." At heart the secular clergy wishes the Jesuit Order at Jericho.

In a work by the English Catholic priest, Dr. Christopher Bagshawe, dating from the first century of the Jesuit Order, we possess a very interesting example of its egotistical attempt to subjugate the secular clergy. A number of Catholic priests were interned in Elizabeth's reign in Wisbeach Castle. They lived on very friendly terms with one another. The position was changed when some Jesuits were also interned there. Bagshawe describes their restless and arrogant activity. It will be sufficient to quote the title of his book :

"A true Relation of the Factions begun at Wisbeach by Fr. Edmunds *alias* Weston, a Jesuit, 1595, and continued since by Fr. Whalley *alias* Garnet, the Provincial of the Jesuits in England, and by Fr. Parsons in Rome with their adherents. Against us secular priests, their brethren and fellow-prisoners, that disliked of novelties and thought it dishonourable to the ancient ecclesiastical discipline of the Catholic Church that secular priests should be governed by Jesuits."*

* Cf. Taunton, *The Jesuits in England*, p. 173.

My experience also confirms this.

One of the private chaplains in my home, Dr. Pingsmann, afterwards became Canon and Vice-President of the seminary for Roman Catholic priests at Cologne. I remained on friendly terms with him even during my Jesuit period and always visited him when I had to pass through Cologne. A conversation which we carried on as to the possible return of the Jesuit Order to Germany is still very vivid in my mind. On our way back from a walk, we were standing at the entrance of the college for Roman Catholic priests, which had previously been a Jesuit College, when I said jestingly: "We must get in there again." Pingsmann replied, not without vehemence: "We do not want you back at all. Your Order has never yet agreed with us secular priests anywhere." This remark, by a man whom I very much esteemed, made a deep impression on me. I was then in almost complete ignorance of the spirit and history of my own Order. Surprised and startled, I communicated this incident to my Provincial Superior, the Jesuit Ratgeb, and obtained from him (as he placed special confidence in me at that time, a point to which I shall refer later) the characteristic reply:

"My dear Father, Canon and Vice-President Dr. Pingsmann, is a very worthy man, but he has nothing to do with our return. When we return to Germany, the secular clergy will submit to us, as they have done hitherto, though very reluctantly, it is true. Our Order is a very different power from the loosely connected secular clergy. There may be difficulties also for us in the Catholic camp, but no lasting resistance."

The Chancellor of the Paris University, Froment, consequently only states a fact in the history of the Order, and does not utter a slander, when he expresses his opinion as to Jesuit egotism:

*“ Uniquement occupés de son agrandissement, les Jésuites ne travaillent que pour eux-mêmes ; leur intérêt règle seul leur prétendue charité. Par intime correspondance, qu’ils ont les uns avec les autres, par la faveur des Grands, dont ils flattent l’ambition, enfin par la prudence des enfants du siècle, dont ils savent faire usage merveilleux, ils trouvent les moyens d’exécuter leurs projets et de se rendre formidables.”**

This egotism of the Order is not incompatible with individual Jesuit unselfishness, which not infrequently rises to heroism, and I am far from denying it. The individual Jesuit sacrifices himself, with all that he is and has, to the Order. In his case, at least as a rule, the surrender of the personal individuality is made without side or backward glances in his own interest.

Neither do I reproach the Order for possessing the egotism which every association must have, and must give practical proof of having, if it is to exist and prosper at all. But Jesuit egotism extends infinitely further. In its selfishness it has no consideration for others. Jesuit egotism is Moloch-egotism—it eats away the existence, happiness, honour and efficacy of others for its own aggrandisement.

Thus the characteristics of the Society of Jesus and the characteristics of Jesus Christ are in the sharpest antithesis conceivable, and the fundamental opposition is justified—Here is Christ, there is Jesuitism !

* Le Vassor, *Histoire du Règne de Louis XIII.*, I., 1, 61, quoted by Harenberg, *Pragmatische Geschichte*, I., 350.

CHAPTER XVI

THE CRITICISM CONTINUED: THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE VOWS

I HAVE already shown, whilst discussing the Jesuit "Scheme of Studies," that many rules, and indeed just those which outwardly appear good, are only set down on paper, that they are not observed, and that really, in practice, the Order acts in opposition to them. It manages, however, cleverly to increase its fame by means of these very unobserved rules.

The same remark applies to the Constitutions of the Order—fine words and opposite deeds.

The real reason for this characteristic phenomenon lies in the fundamental Jesuit failing, innate all-pervading untruthfulness.

The panegyrists of the Order, be they Jesuits or others, endeavour to conceal the antithesis between its words and deeds. According to them, the most beautiful harmony prevails, pious words and pious deeds.

I shall thoroughly destroy the apparent harmony and cause dissonances to resound on that great instrument called history, which in trumpet notes will proclaim the truth about the Jesuit Order to every ear that is willing to listen.

Let us turn first to the conflict between the theory and practice of its ascetic discipline, and especially to that part which constitutes the essence of its discipline—the VOWS.

THE VOW OF OBEDIENCE

Since the vow of obedience is first and foremost concerned with obedience to the Superiors of the Order, there is, of course, no antithesis between theory and practice, so far as this kind of obedience is in question.

But the Order possesses a figure-head in the sphere of obedience, and this is the professed Jesuit's vow of obedience to the Pope. In accordance with this, the Society of Jesus loves to designate itself as the "Flower of the Pope's bodyguard." And in general—*i.e.* so long as the interests of the Order are not opposed—we see that Jesuits do act in accordance with their vow of obedience to the Pope. But where the Pope interferes with Jesuit egotism, he finds in the Jesuits the bitterest and most obstinate adversaries, who, far from fulfilling their vows, do not even render him the ordinary obedience binding on all Christians. The history of the Order is full of such fulfilments of vows. I will submit only a few examples, but they are very striking.

The Jesuit, Thyrsus Gonzalez (afterwards General of the Order), originally a probabilist, recognised the perniciousness of probabilism, and wrote a work against it. He sent the manuscript in 1673 to Rome to the General of the Order, Paul Oliva, for approval. The imprimatur was refused. Gonzalez then applied to Innocent XI., who had just condemned sixty-five lax ethical principles, very many of which originated in the Jesuit Order. The Pope caused Gonzalez's book to be examined, and the examination was favourable. An Inquisitorial decree was thereupon issued on June 26th, 1680 :

"By order (*injungendum*) of the Pope, the General of the Order is commanded in no way to permit the fathers of the Society of Jesus to write in favour of lesser probable opinions, and to oppose the views of those who maintain

that it is not permissible to follow a less probable opinion when the opposite opinion has been recognised as probable. Also, as regards the Universities of the Society of Jesus, it is the wish of His Holiness that everyone should write in favour of probabiliorism, and should oppose the opposite view [probabilism]. The General must command all to submit to the will of the Pope.”*

The assessor of the Inquisition intimated this decree to the Jesuit General on July 8th, 1680, and the General declared he would forthwith obey in all things. The Jesuit General, Paul Oliva, however, was the very one who did not obey. As the Jesuit Gagna reports, Oliva, on August 1st, 1680, drew up a circular which was intended for the whole Order and embodied the Pope’s command—it is said to be in the archives of the Order—but it was not forwarded.† For otherwise Gonzalez, as Professor of Dogmatics (*Cathedraticus primarius*) at the University of Salamanca, must have known about it. But it was only in 1693 that Gonzalez heard of the decree issued in 1680, and he himself says, in a written petition to Clement XI., dated 1702, that the Inquisitorial decree and Innocent XI.’s command were not conveyed to the Order.

This disobedience in such a weighty matter is especially important, because it was effected with exceptional cunning. The General of the Order, Paul Oliva, laid the circular drawn up by himself before the Inquisitional Cardinals,‡ in order,|| as Pattuzzi remarks, to make the Inquisition believe in his prompt obedience. Once the belief had been brought into existence, there was no longer any necessity, from the Jesuit point of view, for that which had originated it, namely, the despatch of the circular.

Oliva did indeed issue a circular on August 10th, 1680,

* Pietro Ballerini, *Riposta alla Lettera del P. Paolo Segneri*, 1734, p. 349.

† Gagna, S.J., *Lettere d’Eugenio*, p. 611.

‡ *Ibid.*

|| *Lettere* 2, 595; 6, 218.

which dealt with ethical questions, but no mention was made in it of the decree of the Inquisition of June 26th, 1680.* This circular too was doubtless intended to deceive the Pope. It made it possible to answer in the affirmative the question as to whether a decree regarding disputes on ethical questions had been despatched.

The Archbishop of Vienna, Cardinal Migazzi, in a memorial to the Empress Maria Theresa, dated August 14th, 1761, writes :

“The French bishops only condemned the scandalous book of the notorious [Jesuit] Berruyer after the Papal See had most severely condemned it, and the Pope now reigning [Clement XIII.] had confirmed and repeated the decision made by his most blessed predecessor. In spite of this, the *Patres Societatis* have recently sent this work to Naples to be published, and in Vienna have even recommended it to young people and various other persons who are guided by them.” The Archbishop goes on to speak of Jesuit manuals which have been condemned in high places and others recommended in their stead. “But affairs have taken quite a different course since, at Innsbrug and Olmütz, the professors of the Society have continued to use the prohibited books for reading aloud.”†

An occurrence related by Gindely should be quoted here, even though it only concerns the egotistical disobedience of the Jesuit Order to a cardinal and nuncio :

“The Jesuits had taken advantage of their position with the Emperor [Ferdinand II.] to set aside the historic right of the Bishop of Prague to the Chancellorship, and request the surrender of the University to their sole authority, and had provisionally attained their object.

* Friedrich, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens*, p. 85.

† Helfert, *Gründung der oesterreichischen Volksschule*, p. 280 (1); complete text in Kink, I., 417 *et seq.*

Theory and Practice of the Vows 53

The Emperor commanded that the adherents of the Bohemian denomination were to leave the University buildings and surrender the same, as well as all other possessions, to the direction of the Jesuits from henceforth. Not only were the Protestants indignant at this measure, but also the Catholics, and especially the clergy, felt uneasy at the thought that the Jesuits were to be sole masters at the University. The Archbishop . . . indeed protested and also communicated his protest to the nuncio, but without avail. His successor, Cardinal von Harrach [a pupil of the Jesuits], who would not agree to the retrenchment of his rights, resolutely continued the battle. The struggle between him and the Jesuits, who would not at any cost let themselves be driven from their position, lasted for over twenty years. It led, on the Cardinal's side, to the bitterest accusations and attacks against the Jesuits, but for all that he was not able to displace them.”*

These facts, distinctive as they are for the Jesuit obedience to the Pope, are as nothing compared with the disobedience of the Order, extending over many years and accompanied by open opposition and shameful deeds of violence, in connection with the Malabar and Chinese rites.

In 1702, Clement XI. sent the Patriarch of Antioch, Charles Tournon, as Papal Legate to India and China, in order to settle, with the Pope's authority and to the disadvantage of the Jesuits, the disputes stirred up by the Jesuits about the rites which the Christianised Indians and Chinese had brought over from heathenism and which were upheld by the Jesuits and condemned by all other missionaries. Intense hate of the Legate on the part of the Jesuit Order was the result. To increase his authority, Tournon was made a Cardinal by Clement XI. in 1707. But Tournon's elevation in rank seemed to heighten the fury of the Order, which believed that its standing

* *Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Krieges*, IV., 547 et seq.

and power in India and China had been compromised by the Papal decrees. The Jesuits placed themselves, in opposition to the Papacy which condemned them, under the protection of the pagan Emperor of China and invoked his aid against the Papal Legate and against all the remaining members of the Order who obeyed the Pope. On July 24th, 1708, they secured the publication of an imperial edict, which banished all missionaries who, following the command of the Pope, condemned the rites, thus actually making the Jesuits sole owners of the Chinese missions.* Cardinal Tournon himself was brought by force, at the instigation of the Jesuits, in 1707 to Macao, and died in prison there on June 8th, 1710.

It can no longer reasonably be doubted that the Jesuits attempted to poison the Cardinal during his imprisonment, which had been brought about by themselves. The report (*Relazione*) of an eye-witness, Canon John Marcell Angelita, who as Promotor was also the official escort of the Cardinal, with reference to the event,† bears so much the stamp of spontaneity and truth that it must be believed, the more so as the work, in which the report is contained, is in other respects, too, a mine of authentic and rare documents. Amongst them a letter of the Lazarist priest, Antonio Appiani (one of Cardinal Tournon's companions), dated Canton, November 22nd, 1728, deserves special attention.

“For the same reason [because, at the order of the Pope, he condemned the Chinese and pagan rites approved by the Jesuits] the venerable Cardinal Tournon died in imprisonment, wounded to the heart (*accuorato*) For the members of the above-named Order [the Jesuits], because they would not obey the decrees of His Holiness

* Wording of the edict in *Memorie storiche della Legazione e morte dell' Eminentiss. Cardinale di Tournon, Venezia, VII., 142 et seq.*

† Reprinted in *Memorie storiche, I., 205-232.*

the Pope, Clement XI., placed themselves under the protection of the pagan Emperor [of China], and he furthered the stubbornness of the members of the above-named Order by ill-treating the real Catholics who were obedient to the Holy See.”*

Whether the expression “wounded to the heart” is an allusion to poisoning, and thus a confirmation of the report, is a question we cannot decide. In any case, Appiani’s letter is an eloquent proof of the fact that, even after eighteen years, the remembrance of the intrigues of the Jesuits against the Papal Cardinal Legate, Tournon, was still alive, and caused him to utter sharp words against the “bodyguard of the Pope.”

A very important corroboration of the poisoning is to be found in the fact that the Missionary Congregation of the Lazarists, one of the most distinguished missionary societies of the Catholic Church, in a work officially published by it,† has dealt with the report as an authentic document, and refers to the poisoning in most positive terms :

“*Mais pour en revenir à notre douloureuse histoire, il est certain, très certain, indubitable, que la maladie et la mort du cardinal Tournon ont été occasionnées par le poison, que lui ont fait donner les Jésuites.*”‡

J. Friedrich, therefore, on the basis of the report and the corroboration of the *Mémoires*, states the poisoning as a positive fact,§ and H. Reusch, certainly a very careful investigator, speaks of it as “probable.”||

The *Mémoires* also accept as authentic the whole of the remaining contents of the *Memorie storiche*, which are

* *Memorie storiche*, I., 354. *

† *Mémoires de la Congrégation de la Mission*. Paris, 1865.

‡ *Ibid.*, IV., 309.

§ *Zur Verteidigung meines Tagebuches* (Nordlingen, 1872), p. 10 *et seq.*, and *Abhandlungen der III. Kl. der K. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XIII., 2, Abtl., 95.

|| *Index*, II. (1), 772.

as unfavourable as possible to the Jesuit Order; indeed, they even give in an introduction some information which places the trustworthiness of the *Memorie* beyond doubt:

“*Ces faits* [the documents incriminating the Jesuits] *ont été imprimés et publiés en particulier par le Cardinal Passionei dans son ouvrage: ‘Memorie storiche dell’ Eminentissimo Monsignore Cardinale di Tournon,’ qui renferme une partie des documents authentiques conservés dans les archives du Vatican ou de la Propagande et dont la parfaite conformité nous a été attestée par le Préfet des archives du Vatican, le Père Theiner, Oratorien.*”*

What the Jesuits Cornely and Duhr† bring forward against the *Mémoires* of the Lazarists consists partly of untenable calumnies and partly of barren abuse of Friedrich and all those who doubt the innocence of the Jesuits. The audacious attempt entirely to explain away the evidence of the *Mémoires* is especially hollow. The Jesuits Cornely and Duhr triumphantly relate how the General Superior of the Missionary Congregation explained in April, 1872, that the volumes in question of the *Mémoires* (IV.–VIII.) were “contumaciously” published without the contents having been previously examined by him.

I will for once—by way of exception!—believe the two Jesuits’ statement that such an explanation exists. But does it then contain even a single word as to the inaccuracy of the contents of the volume published “contumaciously”? It says nothing at all. It is possible to write even the truth “contumaciously.” It would have been the business of the General Superior to express an opinion as to the truth or falsehood of the contents, especially concerning the poisoning. His silence about this is a fresh endorsement of the truth of the “report.”

* *Index*, IV., 126.

† *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, III., 279 et seq., and *Jesuitenfabeln* (4), 776–786.

It also seems strange that the General Superior of the same Congregation which published the *Mémoires* should have waited seven whole years after the issue of the work before declaring against the genuineness of the documents contained in them. Moreover, the greatest stress must be laid on the fact that the *Mémoires de la Congrégation de la Mission*, which were so incriminating to the Jesuits, are an official publication of the Lazarist Congregation.* This is evident from the entire character of the work, which is based throughout on letters and documents from the archives of the Order, and is proved to demonstration by the addition to the title-page of every volume, “à la maison principale de la Congrégation de la Mission. Rue de Sèvres 95.” The prefaces also of the separate volumes clearly emphasise the official character of the *Mémoires*—e.g., the preface to the second volume :

“Ce fut pour maintenir dans la Compagnie l'esprit apostolique de nos Pères, que nous eûmes la pensée de publier des rares fragments de leur correspondance que nous possédons encore, ainsi que les biographies de deux ou trois d'entr'eux échappées au désastre qui fit disparaître la plus grande partie de nos archives.”

A further proof of their official character and credibility is afforded by the *Histoire générale de la Société des Missions Étrangères* (also an official publication of the *Société*) which was published in 1894. For the *Histoire* repeatedly refers to the *Mémoires* and even to the part (Vol. IV.) which is unfavourable to the Jesuit Order, and which contains the report as to Tournon's poisoning. And yet the circular of the Superior of the Missionary Congregation (Lazarist), mentioned by the Jesuits Cornely and Duhr—if it exists at all—must have been known to the author of the *Histoire*. So, in his opinion, the circular does not dispute the contents of the *Mémoires*, but is

* *Congrégation de la Mission*, founded by St. Vincent de Paul.

directed solely against the opportuneness of their publication. Weighty evidence is afforded by the fact that the General Superior of the Missionary Society, Delpech, congratulates "his dear colleague," Launay, in a letter prefixed to the first volume, on his work, especially on his "*exactitude*" and on the "*documents authentiques*" on which it is based. Amongst these *documents authentiques* are included precisely the documents contained in the *Memorie* and in the *Mémoires* which are most incriminating to the Jesuits.

No, the *Memorie storiche* and the *Mémoires* are unassailable sources, but sources from which issue countless proofs of insubordination, and of the open insurrection of the Jesuits against the Pope and his ambassadors (for they persisted in disobeying Tournon's successor, the Papal Legate Mezzafalce, as they had disobeyed him), and also of Jesuit cunning, falseness, passion for calumnia-tion, and malice attaining the limits of crime. Hence it is clear why "the Jesuits so loyally attached to the Pope," who, as their own official historiographer, Cordara—not, I admit, in a work intended for publication—expresses himself, "look down with contempt upon all the other religious associations," do their very best, according to their unpublished axiom, "The end sanctifies the means," to choke up a source which is so tainted from their point of view. For this reason they have attempted to buy up the *Mémoires*, so that copies have become extremely rare. In Germany, for example, there are only two copies, not even complete ones, both of which are at Munich; one (only three out of the eight volumes) at the Court and State Library, and the second (only one volume) at the University Library. The method, which I have referred to already,* of secretly making away with incriminating works must have been employed also in this case.

* Chap. V., p. 189.

I give, in addition, some documents printed in the *Memorie* and in the *Mémoires*, as an illustration of the “absolute submissiveness to the Pope” of the Jesuit Order.

A letter of Tournon, dated Macao, December 10th, 1707, to the Priest, Fatinelli, in Rome: The Legate complains in the bitterest words that the Jesuits hindered his communication by writing with Rome in every possible way, while, on the other hand, they themselves sent numerous letters and messengers to Europe to bias public opinion against him. The Jesuits sought the protection of the pagan Emperor against the decisions of the Pope, conveyed by Tournon, as to the illegality of the heathen rites, without incurring any of the canonical penalties with which such disobedience is threatened. They had brought about the banishment of the apostolic vicars, Maigrot and Mezzafalce, and of all the missionaries who were not on their side in the question of the Chinese rites. Their opposition to the Papal decree was unprecedented throughout Christendom.* A letter by Tournon, dated Nanking, January 9th, 1707, to the Dominican Croquer: The Jesuits had brought about the ruin of the Chinese Mission through their lies (*menzogne*) and intrigues.† Tournon’s remarks regarding the above-mentioned imperial edict of banishment which the Jesuits had procured against all missionaries who had obeyed the command of the Pope—scathing condemnation of the attitude of the Jesuits.‡ Bull of Clement XI., dated March 15th, whereby the Bishop of Macao, who, at the Jesuits’ instigation, had opposed the Cardinal Legate, was excommunicated. The noteworthy fact is reported in the Bull that the Cardinal Legate felt himself obliged to place the college seminary and church of the Jesuits in Macao under an interdict.

* *Memorie*, I., 169 *et seq.*

† *Ibid.*, VII., 118, *et seq.*

‡ *Ibid.*, VII., 200 *et seq.*

The Pope not only does not condemn the measure, but, by connecting the Jesuits with the persecutions to which his Legate is exposed, he clearly refers to them as the instigators.* A letter by Tournon, dated December 27th, 1707, to Cardinal Paolucci, states that: The Jesuits were extremely antagonistic to him; since 1705 they had tried to prejudice the Emperor of China against him; Grimaldi, one of the most influential Jesuits, was double-faced; the Jesuits incited the Christians against him; they calumniated his companion, the Lazarist priest, Appiani.† A report by Tournon to the Cardinal-Prefect of the Propaganda says that: The hate of the Jesuits against him as the apostolic Visitor extended so far that they caused snares to be laid for him at confession.‡ The missionary priest, Sala, reports that Cardinal Tournon received information through the Bishop of Pekin that the Superior of the Portuguese Jesuits, Pereyra, did everything possible at Court (*faisait tous les efforts possibles*) to have him driven from China.§ From "remarks" by the Secretary of the Propaganda: || The Lazarist priest,

* *Memorie*, VII., 67 et seq.

† *Mémoires*, 4, 230 et seq; 254 et seq.

‡ *Ibid.*, 4, 260.

§ *Ibid.*, 4, 296. The report also contains a remarkable passage with reference to the Jesuit mathematician, Adam Schall, a monk of Cologne, who became famous at the Chinese Court. "*Ce Père Schall voulant jouir plus à l'aise des libéralités et faveurs de ce Prince* [the grandfather of the Emperor at the time of this report], *s'était séparé des autres Jésuites et de l'obéissance de ses supérieurs, avait pris femme et s'était retiré dans cette maison privée. Après avoir joui des faveurs imperiales il termina tristement sa vie, laissant deux enfants à celle qu'il avait prise pour femme*" (*Ibid.*, 4, 296). What Duhr (*Jesuitenfabeln* (4), 240-244) brings forward against the communication does not sound very convincing. For a confession by Schall regarding other things, a letter of one of his fellow-members of the Order and a audatory remark by the sinologist, Remusat, with reference to Schall's mathematical merit, cannot surely serve as counter-evidence. Schall's portrait has been placed in a window of Cologne Cathedral. But what should the building committee of the Cathedral know of the real history of the Jesuit Order?

|| In 1726, the Pope, Benedict XIII., had charged the then Secretary of the Propaganda (apparently Dominico Passionei, who later became Cardinal) to annotate a memorial presented to Innocent XIII. by the Jesuits. These comments

Theory and Practice of the Vows 61

Appiani, Tournon's faithful companion, is, for that very reason, persecuted and calumniated by the Jesuits in every possible way; a pamphlet composed and circulated by the Jesuit Superior at Peking, Antonius Thomas, is especially noteworthy in this connection: "A memorial of the unquenchable hate and the rare talent [for calumny] of the Peking Jesuits. . . . I will reveal the true cause of the monstrous violation of Christian love and justice [with reference to Appiani]. He has always been the faithful interpreter of the Patriarch [the Papal Legate Tournon]. For this reason he is no longer to see the light. . . . The invariable axiom of this 'good community' [the Jesuits] is to do all that is possible, be it just or unjust, to conceal the stains on its honour."*

A letter of Cardinal Tournon to Cardinal Paolucci, of October 27th, 1707: The whole letter is a denunciation of the Jesuits, who even went so far as to declare openly that he, the Cardinal Legate of the Pope, possessed no jurisdiction. Two or three Jesuits, "who only look with pain upon the rebellion (*la rebellion*) against him of their Superiors and their fellow-members of the Order," were imprisoned and punished by the remaining Jesuits; "they suffer imprisonment, sequestration, insult and a thousand hardships." The Jesuits, especially those in Peking, were the originators of the opposition against the Papal decree, proclaimed by him, discountenancing the Chinese rites in the Christian churches. "Even if the Jesuits were able, at first, to hide their opposition to the Papal decree

are contained in a manuscript comprising twelve volumes from the bequest of the Cardinal-Prefect of the Propaganda at that time, Corsini, *Raccolta di scritture e summari diversi sopra la causa dei P. P. Gesuiti intorno alle Missioni della Cina nella Congregazione di Propaganda*. From this voluminous and authentic collection of documents (at present in the Corsini Library at Rome), the *Mémoires* have reprinted the extracts of chief interest. (*Cf. Mémoires*, 4, 130 et seq.)

* *Mémoires*, 4, 408 et seq.

under the deceitful pretence that the existence of the entire mission in China was at stake, they cannot now any longer conceal the fact that their outrage [on the Papal authority] is premeditated and deliberate. For they publish new books full of teachings which the Holy See has condemned, and the contents of which are more detestable than any published before the condemnation. As a specimen, I am sending you a book translated from Chinese into Latin, which Father Barelli and other Jesuits triumphantly circulate in the capital of Cheh-chiang and show to the mandarins. Through this poisonous seed they destroy the Gospel harvest more than ever, they dishonour the Papal authority in the eyes of the Christians and cause frightful scandal, above all, amongst the heathen, who know what is taking place. . . . Was it necessary to employ such detestable means of provocation in order to maintain their [the Jesuits] damnable manner of proclaiming the Divine Law ? ”

The Cardinal then openly accuses the Jesuits of being the authors of his imprisonment in Macao ; he accuses the Jesuit, Emanuel Ozorio, of having intercepted his [the Legate's] letters (*qui est le principal pécheur de mes lettres*), acting thereby in agreement with the Superior of the Jesuit Mission, Father Thomas Pereyra ; the Jesuits hated the secular clergy ; in their letters they designate the secular clergy as “vulgar persons” (*populace*), an expression which they had also used in presence of the Emperor. “These people [the Jesuits] have no fear of God ; they have intercepted and opened my letters to Rome as well as the bulls for the Bishop of Pekin ; they arm the ecclesiastical and temporal power against me and the missionaries ; they preach by word and example rebellion against the Papal jurisdiction ; they declare my instruction to be invalid because I possess no jurisdiction ; they goad on the soldiers who guard me to deeds of violence against

my person, and advise them to strike me if I should attempt to leave my house.”*

A circular of the General Superior of the Lazarist Congregation, Bonnet, dated January 1st, 1711, gives a description of the cruel persecutions of the Lazarist priest, Appiani, in China by the Jesuits of that place. “*Et M. Appiani emprisonné pendant quatre ans dans la maison des Jésuites, quelles cruautés inouïes n'a-t-il pas endurées de la part de ses impitoyables geôliers? Privé de tout commerce humain, privé même des consolations religieuses, il n'eut jamais la permission pendant quatre ans de célébrer une seule fois la messe; cruauté dont les païens chinois furent eux-mêmes scandalisés.*”†

A letter, dated December 10th, 1707, from the Cardinal Legate, Tournon, to the Papal Nuncio in Lisbon, Conti (afterwards Pope Innocent XIII.), says: “After I had taken the greatest pains to report exactly to His Holiness concerning the distressing events in the Chinese Mission, which had been thrown into the greatest excitement through the violent proceedings of the Jesuits, I now see that my way is everywhere closed for sending further despatches to Rome. The Jesuits make use of the Chinese and Portuguese in Macao, yes, even of the heretical English and Dutch, to intercept my letters. It is really astonishing to see how these fathers send their emissaries in all directions in order to inundate Europe with their false ideas and reports, whilst I am prevented from sending even one to give the Pope and the Holy See the necessary information. . . . After the Jesuits had been informed last year of the Papal decision, whereby their practice in relation to the Chinese rites was condemned, they appealed with shameless audacity to the [pagan] Emperor without troubling about my prohibition, the ecclesiastical censure and the Papal displeasure with which I threatened them.

* *Mémoires*, 4, 464 et seq., 484, 495 et seq.

† *Ibid.*, 4, 520 et seq.

They caused several imperial decrees to be issued against Bishop Maigrot, against myself, and, above all, against the Holy See, so as to oppose them to the Papal decisions and to prevent their publication." The Cardinal then describes how one of his missionary priests, Guetty, was tortured at the Jesuits' instigation to compel him to give evidence against him [the Cardinal], and how the Jesuits Pereyra and Barros had been present behind a curtain and directed the procedure.*

A letter by the Cardinal Legate to his brother, dated December 11th, 1707: "I assure you that the Jesuits have not omitted any calumnies or intrigues, that they have indeed made use of devilish devices to blacken me and my actions at the pagan Court. . . . The worst of it is that it is not the heathen who persecute the missionaries and destroy the Mission, but the Jesuits, and they, indeed, do it with sovereign effrontery."†

A report of the Cardinal Legate, dated November 15th, 1707: He relates how the Jesuit, Porquet, disseminates the following dogmas in Canton: "He who asserts that the souls of the dead rest on the altars of their ancestors does not sin against religion; the Pope cannot infallibly settle the disputes concerning Chinese rites; the missionaries are not bound to obey the commands of the Patriarch of Antioch [Tournon, the Papal Legate, had this title] with regard to the Chinese rites; neither the Pope nor the Church can infallibly define whether a thing is an idol."

When an exhortation to retract proved useless, the Jesuit, Porquet, was excommunicated by the Legate, but he took no notice and was supported in this by the remaining Jesuits. "Father Britto [a Jesuit who was canonised in the nineteenth century] told the missionary priest, Giampe, to his face that they [the Jesuits] did not

* *Mémoires*, 4, 522 et seq.

† *Ibid.*, 4, 529 et seq.

recognise the Patriarch either as the legitimate Visitor or as Papal Legate, and they considered his power of jurisdiction invalid.”*

Report of the Lazarist priest, Müllener [a German] to his General Superior, Watel, dated December 30th, 1708 : At the Jesuits’ instigation, almost all the missionaries who had submitted to the decision of the Pope (*en fils soumis de l’Église*) were banished from China.† A report of the Cardinal Legate, dated 1708, concerning a new imperial decree of June 24th, 1708 : The decree, which was unfavourable to the missionaries obeying the Pope, was published through the influence of the Jesuits, who take up the position that they would rather see the Mission destroyed than that it should be reformed in accordance with the Papal decrees.‡

A peep behind the scenes of the Chinese and Malabar drama, which led to the death of the Papal Legate, Tournon, is also afforded by a remark, not intended for publication, made by the Jesuit Cordara, official historiographer of the Order for thirty-five years. In a most weighty secret report (to be dealt with more fully later), addressed to his brother, Cordara states that Innocent XI. had issued a “very severe decree (*atrox decretum*) against the Jesuits with reference to their behaviour in the Chinese and Indian Mission, which, if it had been published, would have been very bad (*male admodum*) for the entire Society.”§

The death of the Pope prevented the publication. His successor, Benedict XIII., who, as Cordara himself says, was entirely in the hands of the Jesuits (*societati addictissimus*) left everything to his favourite, Coscia, bartered

* *Mémoires*, 4, 538 et seq.

† *Ibid.*, 4, 549 et seq.

‡ *Ibid.*, 4, 562 et seq., 572.

§ *Denkwürdigkeiten des Jesuiten Cordara zur Geschichte von 1740–1773*; Döllinger, *Beiträge zur politischen, kirchlichen und Kultur-Geschichte der sechs letzten Jahrhunderte* (Ratisbon, 1883), 3, 3.

the important official positions for money, and only thought of the enrichment of his family,* abstained from publishing the decree, which reflected disgrace on the Order.

Submission only followed tardily when Benedict XIV., in two bulls quickly succeeding one another (1742 and 1744), reminded the Jesuits, with the greatest severity, of their duty of obedience.†

I have dwelt a long time on the disputes concerning the Chinese rites. But there is no stronger proof than this of the falsity of the Jesuit boast as to the unconditional submission of the Order to Rome and of the unscrupulousness with which the Jesuits work against the Papacy itself when the defence of their interests is in question.‡

From the conduct of the Order also at the time of its suppression by Clement XIV. in 1773, we miss, in spite of all assertions on the Jesuit side to the contrary, the absolute submission to the Pope, which has been solemnly extolled.

In this connection, I can contribute the following from my own experience :

In 1880 Leo XIII. tried to make peace with Prussia, and a hostile feeling was thereby aroused against him in the Jesuit Order. During this time I heard him attacked most violently by my comrades of the Order.

* Cordara, *Ibid.*, p. 4.

† *Bullarium Romanum* (Edit. Luxemb., 1748), 16, 230 *et seq.*

‡ I have already called attention to the attempts of the Jesuits, Cornely and Duhr, to represent the Tournon case, and the agitations in China connected with it, as insignificant. Side by side with this misrepresentation must be mentioned the work of another Jesuit, who undertook the whitewashing of the subject more than a century ago, and even to-day is looked upon as a great authority. *A History of the Disputes with reference to the Chinese Rites* was published in 1791 at Augsburg. The author remained anonymous, after the favourite style, but it was soon known that the Jesuit Pray was the originator. The three volumes form a single spiteful pamphlet, teeming with calumnies against the very persons who make the best appearance in the light of history—Tournon, Appiani, Maigrot, etc.

The Jesuits Pachtler and Cathrein were especially reckless in their speech. For instance, it was asserted that the jubilee (of the priesthood) of such a Pope, who watched so badly over the interests of the Church, ought not to be celebrated. The animosity went so far that I felt myself compelled to write to the General of the Order, Anderledy, with reference to the statutory loyalty to the Pope and to ask him to interpose. Characteristically enough, I received no answer, and the ostracism of the Pope continued uninterruptedly. The action of Leo XIII. in bringing about the close of the *Kulturkampf* was at variance with the egotism of the Order, which dreaded lest a truce between Church and State should compel it to retire into the background. Hence the rage against the Pope and the insubordination to the Papal measures.

THE VOW OF CHASTITY

“What pertains to the vow of chastity requires no explanation, it being clear how perfectly it should be observed, namely, by striving to imitate the angelic holiness in the purity both of our mind and body.”*

On this regulation in the Constitutions of the Order, the Jesuit Genelli makes the “historic” remark:

“As regards chastity, it deserves to be emphasised . . . that the Society is so immaculate in this respect that its opponents have never been able to prove any assertion against it, although the Jesuits, by living in the world and having intercourse with all kinds of persons, are exposed to the sharpest scrutiny, and their work leads them frequently into temptation and danger.”†

It must be freely acknowledged that unchastity has never tainted the Jesuit Order permanently, and that the

* Constit. VI., 1, 1; *Summar.* n. 28.

† *Das Leben des heiligen Ignatius von Loyola* (Innsbruck, 1848), p. 230.

unnatural restraint of celibacy does not work so destructively here as in so many sections of the Roman Catholic clergy. But it must be stated most distinctly that in this point also Jesuit theory and Jesuit practice are opposed to one another, and that the statements of Jesuit writers, *e.g.* Genelli, with reference to the “angelic purity” of the Order, are untrue. In that very sphere of activity which the Order regards above all others as its domain of glory—the education of the young—the Jesuits have paid their full tribute to sexual humanity. In Chapter VI. I have already touched lightly on this subject, but now I shall deal with it more fully.

Heinrich von Lang, the director of the Bavarian State Archives, gives the following information from papers of the Upper German Province of the Jesuit Order, which are now lying in the Imperial Archives at Munich—*i.e.* reports concerning members of the Order which were sent from the Superior of the Province to the General of the Order in Rome.*

In the first place, Lang gives a complete account of the vicious conduct of the Jesuit, Jacob Marell, towards pupils of the Jesuit establishment at Augsburg. Lang produces original letters of the Jesuits Banholzer, Erhart, and Osterpeutter, dated July 3rd, September 22nd, and December 26th, 1698, which they, in their capacity of confessors, consultants and rectors, addressed from Augsburg to the Provincial Superior, Martin Müller, and in which the abominable details of the doings of their fellow-Jesuit, Marell, are reported.† Lang also prints signed statements by three pupils, Count Oettingen and the two Counts Fugger, who were most frequently misused by the Jesuit Marell.

From p. 26 onwards, in an extract, Lang gives thirty-six “informations” regarding the immoral behaviour of

* *Jacobi Marelli, S.J., amores.* Munich, 1815.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 1-22.

as many Jesuits. The following are examples: Information against Father Werner Ehinger for disgraceful intercourse with a Baron of Ratisbon; against Father Haas at Freiburg for illicit intercourse with two youths; against Father Adam Herler, of Constance, who corrupted seventeen youths; against Father Franz Schlegl, of Munich, for assaults on seven boys; against Father Ferdinand, of Augsburg, for misusing a servant girl; against Father Michael Baumgartner, who, whilst he was sub-regent at Dillingen, entered into an entanglement with a woman of seventy and seduced two girls, one of whom then said, "For shame, what kind of priests are these?" and so on, in one continuous catalogue of similar abominations.

In considering this list of grave offences we must bear in mind that it deals with only one Province of the Order, the Upper German, that the numerous cases happened in the short time between 1650-1723, and that the editor, Lang, Director of the State Archives, declares that he could easily quote "hundreds and hundreds" of such "informations" from the manuscript material at his disposal in the Munich archives. Kluckhohn, who thoroughly searched through the Jesuit papers at Munich in 1874, and gave reports on them before the Royal Bavarian Academy of Science, also confirms the data supplied by Lang.*

Paul Hoffäus, who in 1596 was appointed by General Acquaviva Visitor for the Upper German Province of the Order, and who was one of the most important Jesuits of that time, as the result of his visitation wrote in his Memorial intended for the Jesuit College at Munich:

"It is to be regretted that so many beneficial precautionary measures [for the preservation of chastity] are not always observed, or are observed very carelessly. Feasting (*comessationes*) and

* For Kluckhohn's comment, see I., p. 207.

frequent visits to single females at their residences take place without necessity. Rendezvous are given in the church for long conversations with women, and there are scandalously long confessions (*confessiones scandelose prolixæ*) of women, even of those who frequently confess. Confessions of sick women in their houses are heard without [as the rule prescribes] the presence of a companion who can see the confessor and penitent. Frequently, yes, very frequently, intimacy prevails between two persons [confessor and his female penitent] without any trace of strict repression on the confessor's part. I fear that sweet and agreeable words are exchanged, which are tinged with carnal lust and carnal feelings. Unpleasant occurrences, which lead to apostasy and to expulsions from the Society, teach us what great evils are caused by such transgressions in the case of confessors. Must there not be a strange aberration of intellect and heart when confessors in a free and unembarrassed manner, and without fear of shame, dare to pass many hours joking with women before the criticising eyes of the world, as if they themselves and their penitents were not in any danger from such unrestricted intercourse? It is known and has also reached the ears of the princes [referring to the two dukes of Bavaria] that confessors from amongst our Order have become entangled through such Satanic examples of vice, and have apostatised or been expelled from the Society as evil nuisances."*

This Memorial, to which I shall again refer, affords thé more food for thought because it is a secret report and was drawn up only forty-six years after the founding of the Jesuit Order. Consequently, even in its first youth, —i.e. at a time in which zeal and the active practice of virtue should still have prevailed—the Order suffered from grave improprieties.

In these cases it is very important to notice that although, formally and directly, the offences of individuals are in question, nevertheless the Order as such is impli-

* Printed by Reusch, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens: Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1894, XV., 2, 262 et seq.

cated because, in these and in other instances, it failed to punish the culprits adequately.

There is no mention of punishment in the above-mentioned "information." In one of the worst cases, that of the Jesuit Theoderich Beck, the Provincial Superior even recommends that clemency should be shown, "because the offences were not publicly known." He acted here quite in accordance with the ordinance already quoted, issued by General Acquaviva in 1595, that immoral actions should not be punished by dismissal when they had led to no open scandal.* How exactly the advice was followed is shown further by the following facts :

A Jesuit, W. K. (he is careful not to mention his name), reported, under date 1st December, 163— (he also does not mention the year), from Rome to the Jesuit Forer at Dillingen that the Jesuit Mena, "an exceptionally clever man, who is sought out by all as an oracle," made a woman, who was his penitent, believe that she might live with him legitimately. He subsequently denounced himself and "died in the Society of Jesus" before the close of the lawsuit which followed. It is related in the same letter of another Jesuit, Azevedo, that "he had only been detected (*nihil aliud fecisse deprehensus*) observing or touching that belonging to a woman which one ought bashfully to keep away from." He also "died in the Society of Jesus."†

THE VOW OF POVERTY

The scope of the vow of poverty (also of the special vow of poverty of the professed Jesuits) is explained by the following passages in the Constitutions :

"Whoever wishes to live in the Society must be convinced that food, drink, clothing and bedding should be

* See Chapter VI.

† Döllinger-Reusch, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, I., 587 ; II., 305.

of such a kind as appertains to poverty, and that the worst things which are to be found in the house are assigned to him to produce greater self-denial and spiritual development; also in order that a certain equality and a common social measure should be attained. As those who established the Society were specially tried by such poverty and a greater want of bodily necessities, so those also who follow them must endeavour, by the grace of God, to equal and excel them. . . . Poverty is to be loved as the strong wall of the Order, and, with the help of Divine grace, is to be maintained in its purity as far as possible. All must love poverty as a mother and endure its effects in fitting season, according to a measure of holy discretion; nothing is to be used as an individual possession, and they must also be ready to beg from door to door when obedience or necessity requires this.”*

And with reference to the gratuitous performance of the work of the Order which is connected with poverty, the Constitutions say:

“All who are under obedience to the Society should remember that they ought to give gratuitously what they have gratuitously received, neither demanding nor receiving pay, or alms, by which masses, or confessions, or sermons, or lessons, or visitations, or any other duty of all those which the Society can render according to our Institute, may appear to be remunerated. . . . Also they must not, although others are allowed to do so, accept any pay or any alms for masses, sermons, lessons, or administration of sacraments, or for any other pious work which the Society may carry out in accordance with its Constitutions, as recompense for such services, from any other person than from God (for whose service alone they are to do everything).”†

* *Exam. gen.*, IV., 26; *Summar.* 23, 24.

† *Constit.* VI., 2, 7; *Examen generale*, I., 3; *Can.* 1, *Congreg.* 5; *Summar.* 27.

Only on one point, which is to be discussed minutely further on—the interference of the Jesuit Order in politics—is the opposition between Jesuit theory and Jesuit practice so sharp as in the case of poverty. We may say at once that Jesuit poverty is communistic wealth.

Apart from actual business associations, there is scarcely any non-religious society which strives so intently and with such considerable success after possessions and riches as the Society of Jesus, a name which, in just this connection, is a cruel mockery. But amongst the religious bodies, the so-called spiritual Orders, the Jesuit Order occupies a supreme and exceptional position through its “poverty.”

I will give some personal recollections first of all.

No doubt I have felt, as the Constitutions of the Order express it, “the effects of poverty.” The already described dormitory and living arrangements during my novitiate, which continued throughout the scholasticate, afforded full opportunities for the practical experience of poverty. Bedding and clothing were, if not exactly mean in the strictest sense of the word, far from any suggestion of opulence. A palliase which was frequently very hard, coarse bed-linen, a small blanket and a narrow and short bedstead formed my nightly couch for years. The clothing was outwardly, it is true, generally clean. As regards, however, the cleanliness underneath, *e.g.* the cleanliness of the undergarments, there was none, since, for example, one and the same pair of trousers was worn next to the skin for years, and shirt and stockings, in spite of perspiration and in spite of scanty washing and rare baths, were only changed once a week. Thus I also experienced the uncleanness which is frequently, but not necessarily, connected with poverty.

But two points must be noted in the case of these

“ effects of poverty,” and they are not the only ones, as I shall show. In the first place, it was a poverty brought about by force of circumstances. The German Province of the Order was obliged, while established abroad (in Holland and England) after its expulsion from Germany, to cut its cloak according to its cloth ; it could not immediately have everything in good order. And in the second place, this effect of poverty, to which still others were added according to necessity (threadbare or torn clothing) are the tests imposed on the individual to prove his contempt for the world, his obedience, his constancy, etc. They are not phenomena which develop from the attitude and from the spirit of the Order. Thus even the meagre “ effects of poverty,” regarded from religious and ascetic points of view as characteristic of the Order, are still further reduced. Hence I have a perfect right to disregard these things in describing the poverty which I personally endured.

In other respects I have learnt to know the poverty of the Jesuit Order as easy living, based on wealth, and even luxury, combined with a spirit of intense eagerness for money and gain.

It is obvious that an Order which clothes and feeds thousands, and in many instances lodges them in magnificent and spacious buildings, must be rich, very rich. The revenues, from which the enormous sums for maintaining the members, houses and churches of the Order are derived, point to a capital of many millions. I saw this clearly from the beginning. But I came to see other things clearly as well.

The material foundation of the Order, safeguarded by an enormous fortune of millions, was not the only, not even the most marked, feature of opposition to its theoretically ascetic and religious foundation—*i.e.* to Jesus Christ’s vow of poverty. We find it in the daily life and

in the habits of the Order of the Society of Jesus in certain circumstances.

The daily fare at dinner and supper is very good and very abundant, incomparably better than that of the secular priests and even most comfortably situated and well-to-do families of the middle class. The Jesuit Order knows no trace of poverty in eating and drinking.

The "poor" Jesuit daily eats a dinner consisting of soup and two meat dishes, with suitable additions and stewed fruit, and a supper consisting of a meat dish or other hot food, and he drinks good beer with this. On festival days, according to their importance, several dishes, amounting to five or six, are served, and wine is supplied besides the beer. In the English Jesuit houses (Ditton Hall, Stonyhurst, London, Liverpool and Manchester) I have enjoyed meals which must be characterised as very well cooked, sumptuous dinners,* at which neither oysters and champagne, nor pastry, poultry and game, nor even the after-dinner cigarette with coffee and liqueurs were lacking.

Was the meal of which Christ and His company partook before His passion and death, the picture of which frequently adorns the refectories of the Society of Jesus, of the same nature?

The "magister meals" constitute a special kind of feast. Every three months, or even more frequently, the Jesuits appointed as *magistri* in the different colleges have special festivities with a meal at which things are done in great style. From a purely human point of view, I am quite capable of appreciating such recreation, spiced with

* Such feasts are called *Duplicia*; they are divided, according to their importance, into *Duplicia secundae, primae* and *prmissimae (sic!) classis*—a division which, it is important to notice, has been copied from the Liturgy, which classes the feasts of the Church under *festas simplicia* and *duplicia*, and these again under *duplicia secundae* and *primae classis*. The designation *duplex prmissimae classis* for specially sumptuous meals is Jesuit Latin, or rather Jesuit dog-Latin.

pleasures of the table, in the course of a hard and monotonous professional life. But the purely human point of view is by no means that which is accepted by the Society of Jesus; it takes to itself very emphatically the ideal of Christly perfection and asceticism, and such feastings are out of place for the wearers of the soutane and biretta.

A true Jesuit peculiarity may be added. It is that the good living, expressing itself in luxurious meals and feasting, is most carefully kept from the laity. In their eyes the Jesuit appears as the poor, mortified member of an Order which is very much in want of support and alms. The liberality of the unsuspecting public would receive its deathblow if it got wind of such things.

An event during my stay at the Jesuit college in Holland, Blyenbeck, where I studied philosophy as a scholastic from 1881-1883, shows to what serio-comic situations such secret proceedings frequently lead.

One fine summer afternoon my uncle, Baron Felix von Loë (Centre Deputy and founder of the Catholic National Union), came over the moor from his estate at Terporten, situated on the other side of the neighbouring Prussian border, as he frequently did, to visit his friend, the Jesuit Joseph Schneider (author of an "official" work on Indulgences), who was stationed in Rome as Consultor of the Congregation of Indulgences, but was spending his holidays at Blyenbeck. It was just the time for a "magister meal," and Father Schneider as a distinguished guest took part in it. A great dilemma occurred! I was called to the Rector, and requested to entertain my uncle in the meantime and explain to him that Father Schneider could not be spared just then "owing to urgent business." About an hour later, Father Schneider appeared with a face rubicund from eating and drinking, and in a very cheerful frame of mind. He repeated the excuse about important business. I suffered torture, partly owing to the untruth

with which we had regaled my uncle, and partly because I was afraid that Father Schneider's evident cheerfulness might cause the "urgent business" to appear in a somewhat curious light.

From this may be deduced the value of the constantly repeated pitiful complaints made by the Order in newspaper articles and elsewhere with reference to the "bread of exile" which it is compelled to eat.

The country-houses of the Order, officially named "villas," are peculiarly characteristic of Jesuit poverty. The Order seeks to acquire country-houses, frequently at great expense, in the neighbourhood of its colleges, where every Thursday the inmates of the colleges, fathers and scholastics, may be recuperated by good air, good food and all kinds of active games. This is certainly an excellent arrangement from the point of view of health and the care of the body. It may reasonably be doubted, from the knowledge revealed to us in the Gospels of the Christly spirit of poverty, whether it is in accordance with the spirit of poverty of a Society of Jesus. Notwithstanding the exile in which the German Province of the Order lived in Holland and England, the wealth of the Order was sufficient for the expensive purchase and support of such villas. Thus, the novitiate house at Exaeten had its villa at Oosen on the banks of the Maas, and the college at Wynandsrade had its villa at Aalbeck.

On journeys, the "poor" Jesuit travels second class. I was accustomed to travel third class as long as I believed in the Jesuit Order. When I went with other comrades, I found it rather difficult to persuade them to use the lower class.

The Jesuit father (not the brother) has his own spacious room, not luxuriously but comfortably furnished, with bed, writing-table, standing-desk, chairs, *prie-dieu*, book-case and stove.

Consequently it is not to be wondered at—and this is also an effect of Jesuit poverty—that when Jesuits, brought up in such comfort, become through exterior events the possessors of a large income they incline towards prodigality. For example, the Jesuit Cienfuegos, who was made Cardinal, “made an enormous display,” as his fellow-Jesuit, Cordara, the historiographer of the Order, tells us. This “poor” member of the Order wasted over 70,000 gold florins yearly in dissipation as Imperial ambassador at Madrid and holder of the rich archbishopric of Monreale.*

It is a fair question then: “Where does poverty come in when the exterior life of the Jesuit is so comfortably, even luxuriously appointed?” And, further, “Are there not many amongst the Jesuits who are struck by the antithesis of the Constitutions of the Order and the actual life, and who, as a result of these thoughts, doubt whether they are really in the Society of Jesus, that Jesus who entered the world in exceeding poverty, passed through it in exceeding poverty, and left it in exceeding poverty?” Of course, there are many whose spirit of idealism and aversion from the world takes offence at the “poor” things offered for their use and enjoyment by the Jesuit Order. I belonged to this number. I frequently expressed my trouble and doubts to my Superior, especially during the novitiate. I received the stereotyped reply:

“Our poverty does not consist in privation, but in our aloofness in the midst of possessions; also especially in the fact that we do not call anything our own amongst the objects with which we are surrounded and which we use. Every pencil, every piece of paper, every book, every pen and every sheet of note-paper, our food, the rooms and the clothes which we use, have to be asked for;

* Cordara, S.J., *Denkwürdigkeiten*; Döllinger, *Beiträge*, 3, 3.

we are possessors, or masters, of nothing. Hence we are poor."

A sentence uttered by my Novice-Master, afterwards my Provincial, the Jesuit Mauritius Meschler, also throws interesting light on this poverty. When I once, at the Annual Statement of Conscience, expressed my misgivings as to the sumptuous feasts, he said :

"But, dear brother, are only the wicked to enjoy the good things of this world? Has not God also created them for the righteous?"

I was not then quick enough at repartee to answer him with the saying of Christ, who certainly also belonged to the "righteous" :

"The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head."

It does not strike anyone, who believes in the authority and piety of the expositors, that such explanations are humbug and devoid of the Evangelical spirit; indeed, they gradually lull the ascetic and religious conscience to sleep. The individual considers that he and the Order are poor, whilst he lives a very comfortable life on the interest of the Order's millions and enjoys in a duly "detached" manner the good things of this world.

I repeat that Jesuit poverty is in reality communistic wealth, not Evangelical poverty.

I have also had experience in various ways of the famed gratuitousness with which the Jesuit carries out his spiritual work (sermons, hearing of confessions, giving of exercises, and saying mass).

During my third probationary year, the tertiate, which I passed at Portico in England (near the manufacturing town of St. Helens), we tertiaries were sent on Sundays into the neighbouring parishes to help the priests, at their request, in preaching, hearing confessions and saying mass.

The "gratuitousness" of such assistance comes very forcibly to light. Our rector and tertiate instructor, the Jesuit Oswald, carefully selected from amongst the requests submitted those which promised to be most lucrative. He openly stated that he preferred to decline absolutely requests which did not promise, besides the allowance for travelling, at least one pound sterling!

This instance of the application of the principle is the more noteworthy because it belonged to the tertiate period, *i.e.* the highest stage of the Jesuit training, and because the very man who was appointed by the Order to instruct us in the Constitutions of the Order and initiate us into its spirit proclaimed this principle with reference to "gratuitous" money-making.

The Order charges high fees for Exercises, popular missions, festival sermons and masses for souls. It prefers to give Exercises to rich and noble people, because the donations, too, are rich and noble. When I gave Exercises in 1889 to a number of noble ladies at Münster, I received 500 marks (£25) for my exertions, which only lasted three days. The Procurator of the Province, the Jesuit Caduff, accepted the money with pleasure, and remarked facetiously that I seemed able to give profitable Exercises. I never brought back less than 300 marks (£15) from the castle of Count D.-V., in Westphalia, where I often went to preach, hear confessions and say mass. At the death of my father, my mother gave from two to three thousand marks (£100-£150) to the Order for saying masses for the dead. I have already stated how, in all probability, the Order also received a considerable portion of my mother's fortune through the agency of the Jesuit Behrens.

Such and similar occurrences might be multiplied a thousandfold, and an idea can be obtained through them of the productive source of revenue for the Order

which springs from the gratuitousness of its spiritual aids.

So much regarding Jesuit poverty from the limited history of my personal experiences. I will now deal with the larger history of the Order's poverty.

Here also stress must be laid on the fact that the defection from the rules drawn up in the Constitutions is observable even in the early youth of the Order. The Jesuit *primitiæ spiritus*, the first fruits of the spirit, are degenerate already, and the high-sounding, ascetic theory of the Order is in sharp antithesis to them.

In the already mentioned secret report of the Upper German Province of the Order, by the Visitor, Paul Hoffäus, appointed by General Acquaviva, we find, under date 1596 :

“ We have swerved aside, we have fallen away violently, indeed, from the first form of poverty. We are not content with necessary things, but desire that all shall be comfortable, plentiful, diverse, profuse, rare, select, elegant, splendid, gilded, precious and luxurious. I can only think with shame and pain of how many thousand florins have been expended here [in Munich] in latter years for the maintenance and the embellishment of the college, as if we were not poor members of an Order, but courtiers and spend-thrifts. Woe to those who have brought about and devised this damnable and accursed expenditure to the corruption of our religious poverty. This is the more to be regretted because the corruption has already become a habit which can no longer be exterminated unless the axe is placed at the root. There is not a trace left of the poverty of our fathers. Everything is done in grand style.”*

It is praiseworthy that the officials in the Order raised their voices in warning. But this did not help matters. The evil spread. And when the whole is surveyed, when we observe the continually increasing gigantic riches of

* Reprinted in Reusch, *Beiträge*, p. 262.

the Order and see innumerable examples of its remarkable commercial aptitude for money-making, the not unjustifiable doubt arises: "Are not the warning voices of officials only raised *pro forma, ut aliquid fecisse videantur?*" Be that as it may, the historical life and behaviour of the Order gives the lie to its theoretical warnings.

As the pseudo-mysticism of the Jesuit Order is an inheritance from its founder, Ignatius Loyola, so its pseudo-poverty and its notable acquisitiveness are characteristics handed down from the founder.

Ignatius Loyola instructed the Jesuit Laynez, appointed by himself confessor to Duke Cosimo de Medici, who afterwards played an important part at the Council of Trent, and became Ignatius's immediate successor in the generalship of the Order, that "he was to 'insinuate' [this was the expression used by Ignatius] to the Duke's wife, who was to be confined shortly, that she should act in the same manner as the Queen of Portugal had acted before her confinement, namely, make a settlement of 500 gold florins on the Jesuit College.*

These 1,000 gold florins obtained from two princesses during childbed travail have themselves, as it were, become reproductive—they have produced a million future generations. The "insinuation" of the founder of the Order has remained a model for all later "insinuations," at the death-bed, in confessionals, etc., and thus the Order has heaped up possessions on possessions.

K. von Lang points out† that the Upper German Province of the Jesuit Order received in the years 1620–1700 alone through "insinuations," 800,000 florins. Amongst these are single sums of 15,000, 32,000, 56,000, 92,000 and 117,000 florins. In 1718 a member of the

* Druffel, *Ignatius von Loyola an der römischen Kurie* (Munich, 1879), p. 18 *et seq.*

† *Geschichte der Jesuiten in Bayern*, 1819, p. 57.

Peutinger family bequeathed 100,000 florins to the Jesuit College at Ellwangen. From about 1700 onwards, the donations in the Upper German Province were only noted down in the secret books. The size of the sums—which were frequently gigantic for that period—was to remain concealed.* The yearly fixed revenue of the Upper German Province, which consisted of 583 persons, amounted in 1656 to 185,950 florins, according to von Lang's† minutely verified documents. To this should be added many thousands through gifts, donations, fees for masses, etc.

It was especially Duke William V. of Bavaria who laid the foundation for the wealth of the Upper German Jesuits. He endowed the Jesuit College in Munich with a yearly income of 2,675 florins, and to this were added the tithes from Ainling and Edenhausen to the amount of 3,000 florins, and the monastery of Ebersberg, with all its revenues and landed property.‡

He met their endeavours to get the most popular places of pilgrimages into their hands by building them a college at Altötting. He presented them, moreover, with the abbeys of Biburg and Mönchsmünster, and contrived, in spite of the opposition of the district, and against Papal decrees, that the Jesuits connected with the foundations should become members of the Bavarian prelacy, and should receive a seat and vote in the Diets.§

The predilection of this duke for the Jesuit Order was so boundless that there was a general complaint that the avarice of the Jesuits would eventually devour the whole of Bavaria.

William's example was imitated. His princely neigh-

* Lang, *Ibid.*, p. 58.

† *Ibid.*, p. 158 et seq.

‡ Sugenheim, *Baierns Kirchen und Volkszustände im 16. Jahrh.* (Giessen, 1842), p. 317 (2).

§ F. Stieve, *Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte des 30 jährigen Krieges*, IV., 414.

bour, the Archduke Leopold, Prince Bishop of Passau, a boy of fourteen, endowed the Jesuit College at this place with 30,000 florins.

Thus it is explicable that on the suppression of the Jesuit Order in 1773 the Upper German Province possessed a gigantic landed property which was distributed as follows :

To the college at Munich belonged : the monastery of Ebersberg with the priory of Erding, Aham, the domain of Pfaffenhausen with Tondorf, Eugenbach, Hornbach, Holzhausen, Wolfshausen and Rännerzbach ; to the college in Ingolstadt : Mönchsmünster with fifty-eight farms, Biburg with Leitenbach and Rozenhausen of ninety-one farms, the estate of Randeck and Essing, the manors of Prunn, Stockau, Oberhaunstadt, Oberdolling with Hellmansperg ; to the college at Landsberg : the manors of Vogach, Pestanagger, Winkel and Zangenhausen ; to the college at Amberg : the Abbey of Kastell together with the manors of Engenreut, Hofdorf, Heymaden, Garstorf, Gebersdorf ; to the college at Ratisbon : the monastery of St. Paul, the manors of Gieselshausen, the tithes and dues of Kalmünz, Lengensfeld and Holzheim ; to the college at Straubing : the manor of Schierling ; to the college at Landshut : the estate of Niederding ; to the college at Burghausen : the tithes of Märkel and Seibelsdorf ; to the college at Feldkirch (Vorarlberg) : the tithes of Frastanz and the pasturage of Streichenfeld ; to the college at Neuburg : the monasteries of Berg, Neuburg, and Echenbrunn ; to the college at Augsburg : the domain of Eitenhofen, the manors of Kissingen and Mergethau with the laundry at Lechhausen ; to the theological seminary at Dillingen : Lustenau ; to the college at Eichstätt : Wittenfeld and Landershofen ; to the college at Bamberg : the estates of Sambach, Winden, Stetbach, Leimershof, Hohengüssbach, Knetzgau, Merkendorf, Sand-

hof and the vineyard of Ziegelang. The Imperial Commission found assets of more than three millions in the college at Ingolstadt.*

When the Austrian State officially estimated the wealth of the Order directly after its suppression, it amounted to 15,415,220 gulden, for Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and the remaining German-Austrian hereditary lands. But this does not seem to have been nearly all. For the President of the Imperial Exchequer reports, under date of August 16th, 1782, that more than 120,000 gulden of "Jesuit gold" had been discovered at Genoa, and more than eighteen millions were supposed to be lodged in the Order's name in Holland, four millions of which belonged to Austria. The President even learnt the names of the banks at Frankfort which had negotiated the payment of the interest. But the further levy arranged by the Bethmann† firm led to no results.‡

The following facts from the same period throw the Jesuit wealth into bold relief:

The Bohemian and Austrian Chancery Court reports, under date of April 28th, 1781, that of the outstanding claims of the Jesuits on private individuals, 3,214,000 gulden have already been collected, 2,674,939 gulden were converted into ready money, and, in addition to this, 381,654 gulden earnest money would be collected.

The Emperor (Joseph II.) considered it "unseemly" that the State as an assignee of the Jesuits should have private debtors, and privately advised Prince Schwarzenberg, who was placed in sad difficulties through the notice to redeem this outstanding debt, to sell one of his estates

* From the documents quoted by Lang, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in Bayern*, p. 205 et seq.

† The fifth German Chancellor, von Bethmann-Hollweg, is descended from a member of this banking firm.

‡ Hock-Biedermann, *Der österreichische Staatsrat, 1760-1848* (Vienna, 1879), pp. 67, 444.

in the German Empire so that he might pay the proceeds into the Austrian Government Credit-bank and thus liquidate the debt contracted with the Jesuits.*

On May 25th, 1647, John Palafox, Bishop of Los Angeles, wrote to Pope Innocent X. †

* Hock-Biedermann, *ibid.*, p. 521.

† The evidence of Bishop Palafox (who died in 1659 when Bishop of Osma, in Spain) is especially unfavourable, and is consequently contested by the Jesuits with all manner of cummies. Palafox lived and died in the odour of sanctity, so that his beatification was instituted and almost completed. Therefore the Jesuits, fighting as is their wont by means of falsifications and misrepresentations, have tried to discredit his letter directed to the Pope, from which the above quotation has been taken. But the authenticity of the letter is guaranteed, apart from other proofs, by a decree of the Congregation of Rites, dated December 16th, 1760, in which, amongst the writings of Palafox, these two letters are also mentioned, and it is said of them, as of the remaining writings: "They contain nothing against religion and good morals, nor do they contain any new, strange doctrine opposed to the general belief and custom of the Church." The Congregation announces at the same time that, after the examination of his writings, the beatification of Bishop Palafox could be continued (*Décret rendu dans la cause de l'Église d'Osma*, p. 30. Rome: *De l'Imprimerie de la Chambre Apostolique*, 1760. In a collection belonging to the Court and State Library in Munich: Jes. 832). This official document is of the greatest importance also in connection with the contents of the letters. For the Congregation of Rites could not possibly declare that the letters were "not opposed to good morals" if they had not become convinced after minute examination that they contained nothing slanderous and untrue. When, therefore, Duhr (*Jesuitenfabeln*, p. 640 *et seq.*), who, moreover, carefully keeps this important decree secret, asserts most positively: "A number of his [Bishop Palafox's] assertions are in disagreement with known facts and are accordingly shown to be untruths," he makes an audacious attempt to deceive, which is not improved by the fact that Duhr refers to "remarks" (*animadversiones*) by the *Promotor Fidei* in the proceedings in regard to Bishop Palafox's beatification. For it is the business of the *Promotor Fidei* to raise difficulties from all available quarters against a beatification, and that is why he is also called the *advocatus diaboli*, the devil's advocate. Moreover, this quotation by Duhr requires to be explained. As I could not find the remarks of the *advocatus diaboli* at any German library, I begged the Intelligence Bureau for German Libraries in Berlin to ask Duhr in which library the remarks could be found. Duhr replied that they were private property. Thus I am deprived of the possibility of verifying them. And until Duhr produces the work itself, I must place a note of interrogation after his quotation. I have already caught Duhr tripping in regard to many of his quotations, and shall do so again, no doubt. The accuracy of the contents of the letter is, moreover, supported by the fact that, on account of the remonstrance of the Jesuit Order, Rome caused an examination to be carried out, with the result that Innocent X. decided in three briefs (May 14th, 1648, November 19th, 1652, and May 27th, 1653) in favour of the Cardinal and against the Jesuits. These briefs were so embarrassing to the Order that it tried to divert their influence

“Most Holy Father,—I found almost all the wealth, all immovables and all treasures of this Province of America, in the hands of the Jesuits, who still possess them. Two of their colleges have 30,000 sheep, without counting the small flocks; and whilst almost all the cathedral churches and all the Orders together have hardly three sugar-refineries, the Society alone has six of the largest. One of these refineries is valued at more than half a million thalers, and this single Province of the Jesuits, which, however, only consists of ten colleges, possesses, as I have just said, six of these refineries, each one of which brings in 100,000 thalers yearly. Besides this, they have various corn-fields of enormous size: Also they have silver mines, and if they continue to increase their power

in a truly Jesuitical way. It smuggled into the bullarium (Lyons edition of 1655, 4 vols.), directly after the briefs, a document (*Processus et finis causae Angelopolitanae*) of which the essential part is as follows: “Decisions in favour of the Fathers of the Society [of Jesus] from the accompanying brief.” The ruse was discovered, however, and the Congregation of the Index censured this volume of the bullarium by means of a decree of August 3rd, 1656, “until it was cleansed from the additions” (*donec expurgetur ab adjectis*). In two further decrees (July 27th, 1657, and June 10th, 1658), the resolutions interpolated by the Jesuits were emphatically designated as such “additions.” (Reusch, *Index II.*, 485, 495.)

A second Jesuit trick must also be reported in the Palafox matter. When, as has already been mentioned, Bishop Palafox's beatification was proposed, the Jesuits vehemently opposed it. The proceedings continued, however, in the usual slow fashion. Then, in 1765–1770, there appeared pseudonymous and anonymous writings, most probably by Jesuits, which designated as suspect the works declared by the Congregation of Rites to be blameless in regard to dogma and morals. The nuisance increased so much that the Congregation of the Index was obliged to put an end to it by means of a decree, dated September 10th, 1771. At the same time, it again confirmed, at the Pope's command, the earlier decrees in favour of the orthodoxy of Palafox's works and enjoined silence on the *Promotor Fidei* (*advocatus diaboli*), (*ibid.*, 495 *et seq.*)

Nothing is to be found of all these important facts in the “historical” statement by the Jesuit Duhr. He brings forward, as has already been mentioned, an unverifiable and unfavourable expression of the *advocatus diaboli* and lays stress upon the assertion, which has already been proved untrue by Arnauld, that Palafox has described his letters as written *ab irato* (*ibid.*, p. 643). The confession, not, of course, intended for publication, which the official historiographer, the Jesuit Cordara, makes in a report regarding the intrigues of his Order against the beatification of Palafox is very interesting: “If John Palafox had obtained the heavenly honours [the canonisation], the letters, which he is supposed to have addressed to Innocent X., would doubtless have reflected disgrace on the Society [of Jesus] . . . The Jesuits tried, with good reason, but not perhaps in a very well-considered manner, to hinder the case of Palafox.” (*Denkwürdigkeiten*: Döllinger, *Beiträge*, 3, 29.)

and wealth as excessively as they have done up to now, the secular clergy will become their sacristans and the laymen their stewards, whilst the other Orders will be forced to collect alms at their doors. All this property and all these considerable revenues, which might make a sovereign powerful, serve no other purpose than to maintain ten colleges. . . . To this may be added the extraordinary skill with which they make use of and increase their superabundant wealth. They maintain public warehouses, cattle fairs, butchers' stalls and shops. They send a part of their goods by way of the Philippine Islands to China. They lend out their money for usury and thus cause the greatest loss and injury to others."*

One of Palafox's colleagues, the Bishop of Maragnon, Gregorio de Almeida, complained, in 1679, that the Jesuits yearly snatched 40,000 gold ducats from him.†

With reference to the wealth of the Jesuits in China in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the records of the *Missions Étrangères* of Paris (the oldest Catholic Missionary Society existing to-day) contain interesting information :

“ Les Jésuites ont trois maisons à Pékin. Chaque maison a, dans un commerce usuraire, la valeur de cinquante ou soixante mille taels. Chaque tael vaut au moins quatre livres de notre monnaie de France. L'intérêt de l'argent à la Chine est ordinairement de trente pour cent. Les Jésuites prétendent qu'ils n'en prennent que vingt-quatre, ou, ce qui ne vaut pas mieux, deux pour cent par mois. Le calcul du profit est facile à faire. Le capital de 60,000 taels pour chaque maison fait pour les trois maisons ensemble un total de 720,000 livres et la rente d'environ 80,000 liv. pour nourrir onze 'pauvres religieux.' Mais ce profit n'est rien comparé au profit du commerce de vin, d'horloges et d'autres industries, avec lesquelles ces Pères amassent des

* Don Juan Palafox, *Briefs au Pape Innocent X.* (Frankfort and Leipzig, 1773), pp. 7-9.

† Evidence given by Friedrich, p. 40.

trésors immenses, qui les rendent beaucoup plus riches dans les Indes que le roi de Portugal.”

As the Lazarists (founded by St. Vincent de Paul) reprinted these data in the official history of their Congregation,* we have evidence as to the truth of these facts from two of the most distinguished Catholic Missionary Societies, who, owing to their activity in China and India, knew quite well what they were writing about.

In the same place,† the Lazarists also publish the text of several previously mentioned usurious agreements (*contrats usuraires*) which the Jesuits had concluded, partly with Christian and partly with heathen Chinese, and which the Papal Legate in China, Cardinal Tournon, had declared to be null and void, for the very reason of their usurious character, threatening ecclesiastical punishments in case of repetition.

The sums with which the Jesuit Order had to do at the time of its suppression are shown by a remark of the Jesuit Cordara,‡ that Cardinal Marefoschi, who was nominated by the Pope as Commissioner of Enquiry of the Jesuit *Seminarium Romanum*, had discovered that an item of 500,000 scudi had not been entered at all.

In short, the wealth of the Jesuit Order was and is so notorious, that Créteineau-Joly,§ the fanatical defender of the Order, in the face of undeniable facts, was obliged to admit that the wealth of the Jesuit Order in France amounted to fifty-eight millions in the middle of the eighteenth century. Neither the property of the missions in the colonies nor the alms and gifts were included in this gigantic sum, as he mentions specially. But experience shows that the alms and gifts amount to a considerable

* *Mémoires de la Congrégation de la Mission* (Paris, 1865), 4, 239.

† *Ibid.*, 4, 240 et seq.

‡ *Denkwürdigkeiten* : Döllinger, *Beiträge*, 3, 49.

[§ *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Paris, 1845), 5, 275 (1).

total yearly, and that the property of the missions was enormous, so that many millions must be added to the fifty-eight. The number of French Jesuits who enjoyed the interest on these millions was then scarcely more than four thousand.

The fact of the great wealth of the Jesuits is therefore firmly established. A certain piquancy is added by the way in which the Order acquires its millions.

It follows two paths to reach this goal. The one is apparently spiritual and religious, and we encounter on it the Jesuit as Preacher, Director of Exercises, Confessor and Spiritual Director. The other path is the usual way of all business people.

I have already indicated repeatedly the profitableness of the first way, which bears the official designation "gratuitous service" in spiritual affairs. I can also confirm from personal experience how well trodden and profitable is this road.

In this connection I give a few further characteristic passages from the history of the Order.

The English Jesuit, Gerard, says of himself :

"I also gave a retreat to two fine young men who were brothers, who both came to the resolution of entering the Society. . . . Before his departure (the elder), among other almsdeeds, he gave to the Society eleven to twelve thousand florins. My host (Henry Drury) bestowed nearly one-half of his goods upon the Society."*

The particulars are supplemented by information given by the Catholic priest, William Watson, about 1599-1600 :

"Father John Jerard (Jesuit) caused Henry Drurie to enter into this exercise ; and thereby got him to sell the Manor of Lozell in Suffolke, and other lands to the value of 3,500 pounds, and got

* *The Life of Fr. John Gerard* (London, 1882), from Taunton, p. 162.

all the money himselfe. Two others had the exercise giuen them at that time by Fr. Jerard: vz. Maister Anthony Rowse and Edward Walpole, of whom he got 1,000 pounds each. . . . He dealt so in like manner with Maister Iames Linacre, from whom he drew 400 pounds. He also received from Edward Huddlestons 1,000 under pretence of the said exercise, and he hath drawne Maister William Wiseman into the said exercise so oft, as he hath left him now very bare to liue.”

Watson also reports the same of other wealthy people.*

Abundant details regarding the commercial and business road are available, and I will select a few of them:

M. Martin, the manager of the French Trading Company at Pondicherry, says in his Report :

“ It is an established fact that, next to the Dutch, the Jesuits carry on the greatest and most successful trade in the East Indies. They surpass the English and other nations, even the Portuguese, in this respect. . . . They have carried on this [the trade] to such an extent that Father Tachard alone owes the Trading Company [at Pondicherry] more than 160,000 piastres, *i.e.*, more than 450,000 French livres. You have been able to observe that the 58 bales which belong to these fathers, and the smallest of which was as large again as one of those belonging to the ‘ French ’ Trading Company, were distributed among all the ships of the squadron [which Louis XIV. had sent to the East Indies under Admiral du Quêne] and were not filled with rosaries or *Agnus Dei* or other weapons which would be characteristic of an apostolic consignment. These are the fine and good wares which they bring out from Europe to sell in this country, and they import as much as they can get on the ships at every outward sailing.”†

The agreement between this information, given by a merchant holding a trustworthy position, and the

* *Decacordon of Ten Quodlibetical Questions*, 1602, p. 89 *et seq.*

† *Voyages de Mr. du Quêne*, III., 15: in Harenberg, *Pragmatische Geschichte des Ordens der Jesuiten*, II., 543 *et seq.*

above-quoted statements of the Lazarist priests and the missionaries of the *Missions Étrangères* is noteworthy.

We also encounter Jesuit trading on a large scale in the Island of Martinique.

The commercial transactions of the Jesuit Lavalette in the Island of Martinique resulted in the bankruptcy of the large mercantile house of Lioncy and Gouffre at Marseilles. The General of the Order, Centurione, caused 500,000 livres to be paid as partial compensation to the mercantile house by the French Provincial of the Order, the Jesuit de Sacy. But the half-million could not avert the ruin of Lioncy and Gouffre. The Jesuit de la Marche, who was sent as Visitor by the Order to Martinique, was also obliged to acknowledge that Lavalette had been drawn into illicit commercial transactions. Lavalette's liabilities amounted to 2,400,000 livres in 1761. In 1762 the Jesuit Order took up eighty-six of the bills put into circulation by Lavalette amounting to more than one million. By way of counterbalancing the Lavalette case, the Order had recourse to a method which it had frequently made use of, and which was almost always efficacious in face of the credulous multitude. It caused a certificate of good conduct to be drawn up with reference to his spiritual zeal, his success in the education of the young, his zeal in preaching, hearing of confessions, etc., by the Bishop of Marseilles and numerous inhabitants of the town (for the affair had caused the greatest stir in Marseilles). But such artifices had no effect on the Parliaments of Aix and Paris, and in August, 1762, they condemned the Order to pay one and a half million livres.

The Jesuit Soullier, who tries to cloak Lavalette's offence and that of the Order by every possible means, was obliged to admit these facts.*

* Soullier, S.J., *Les Jésuites à Marseille* (Marseilles, 1899), p. 179 et seq.

Adrien Artaut gives an excellent description of Lavalette's cunning methods :

*“ En quelques années il [Lavalette] dota la maison [des Jésuites] de la Martinique d'un fonds dont a estimé le revenu annuel, peut-être avec un peu d'exagération, à 280,000 livres. . . . La nature de ses opérations n'est pas encore complètement connue, mais il ressort des discussions qu'elles ont soulevées, que ce religieux arriva à diminuer, dans une proportion énorme, le charge qui grevait les retours de la Martinique sur France. . . . Dès que les récoltes de la Mission devinrent trop importantes pour trouver acquéreur sur place, le P. Lavalette se vit obligé de les envoyer en France où on les vendait pour le compte de cette Mission. . . . Le P. Lavalette, combinant l'avantage de la Mission et celui des colons, offrit de délivrer sur ses correspondants de France, chargés de la vente de ses récoltes, des traites à valoir sur le net produit de ces récoltes et de délivrer ces traites au pair. En d'autres termes : pour mille livres reçues à la Martinique, le P. Lavalette faisait payer mille livres en France ; et cependant les mille livres reçues à la Martinique n'en valaient en France pas plus de six cent soixante-six. . . . Les traites étaient données à des échéances très éloignées. . . . Les produits coloniaux se vendaient en France à de bons prix, ce qui permettait de perdre un peu pour réaliser tout de suite ce prix. Enfin, les conditions avantageuses mêmes auxquelles ces traites étaient offertes, inspirèrent d'abord de la méfiance aux colons, qui n'en prirent, en premier lieu, que pour de faibles sommes, et à qui le P. Lavalette n'en remit jamais que pour une partie de la valeur de ses envois. Il resta donc toujours une partie de cette valeur à remettre directement de France et, pour le retour de cette partie, très considérable avant que les traites du P. Lavalette eussent acquis la vogue dont elles jouèrent par la suite, l'intelligent administrateur combina une opération toute contraire qu'il épargnait aux colons : il se fit renvoyer le solde de la valeur de ses envois en espèces qui gagnaient aux Iles cinquante pour cent. L'ensemble de ces combinaisons permettait, on le voit, au P. Lavalette de délivrer, à peu près sans perte, des traites au pair de Martinique sur France.”**

* Georges Roux, *Un Armateur Marseillais* (Paris, 1890), p. 132 et seq.

Fourteen Years a Jesuit

Evidently the Jesuit Lavalette would have played a prominent part in any corn exchange, option business or banking-house.

It is, of course, untrue that the Superiors of the Order knew nothing of Lavalette's affairs, and had not sanctioned them, as the defenders of the Order, with Duhr at their head, assert. How could it have been possible, under the perfect system of control, for the Superiors to know nothing for years of their subordinate's important and extensive affairs which involved France's largest banking houses? No, the Superiors remained silent so long as all went well and advantageously for the Order. And in this case silence certainly means consent.

The "Records of the House" (*historia domus*) of the Jesuit College at Colmar from 1698-1750,* published by Julien See and M. X. Mossmann in 1872, are especially instructive, because they afford us interesting glimpses into the business activity and business ability of the Order. The glimpses are the more interesting because the Records, not being intended for publication, contain uncoloured information. Almost every page gives accounts of purchases, sales, revenues, legacies, gifts, financial law-suits, etc., etc. The entries connected with material profit or loss are much fuller than those relating to spiritual and religious matters. Characteristic "kindnesses" towards other Orders also come to light. I will give a few instances:

From 1720: "*Cette Résidence accepta une petite fondation, que le Sr Benoist Singler de Turgheim et le Sr Medinger et sa femme, ses beau-père et belle-mère firent en la dite année au profit de la Résidence.*" A long lawsuit with the relatives, who were prejudiced to the Jesuits' advantage, was connected with the *fondation*. In this, an assertion was made by the plaintiffs' lawyer: "*que les Jésuites étoient des hérédipets, des furets de succession, des fabrica-*

† *Mémoires des R.R.P.P. Jésuites du Collège de Colmar.* Geneva, Paris, Colmar.

teurs des deux actes, dont était plainte et qu'il étoit temps d'avertir le public d'être en garde contre ces sortes de gens." The lawsuit concluded with an *accommodement*, que le dit Collège (de Colmar) *accepta pour le bien de la paix, et depuis il a vendu du vin provenant de la dite succession, au moyen de quoy il en a acquité plus de mille écus de dettes, de manière que de sept mille francs deübs par le défunt, il reste encore quatre mille livres et plus à payer au Collège de Strasbourg, tant en capitale qu'en intérêt."**

From 1727: It is reported with satisfaction that *un marchand luthérien de Strasbourg* was *assez simple* to rent for sixty livres yearly an unused cellar belonging to the Jesuits, which had never brought in anything previously, and *son bail est pour 9 ans et sera avantageux au Collège.* † The above-mentioned lawsuit regarding the *fondation Sr Benoist Singler* reappears, but *on a trouvé que nous possédons la quantité de vignes, prés, terres labourables, jardins, contenus dans l'acte de la dite donation.* ‡ *Au mois d'Aoust de cette année on a loué les deux gros tonneaux qui étoient vuides, en sorte que le loyer de la cave est présentement de 228 livres.* §

From 1729: (If gain or loss were in question, the Jesuits made short work of it.) *Après avoir averti la ménagère de Turchheim que nous voulions finir avec elle, nous avons loué le petit jardin et le pré dont elle jouissoit, ce qui produit au Collège une rente de 21 livres.* || In July two advantageous purchases of houses were concluded *sous un nom emprunté*, and as *Monsieur le Stätmestre Charlepaur, un luthérien*, also endeavoured to get the houses, the sale was effected *en secret et au plus tot.* ¶ The following entry shows how versed the Jesuits were in money-making: *La Demoiselle Dupuy, surnommée la Flamande, étant morte en 1727 après nous avoir donné 400 livres par son testament: le Père Beaujour pris des mesures en arrivant*

* *Mémoires*, pp. 47, 48. † p. 66. ‡ p. 69 et seq. § p. 70. || p. 72. ¶ p. 74.

à Colmar pour être payé de la dite somme, mais le Sieur du Puy n'étant pas en état d'y satisfaire en donnant de l'argent, on a tiré de lui des toiles et autres marchandises pour la valeur de la somme en question."*

The following remark is characteristic of the followers of Jesus: *Il y a longtemps que nous souhaitons de vendre du vin en gros par le moyen des gourmets de cette ville, mais enfin nous avons réussi cette année et nous en sommes redevables à Mr. Müller, Stämestre, qui a engagé les gourmets à nous rendre service en nous faisant vendre nôtre vin aux Suisses.*†

From 1730: Under date of May 29th, it is reported that three fields at Vintzenheim had been let on lease, and the tenant *doit nous donner chaque année trois sacs de beau froment bien vanné et bien nettoyé, soit que les terres se reposent ou qu'elles soient ensemencées en orge et avoine.* These very favourable terms for letting, which held good in all circumstances, were confirmed, although it is reported of the three fields *deux étoient en friche et le troisième cultivé à grands frais et peu de profit.* The tenant was therefore regularly cheated.‡

The following is an instance of "Christian friendliness": The Dominicans had placed carts at the Jesuits' disposal free of charge, so that the vineyards of the Jesuit College might be prepared, *ce qui nous a épargné au moins 40 livres.* In return for this friendliness, the Jesuits prevented the Dominicans from taking foreign pupils.§ A Christian spirit also pervades the following: As the winter was severe, the Jesuits applied to the town for a consignment of wood. They received it in the form of 10 *cordes de bois.* But the Capuchins also seem to have received wood: *il est surprenant que les Capucins aient 30 cordes de bois chaque année et nous seulement douze.*||

From 1731: *Le 6. du mois de May nous avons fait*

* *Mémoires*, p. 74. † pp. 78, 79. ‡ p. 81. § pp. 95, 126. || p. 96 et seq.

acquisition de deux schatz [a square measure] de terre labourable au canton dit Logelweg, ban d'Ingersheim, moyennant la somme de cent livres et trois livres de tringelt (Trinkgeld). Les raisons qui nous ont porté à faire cet achat sont : 1. que ces deux schatz sont voisines des 4 autres que nous faisons planter en vigne ; 2. qu'il y a huit noyers dans les dites deux schatz, lesquels noyers auroient donné beaucoup d'ombrage à la nouvelle vigne ; 3. que ne faisant pas cette acquisition, il auroit fallu faire une séparation entre l'autre propriétaire et nous, ce qui auroit coûté considérablement. . . . Au mois d'Aoust de cette année nous avons appris que Mademoiselle Chauffour avoit fait son testament, et qu'elle nous avoit légué 600 livres. . . . Pendant le mois de Décembre le P. Beaujour a vu la copie du testament de Mademoiselle Chauffour, où elle augmente son leg pieux de 600 livres, ainsi, si ce testament subsiste, nous toucherons après sa mort la somme de 1,200 livres.†*

From 1736: *Feu Madame Marguerine} a légué à notre Église, pour orner le Saint-Sacrement, 29 [perles fines.‡*

The Capuchins were also forbidden, at the instigation of the Jesuits, to take foreign pupils. This right, which brought material advantages with it, was reserved to the Jesuits.§ *Dans un temps auquel les vignes étoient fort recherchées à cause du prix excessif du vin,* the Jesuits sold a part of their vineyards for 1,272 livres *pour placer l'argent plus utilement ailleurs.*|| Purchase of vineyards for 840, 640 124 livres.¶ Testamentary dispositions in favour of the Jesuits to a not insignificant amount.** 'Through the adroitness of their Rector, the Jesuits obtained gratis from different communities 460 *arbres de sapin non ordinaires mais extraordinairement longs et gros.* The whole was valued at 1,600 livres.†† Madame la Dauphine presented

* *Mémoires*, p. 99. † pp. 107, 108. ‡ p. 114. § p. 114. || p. 115.

¶ pp. 117, 120. ** p. 129 *et seq.*, pp. 132, 136, 143. †† p. 135.

1,000 thalers to the college at the request of her confessor, the Jesuit Croust.* Favourable letting of vineyards, which did not bring in much,† etc., etc.

In 1762, the Chapter of Spalatro presented a memorial to the Venetian Senate in which it complained bitterly of the “intrigues and violence” of the Jesuits, who tried to seize upon everything :

“Besides the handsome allowance which is settled on them from the public treasury for the maintenance of two missionaries, they have seized 2,000 ducats which fell to them as a legacy. The late Archbishop Bizza has also provided for them by another legacy of 8,000 sequins. In addition to this they possess several houses. They have let other houses ; they have some properties in the Spalatro district, and still more important ones on the Island of Brazza. Consequently things have gone so far that three or four strangers [the Jesuits] are much better off than many spiritual communities, and especially than the Chapter of Spalatro, which consists of sixty persons and has a revenue of not more than 160 sequins.”‡

The greed and covetousness of the Jesuits are brought out in a strong light through events in a German town :

A bitter and continuous feud had begun between the Jesuits and several Orders [shortly after the capture of Magdeburg in the Thirty Years' War] because, contrary to the text of the Edict of Restitution, the churches and Church property, which were refused to the Protestants, were not returned to the former possessors, these very Orders, but were taken possession of by the Jesuits who had no legal right to them. The Premonstrants, as well as the Benedictines and Cistercians, had had to suffer from the deeds of violence of the Jesuits. They saw how these sheltered themselves under the favour of the Emperor, who, in order to stamp out heresy the more effectively, would have preferred to transform all

* *Mémoires*, p. 141.

† p. 142.

‡ *Le Bret Magazin*, 1, p. 188.

the old monasteries into Jesuit colleges, academies and seminaries.*

Jesuit acquisitiveness frequently assumed such forms that even Popes intervened.

Urban VIII., in the Constitution *Ex debito* of February 22nd, 1622, forbids all members of Orders, "also those of the Society of Jesus," to carry on commerce. Clement IX. renewed this prohibition in the Constitution *Sollicitudo pastoralis* of June 17th, 1669, again calling special attention to the "Religious of the Society of Jesus." He lays stress on the fact that many from the above-mentioned Orders, consequently also from the Society of Jesus, had, in spite of the ecclesiastical laws, carried on commerce and had evaded the instructions of Urban VIII. by means of subterfuges and pretexts.†

It is noteworthy here that, whilst the remaining Orders are only mentioned in a general way (Mendicants and non-Mendicants), the Society of Jesus is specially mentioned and not less than nine times.‡

Two lawsuits of recent times reveal the avarice of the Jesuits and the roundabout ways in which they satisfy their rapacity in exactly the same hideous forms :

From May 13th to May 16th, 1864, the trial, which at the time agitated the whole world, of Benedict de Buck, accused of having threatened to kill the Belgian Jesuit Lhoire, was held at the Brussels Assizes. After the first few hours of the proceedings, however, it was no longer

* K. Wittig, *Magdeburg als katholisches Marienburg: Historische Zeitschrift* 1891, vol. 66, p. 60.

† *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, VII. (1872), 319 *et seq.*

‡ Duhr tries to soften down the special mention of the Jesuit Order when he writes (p. 645) that, according to Papal privileges, "the Society of Jesus was not understood in certain prohibitions, even if these had to do with all the spiritual Orders, unless specially mentioned." Duhr does not see that, if this is really as he says, the special mention of the "Society of Jesus" by Urban VIII. and Clement IX. is a convincing proof that the Jesuit Order had had an active share in commercial and financial operations. For otherwise, on account of the Papal privileges, it would not have been mentioned.

the accused, de Buck, who stood in the dock, but the Jesuits Lhoire, Hessels, Bossaert and Franqueville. They were convicted of having induced the millionaire, William de Boey, who died in Antwerp in 1850, to make a will which handed over his estate of millions to the Belgian Jesuits, unjustly passing over de Boey's poor relations (the de Bucks) and appointing a sham heir, the lawyer Valentyns, who was attached to the Jesuits and almost unknown to the testator. The accused, de Buck (who had uttered the threat in a rage at his unjust disinheritance brought about by the Jesuits), was acquitted, and the accusing Jesuits left the Assize Court branded as legacy-hunters.*

A lawsuit which took place in July, 1890, at Straubing, in Bavaria, likewise ended disadvantageously for the Jesuits. Personal recollections are connected with this:

In 1881, during my stay at Wynandsrade, my fellow-scholastic, Brother Karl Ebenhöch, died there from inflammation of the lungs. He had been my "guardian angel" during my postulancy at Exaeten. I therefore obtained permission to help in nursing him. I was a witness of his hard death-struggle and death. He repeatedly cried out during his last hours: "Mother, the money! Mother, the money!" The cry sounded to me so strange and weird that I made known my uneasiness to the Rector, the Jesuit Hermann Nix. He eased my mind and explained everything away by ascribing the cry to "inexplicable hallucinations of delirium." I only learnt after my departure from the Order that a lawsuit had taken place in 1890 before the jury at Straubing, in which the widowed mother of the late Karl Ebenhöch, Babette Ebenhöch, the Catholic priest of Kronungen, Johann Hartmann, the Jesuit, Hermann Nix, and a sum

* Cf. the pamphlet, *Der Jesuitenprozess in Brüssel*. Cologne and Düsseldorf, 1864.

of 66,000 marks had played the leading parts. The priest Hartmann was condemned to three years' imprisonment and ten years' loss of civil rights for inciting to perjury, and Frau Ebenhöch, whom Hartmann had incited to commit perjury, was acquitted. It appeared from the documents of the action that Frau Ebenhöch's son, the Jesuit Ebenhöch, who died in my presence, had inherited a sum of 66,000 marks from his grandmother. It was stated in the will that if the heir died without issue, the inheritance should pass to two aunts, his mother's sisters-in-law. The accused woman did not at first reply to the President's question as to what had become of the money after her son's death. And thus the President ascertained that the money had not come to the two aunts, but had been handed over to the Jesuits in Holland. Finally, the accused declared that 36,000 marks out of the 66,000 had been given back to her by the Jesuits. The two aunts sued for the delivering up of the inheritance for which the accused was responsible. The proceedings disclosed that Frau Ebenhöch had obtained the advice of the Jesuits, and especially that of the Jesuit, Hermann Nix, as to her action in the case. Letters from this Jesuit, but without any signature, dated from Ditton Hall, in England, where Nix was then the "spiritual father," *i.e.* the spiritual director of the theological scholastics, were found in Frau Ebenhöch's possession. The participation of the Jesuit Nix also follows from the letters of the priest Hartmann, who had induced the accused woman to make false affidavits as to her fortune. Nix is not called by his proper name in these letters, but "Mr. Dittonhall" (his place of residence in England), or "Mr. Widnes" (the Ditton Hall post town), and the remittances of the Jesuits to Frau Ebenhöch are mentioned as "the sending of pictures." A legal document drawn up in the Jesuit Nix's presence was read aloud in which young Ebenhöch

Fourteen Years a Jesuit

bequeathed his wealth to the Jesuits. The priest Hartmann, who lied at the opening of the case, admitted finally with tears that he had only lied "because he had believed it to be his sacred duty not to expose the Jesuits." To the President's question as to whether the Jesuits, and especially the Jesuit Nix, were consequently at the bottom of the matter, Hartmann began a reply, but then stopped short. No doubt this was a reply.*

When the dying Ebenhöch's cry, "Mother, the money!" sounded in my ears, I had no idea of the story behind it, which was to be unfolded a few years later in the Assize Court of Lower Bavaria. I believed the statement of the Jesuit Nix, the chief culprit in the lawsuit, that the dying man had spoken in "inexplicable hallucinations of delirium."

All that has been said with reference to the wealth and the money-making of the Order and the love of luxury which sprang from it is confirmed by the strictly private *Memoirs* written by the Jesuit Cordara and so frequently quoted. Döllinger has brought this important document to light from the dust of the archives at Munich :

"Many reproach the Society with avarice and an extravagant lust for wealth. It caused a stir that the Society should be provided with such large revenues, and that in a short time its wealth should have reached and even surpassed that of the old Orders."

And its historiographer, for Cordara was this for thirty-five years, can give no other answer to the accusation than :

"That which is attributable to the piety of the faithful was imputed to the avarice and cunning of the Jesuits."†

Cordara therefore acknowledges the wealth of his

* The documentary account of the lawsuit, with its previous history, is to be found in the writing: *Der Jesuiten-Sensationsprozess des Pfarrers Hartmann von Kronungen verhandelt vor dem Schwurgerichte in Straubing*. Barmen, 1891.

† *Denkwürdigkeiten* : Döllinger, *Beiträge*, 3, 66.

Order, but he traces back its origin to the "piety of the faithful," and abstains from saying that the "piety" was, as we have seen, largely stimulated by the "insinuations" and the "gratuitous" aid of the Jesuits.

Cordara's account of a conversation he had with the King of Sardinia is still more plain and incriminating :

The King told him that two things had been specially harmful to his Order—its boundless wealth (*divitias immodicas*) and its predominance over the other Orders. I replied : "This may be so (*id ita esse fortasse*). And so far as the wealth is concerned, I have frequently admitted that, although many colleges suffered from want, the whole Society might be called rich and opulent (*divitem et opulentam*)."*

Cordara, it is true, lays stress on the poverty and the simplicity of life of the individual Jesuits in opposition to the admitted wealth and luxury of the whole Society. But the results are poor. For he cannot unwrite the words which he sets down in a spirit of complaint and blame a few pages further on regarding the effeminacy and luxuriousness of individual Jesuits, of the "apostles," as he sarcastically calls them : †

" . . . Many of our 'apostles' wished for a quiet and inactive life under the shade of the colleges ; they believed that they had worked very hard when they had spent the whole morning in hearing the confessions of a few pious women (*mulierculæ*). . . . Many of them, after preaching once a week to a pious congregation of noblemen or merchants, devoted the rest of their time to the care of their bodies or to reading, or else spent it in intercourse with friends or unprofitable conversation. I myself have known 'apostles,' who not only shunned all labour and trouble, but were

* *Denkwürdigkeiten* : Döllinger, *Beiträge*, p. 35 *et seq.*

† To the King's reproach with regard to the Jesuit predominance over other Orders, Cordara replies by referring to the tyranny of the Dominicans, who as Inquisitors, had at their disposal against their antagonists "the dungeon and executioner" (*carceres lictoresque*).

more effeminate than women; who thought themselves very ill-used if they had to forgo their morning chocolate or their after-dinner nap, if they were deprived at any time of food or sleep. And yet these were men whom birth and education had not accustomed to luxury; on the contrary, they had from youth upwards received a hard, even a harsh training. Their effeminacy was acquired in the Society of Jesus.”*

I will conclude this chapter with an amusing and doubtless true story from the satirical pen of Saint-Simon :

“ When a fleet from India was unloading at Cadiz, eight large cases came to hand labelled ‘ Chocolate for the Most Venerable Father General of the Society of Jesus.’ The cases were so exceedingly heavy as to cause curiosity as to their contents. They proved to be large balls of chocolate, the weight of which aroused suspicion. A ball was broken open, and gold was found concealed inside, covered by a layer of chocolate of the thickness of a finger. The Jesuits were informed of the circumstance; but these cunning politicians were very careful not to claim this valuable ‘ chocolate.’ They preferred losing it to confessing.”†

* *Denkwürdigkeiten* : Döllinger, *Beiträge*, p. 64 *et seq.*

† *Mémoires*, II., 433, 434.

CHAPTER XVII

THE CRITICISM CONTINUED: THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE CONSTITUTIONS

Vows are more or less common to all Orders; it is the constitutions which show the special characteristics of each. So, too, in the case of the Jesuit Order. My intention is to show the great discrepancy between the theoretical excellence of the Jesuit Constitutions and the actual life and work of the Order.

It is, of course, impossible to refer to all the facts in question; a few important items must suffice.

THE ARROGANCE OF THE ORDER

The Constitutions overflow with humility; the glory of God is everything, the glory of the Order nothing. And indeed a Society of Jesus should be founded on humility. But it is only on paper that humility is the basis of the Society of Jesus. Its life and work are characterised by a spirit of unlimited arrogance. Though the Constitutions constantly refer to the Jesuit Order as "our poor little Society" (*minima societas*), in word and deed it assumes the rank of the greatest, the *maxima societas*, whose glory fills the world, and in comparison with which all else is small and mean. "God, I thank thee that I am not as other men are . . . or even as this publican." These hard and haughty words of the Pharisee express the real but unwritten motto of the Jesuit Order. Their current

motto, "Everything to the greater glory of God" (*Omnia ad majorem Dei gloriam*), proclaimed aloud wherever they set foot, and graven in gold and stone on all their works, appears in the light of history to be a mere false pretence under the cloak of religion.

Hard words these, and before I attempt to justify them by the acts and declarations of the Order itself, I will make way for a man whose judgment on the Jesuit Order is of the first importance and whose heart was full of love and enthusiasm for it.

I refer to the Jesuit Cordara, of whom I have spoken before. For thirty-five years, up to the suppression of the Order in 1773, he held one of the most important positions, that of historiographer to the Order, which gave him official knowledge of everything, even the secret reports. After the suppression of the Order, Cordara published *Memoirs*, in which he raises this among other questions: "Why did God permit the suppression of the Jesuit Order?" Here is his answer:

"It is doubtless true that we had also grown accustomed to condoning numerous crimes according to human fashion. (*Multa etiam inter nos admitti consuevisse humano more crimina pro non dubio habendum.*) It may also be assumed that a special stain attached to the Society, which excited the wrath of God against us. Let us examine its nature more closely, although the Divine judgment be dark and far from human comprehension. The investigation will lead us, if not to positive, at least to probable conclusions. . . . I presume that it [the Society of Jesus] appeared holier than it was, in any case not of such holiness as is required by the Constitutions and the sacredness of our duties. . . . Our churches were splendid, and their adornment expensive. The festivals of the saints were celebrated with pomp and splendour. But was it solely for the sake of religion, or rather to show off our power? This is hidden from men, who only see the exterior, but not from God, who proves hearts and reins. . . . I have often wondered why it was that with us any transgression against chastity was

so severely punished, whereas our Superiors were so mild and indulgent towards other transgressions of a more grievous nature, such as backbitings, slanders, and revilings. And I believe that it was not because the former were worse and more displeasing to God, but because, if they had become known, they might have obscured the power and glory of the Society.* The sin of pride is secret. It creeps into good actions, so as to be hardly distinguishable from virtue. But God, Who seeth in secret, is not deceived. . . . Nothing is more hateful to God than pride. Nothing rouses His anger more or provokes Him to vengeance. God resists the proud, and gives His grace to the humble. But if we do not wish to deceive ourselves, we must confess that our community has suffered much from this disease. Our novice-masters filled us with this spirit when they impressed on our tender minds so great an estimate of the Society. They represented admission to the Society as an incomparable gift, a benefit of God, than which there could be no greater. They tell anecdotes of those who preferred the habit of the Society to tiara and purple. It is in vain that they afterwards combat pride after having sown such seeds of it. With this same spirit the youths are inspired during their studies, as no authors are praised except Jesuits, no books prescribed but such as are written by Jesuits, no examples of virtue quoted but such as are represented by Jesuits, so that these poor youths are easily convinced that the Society of Jesus excels all other Orders in learning and holiness. And some weak-minded persons even believe that everything praiseworthy done in the world was done under the auspices of our Society. This opinion, adopted in youth, the majority do not abandon in later life, and I know some old men who still continue to live in this delusion. And I confess that I myself was thus deluded for a long time. . . . And all the external circumstances favoured this pride and arrogance. The magnificence of the buildings, the splendour of the churches, the pomp of the festivals, the favours of the populace inspired us with pride. Wherever we turned our eyes, we met with occasions for pride. . . . Then there was the

* Cordara's words are a valuable testimony to the fact that the Ordinance of General Acquaviva, not to punish breaches of chastity if they have not given rise to public scandal, is generally observed.

Fourteen Years a Jesuit

great multitude of our flatterers, who spoke to us almost solely about the superior merits of the Society and the defects of other Orders. . . . There were certain differences, too, between the Society of Jesus and the other Orders, so that the main body of Jesuits believed that they had nothing in common with members of other Orders and considered them as greatly inferior. . . . Another source of pride within the Society was the noble rank of many Jesuits. As all [Jesuits] treated one another as brothers, even those who were not of the nobility seemed to acquire that rank, and were regarded outside the Order as aristocrats. . . . The entire Society of Jesus, at least in Italy, was permeated by irrational pride, and but rarely a Jesuit gave precedence to a member of the nobility. Even our lay brothers regarded themselves as noble, and on this account better than members and priests of other Orders. I may quote here an occurrence, true, though almost incredible, which happened to me when I was staying for my health at the country house of the Roman College at Albano. One of our lay brothers named Jarolfo was there as manager of the country house and other property belonging to the *Collegium Romanum*. Although himself the son of a peasant, he was much honoured by the villagers as the superintendent of great possessions and treated almost as a prince (*dynasta*). He told me that at some festivals he was invited to the banquets of the Franciscans, and boasted that on such occasions the seat of honour usually occupied by the superintendent of the monastery was given to him. I reproved him gently, and tried to make him understand that he should take precedence of lay brothers, but not of priests, which latter was not seemly. To which he replied in irritation (*stomachans*): 'As if lay brothers of our Society were not equal to the priests of other Orders.' So much superior our people deemed themselves to those of other Orders. The majority of Jesuits believed that they had nothing in common with other Orders, and considered them as greatly inferior to themselves. . . . Of these differences [between other Orders and the Order of the Jesuits] the Jesuits boasted, and held them as marks of distinction and deemed themselves above all other monks. . . . All this [the merits of the Dominicans] most of our people either ignored or deprecated, and considered themselves equal or superior to the

Dominicans ; their opposition they declared to be creditable to themselves, and whatever could break the power of this most powerful Dominican Order, and obscure its reputation, they attributed to their own glory. On all other Orders they looked with something approaching contempt. They were continually bragging of their Bellarmin, Suarez, Sirmond, Petavius [famous Jesuit authors], and boasted the more insolently of the merits of these others, because they themselves, having little or no knowledge of the history of literature, believed that hardly one other first-class author existed besides those mentioned. . . . I have known few among my fellows, who preferred foreign [non-Jesuit] preachers or scholars to their own, but many who despised and ridiculed them. Another more subtle kind of pride I seem to have recognised in that immaculate chastity of the members so much extolled by the multitude, and I do not know if God has not been provoked by this very pride to desire the destruction of the Society. Chastity was highly valued by the Jesuits ; they basked in its splendour, they boasted of being distinguished by it from other monks. I have often heard them say that much that was disgraceful was spread abroad about other Orders, many bad examples were set by them, but that nothing of the kind happened among the Jesuits. By means of such talk they were not only tempted to secret vain-glory, but they took occasion in consequence to lord it over other Orders, and to despise these latter as the scum of humanity. They did not consider that the boast of chastity is as nothing in God's eyes if love be not added unto it, and that in the Gospel those virgins were called foolish who had not the oil of love in their lamps. They did not consider that before God humility is worth more, and is more excellent, than chastity.”*

To these words, so full of emotion and religious feeling, I need add nothing of my own. It will suffice to quote a few more facts from the Order's endless record of arrogance.

It was revealed to Saint Mary Magdalene of Pazzi that God in heaven delighted so greatly in two saints, that it was as if there were no other saints in heaven

* Cordara, S.J., *Denkwürdigkeiten*. Döllinger, *Beiträge*, 3, 64-74.

Fourteen Years a Jesuit

beside them; these were St. John the Evangelist and St. Ignatius Loyola.*

The Jesuit Ludovicus Mansonius, Provincial of the Neapolitan Province, a particularly prominent member of the Order, reports that Christ had appeared to the sainted virgin Johanna ab Alexandro, a penitent of his confessional, on the seventh of June, 1598, in the Jesuit church at Naples, and had said to her :

“I desire that everyone should love the Society [of Jesus] specially, because it is My Society, and I constantly bear it in My heart, and cannot allow that a member thereof should suffer from any greater fault. . . . Know also, O My daughter, that as long as My Society continues, and I desire that, being named with My name, it should continue to the end of the world, I require this one thing of its members, that they walk in My footsteps.”†

In the discussion on the surrender of the Carolinian Academy at Prague to the Jesuits, the Order declared :

“No one could watch more carefully or conscientiously over the maintenance of the Catholic Faith in the kingdom, no one could distinguish more accurately and safely between true and false doctrine, finally no one could better train the young in piety and good conduct, than the Society of Jesus, which disregarded all earthly gain or profit, and was wholly consecrated to virtue and religion.” ‡

The Jesuits Höver and Miller write :

“The reputation of the comparatively new Society of Jesus began just at that time to spread more and more. Its founder,

* See Döllinger-Reusch, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, II., 350.

† *Ibid.*, I., 529, and II., 346. The “revelation” on the retaining of the name—Society of Jesus—is a favour “from Heaven” to Sixtus V., who, having resolved to alter the name, died suddenly in 1590, and perhaps also a warning “from heaven” to his successors not to expose themselves to a similar fate. *Comp. Hübner, Side-Quint* (Paris, 1870), II., 54, 55.

‡ Tomek, *Geschichte der Prager Universität* (Prague, 1849), p. 253.

Saint Ignatius Loyola, had recently been beatified by Paul V. ; the fame of Francis Xavier, the Apostle of India and Japan, filled the Catholic world. Peter Canisius was considered the 'hammer of heretics' in Germany ; Spain was proud of her Duke of Gandia, the humble holy Jesuit Francis Borgia ; Laynez, and Salmeron had distinguished themselves in the Council of Trent as extremely learned theologians ; Aloysius and Stanislaus were venerated as examples to the young, and 'angels in the flesh' ; Bellarmin and Suarez were quoted by all people of culture. News penetrated to Europe from Japan, India, China, and the rest of the foreign missions of the splendid successes of Jesuit missionaries. From England came reports of the glory of their preachers and martyrs, of a blessed Father Edmund Campian, Garnet, Parsons, and so many others. Germany boasted, besides the blessed Father Canisius, of a venerable Johannes Rem, and of many other notable preachers and great men. The schools and universities of the Jesuits vied with the best establishments of Europe. . . . When Donna Arsilia Altissimi heard the funeral bell of the Roman College in the morning of the 13th of August, she said to her two daughters : 'A Jesuit must have died just now ; come, let us pray for his soul.' They knelt down at the altar of their private chapel, and (to quote her statements on oath) : 'With Victoria and Anna I desired, beads in hand, to say the *De Profundis* for the dead, but, strange to say, the *Te Deum* rose to my lips instead. I tried for a second, third, and fourth time, but never could utter the *De Profundis*. Then my daughter Victoria tried, but she could not say it either, but said against her will : 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.' We marvelled, and said to one another : 'A great saint must have died in the College.' In the afternoon we went to the Church of the College, and found an enormous crowd of people in it. There we heard that a young Belgian Father [the Jesuit Berchmanns, canonised by Leo XIII.] had died in the odour of sanctity. . . .

"On August 14th, 1621, at four o'clock in the morning, the Jesuit lay-brother, Thomas di Simoni, was favoured with the following revelation : He saw heaven open. From a lofty, shining throne of clouds he beheld Mary, Queen of Angels, descending to him. Two princes of heaven carried her on a splendid throne.

One of them was robed in a white surplice. As he was on the other side of the Queen of Heaven, the lay brother could not see his face, but he thought it must have been St. Aloysius [also a Jesuit]. The other was Johannes Berchmanns in the habit of the Jesuits."*

The bombastically boastful words of the Jesuit Löffler, quoted in Chapter V., on the Marian Congregations, are applicable here too, also the arrogant "revelations" as to the predestination of all Jesuits to salvation and above all a literary monument of pride, self-erected by the Order.

The work, *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Jesu*, "A Picture of the First Century of the Society of Jesus," appeared in 1640 at Antwerp. On account of their unbounded arrogance, its contents gradually grew extremely unpleasant to the Order. How much this work was felt to be an incubus by the Order was proved by the communication made by Gerhard van Swieten to Maria Theresa on December 24th, 1759, according to which the Order was trying to buy up all the copies at high prices.

"*Le 'saeculum primum societatis' est tel que la Société [de Jésus] rachepte tous les exemplaires à grand prix pour anéantir la mémoire, s'il fût possible. . . . Ce livre fera toujours la confusion de la Société.*"†

To this day the Jesuits try to represent the "Imago" as "essays of young scholastics," or, as the Jesuit Duhr expresses it, merely "a poetical and rhetorical festival oration."‡ The attempt is thoroughly dishonest.

The mere outward form of the folio volume published by the then famous Plantin Press (Balthasar Moretus), almost 1,000 pages, typed and illustrated with obtrusive

* *Leben des heiligen Johannes Berchmanns* (Dülmen, 1901), p. 50 f, 190 f, 194.

† Contributed by Fournier, Gerhard van Swieten als Zensor: *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, v. 24, p. 454.

‡ *Jesuitenfabeln*, p. 560.

luxuriousness, such that Crétineau-Joly is forced to admit “*le luxe de la typographie et l’art de la gravure*,”* contradicts the repeated assertion of Jesuits as to “mere exercises in style of young scholastics.” “Mere exercises” are not published in such luxurious garb. Indeed the title-page states that the Flemish-Belgian Province of the Order had “designed” the “picture”: *Imago . . . a provincia flandro-belgica . . . repraesentata*, and in the *Imprimatur* of January 8th, 1640, the Jesuit Johannes van Tollenare, Provincial Superior of the Flemish-Belgian Province, says:

“After three theologians of our Society had revised the book, ‘A Picture of the First Century of the Society of Jesus,’ drafted by the Flemish-Belgian Province of the Order of the same Society.”

The portentous volume is, therefore, the description of the life and work of the Society of Jesus, *officially* drafted by one of its Provinces and presented to the Society on the special occasion of the centenary celebration of the Society of Jesus.

In these circumstances it would be absolutely impossible to speak of insignificance in connection with the *Imago*, even if its authors had been really “young scholastics.” For the prestige they lacked would be amply supplied by that of the three theologians who were commissioned by the Provincial to examine the work and who passed it for press. Above all, there would be the important prestige of a whole “Province,” which adopted and published the contents of the work as its intellectual property.

But the Jesuitical evasion as to the scholastic authorship may be refuted from the work itself. For the very preface states that the work had been composed and published by very busy men (*conceptum, compositum ab*

* *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 3, 471.

hominibus occupatissimis), an expression utterly inapplicable to scholastics, and on page 24 it says that the strenuous occupation of the authors consisted of preaching, teaching of various branches of knowledge, and performance of the other offices of the Society. But such occupations are not for scholastics.

These words of the *Imago* were naturally known to the Jesuit Duhr. Yet he writes untruthfully of "poetical and rhetorical festival orations" and of the "poetical and rhetorical effusions of the Jesuits and Jesuit students" which had been "collected" in the *Imago*.*

Through the irony of history, however, Duhr was given the lie by one of his own Order. The Jesuit Bremer confesses, in his small Church Lexicon,† that the author and designer of the *Imago* was no less a person than the chief hagiographer of the Order, the Jesuit Bollandus, whose name is on the gigantic work *Acta Sanctorum*. Let us, however, assume Duhr's gross prevarication to be true. If young scholastics had really collaborated in the work, this would render its significance the greater. For the deduction would be that the contents of the *Imago* are the genuine embodiment of the true Jesuit spirit, that spirit in which the young scholastics of the Order have themselves been trained, that spirit which is fostered in them by the Order itself from the first hour of their novitiate, as the Jesuit Cordara has so well described it.

Besides, the written work of students is submitted to the strictest supervision and examination by their superiors. And if the spirit of the *Imago* had not been the genuine spirit of the Jesuits, how could a whole Province with its head have backed the young students, and have imprinted on their work the official stamp of its approval? No! the magnificent volume, *Imago primi saeculi Societatis*

* Duhr, *Jesuitenfabeln*, pp. 506, 507.

† *Kirchliches Handlexikon* (Munich, 1907), I., 685.

Jesu, is a Jesuit product, the genuineness and originality of which it would be hard to match, and it is, therefore, of the first importance in forming an estimate of the Jesuit system. It is true that the estimate must be based on the point of view of religious asceticism.

The Order of the Jesuits is a religious Order. It even professes to be a prominent type of what the Church of Rome calls "the state of an Order, state of Christian perfection"—so prominent as to consider itself justified in taking to itself the name of the Founder of the Christian religion, the ideal of Christian perfection, the name of Jesus Christ. But the essential characteristics of Jesus are humility, absence of self-aggrandisement, of all self-praise, all vainglory, or boasting of His own actions.

From this point of view of Christ, an estimate of the *Imago* and the spirit which produced it must be condemnatory. Not the spirit of Christ is expressed in it, but the anti-Christian spirit of what Catholic asceticism, in strongest aversion, calls "the world." Most substantial pride, vain arrogance, immeasurable ambition abound in this centennial volume. Spiritual pride it was, that cardinal sin against which the Scriptures so specially warn Christians, which alone indited the composition of the *Imago*, so exclusively and so emphatically indeed that, even if the work had been the product of a secular society, not obliged to follow ascetic principles in the description of its actions, the excess of self-glorification displayed in it would still be loathsome and revolting.

In the first place, let us look at the illustrations of the *Imago* :

The title-page displays, in the figure of a virgin, the Society of Jesus enthroned on the back of Chronos, the God of time. Above it are floating angels, holding crowns of victory with the inscriptions : To the teacher (*doctores*), the martyr (*martyri*), the virgin (*virgini*). On lofty columns

there are two angels blowing trumpets, whence issue scrolls with the words: "Loyola embraces a hundred years," and "May he encompass the whole world." Six shields, borne by angels, represent the birth of the Society of Jesus, the spread of the Society over the whole earth, the Society as benefactress of the world, the Society growing famous through persecutions, the Society loved by Belgium (referring to the publication of the *Imago* by the Belgian-Flemish Province). Like the frontispiece are the illustrations of the text. Under the superscription: "The Society of Jesus," is a picture of the sun shining on the globe; below this the verse of the Psalm: "And nothing is hid from the heat thereof."* Under the heading: "Prophecy for the coming century of the Society of Jesus," a picture of Noah's Ark† floating on the waters. Under the heading: "The Society of Jesus spread over the whole globe fulfils the prophecy of Malachi: 'For from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, My name is great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto My name, and a pure offering,'" the two hemispheres are represented.‡ Under the heading: "The Society spreads the faith over the whole world," a picture of four trumpets resounding from clouds, below which is the verse of the Psalm: "Their line is gone out through all the earth."§ Under the heading: "Conversion of kingdoms and provinces by the Society of Jesus," a picture of the globe suspended and floating freely from an elaborate pulley, with an angel turning the lever; below this: "Give her a foothold and she will move the earth," and below a bombastic poem on this gigantic feat of "the descendants of Loyola."|| Under the heading: "The Society equipped for missions," a picture of lightning darting from clouds, and splitting rocks, below this a verse from the book of Job: "He

* P. 43.

† P. 51.

‡ P. 318.

§ P. 320.

|| P. 321.

sendeth lightnings, that they may go, and returning say unto him, Here we are.”*

Under the heading: “The Indian Missions of the Society,” a picture of an angel with a bow and arrow, standing between the two hemispheres; below this: “One sphere does not suffice.”† Under the heading: “The Society’s task is to act and suffer strenuously,” a picture of a bull standing between ploughshare and sacrificial altar; below this, “Ready for either.”‡ Under the heading: “The Society exhausts itself without remuneration in the service of its neighbour,” a picture of a fountain with sevenfold jet; below this the words from Isaiah: “Ho, everyone that thirsteth, come ye to the waters . . . buy without money and without price.”§ Under the heading: “Congregation of the Blessed Virgin,” a picture of the Milky Way, extending across the nocturnal sky; below this: “The way to the Heights.”|| Under the heading: “The Society by precept and example shows the way to salvation,” a picture of three angels holding torches with flames uniting into one; below this the words: “The light itself enflaming giveth light, though lightened for others.”¶ Under the heading: “Education of Boys,” a picture of an eagle teaching her young to fly; below this the verse of the Scriptures: “As the eagle sheweth her young to fly.”** Under the heading, “The Society trained to fight during a whole century,” a picture of a strong arm, proceeding from the clouds, holding a flag rent by the storm; below this the words: “It hath beauty greater than its own.”†† Under the heading: “The Society is in vain attacked by its enemies,” a picture of a crowd of men wearing fool’s caps aiming arrows at the sun; below this: “No arrow hits the sun.”‡‡ Under the heading: “The frequent fastings of Ignatius enduring for several days,”

* P. 324. † P. 326. ‡ P. 453. § P. 455. || P. 464.
¶ P. 466. ** P. 470. †† P. 564. ‡‡ P. 565.

a picture of a bird of Paradise flying across desert lands, below this: "He lives on little, because he is close to heaven."*

All these pictures are explained by long poems, overflowing with complacency and self-righteousness.

The poems suggest the text of the work, which is composed of poetry and prose. Setting aside the poetry, I will proceed to give specimens of the prose: The Preface declares Jesus to be the sun, and the Order of the Jesuits the moon; it also remarks that it is useless to supply the Preface with a date, as this is naturally suggested by the universal rejoicing at the centenary jubilee of the Society of Jesus. Still, the authors seem to have been somewhat afraid of the accusation of vainglory, and they therefore say "modestly": "Our work could not be under suspicion of conceit, as though we wished to praise ourselves or our own. The Society is wholly the work of God and not of men. We glorify God's work. Has He not often commanded that His works should be extolled with the highest praises? Nor need we keep silence concerning the praise of our forefathers for fear of sounding our own. Those whom God has employed as helpers and labourers in so great a work could not be omitted from our presentment; their merits are new, divine benefits declared merely as a public thanksgiving."

The conclusion is in harmony with the introduction. When the praise of the Society of Jesus had been continuously proclaimed for 949 folio pages, we read on page 950: "If we take into account the merits of the Society and the desires of its members, much yet remains to be said. But, in order to bring it to a conclusion, let us greet it [the Society of Jesus] with the words of most eminent men, but recently written or spoken." Then follow laudatory comments by Popes and other persons.

The work is divided into six books. The synopsis at the end of the preface gives an excellent general impression of the arrogant spirit pervading the whole, as a short sketch of the contents of each book, based on a passage of Scripture referring to Christ, institutes a comparison between the Jesuit Order and a definite period in the life of Christ: "Who being in the form of God . . . made Himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant," and was born a beggar in a stable. Thus the first book will show how Ignatius, a descendant of the highest nobility, became a beggar, and as a result this "poor little Society" was founded. After the birth of Christ we are told of Him: "'Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man.' Following in His footsteps, we shall describe in the second book the growth of the Society," etc., etc.

The first book is preceded by an introduction, consisting of seven dissertations. They contain this passage: "Those who have died in the Society of Jesus have fulfilled a century, for age is not measured by the length and number of years, but wisdom is better in men than grey hairs."* The first book describes "The Birth of the Society." "When that monster of the universe, that fatal plague, Martin Luther, had cast out all religion from his mind, and had divested himself not only of the garb of religion, but also of all its external forms, even the fear of sin . . . did not the warrior Ignatius face him in the arena?"† As Christ Himself, so also the Jesuit Order was foretold by the prophets.‡ Jesus Himself is the true founder of the Society. "It is evident that the Society of Jesus is distinguished as to time only from the community of the Apostles. It is not a new order, but only a renewal of that first religious community whose one only founder was Jesus."§ The name "Society of

* P. 35.

† P. 55.

‡ Pp. 59-64.

§ Chap. III., p. 65.

Fourteen Years a Jesuit

Jesus" was revealed to Ignatius by God Himself.* "By no other means is chastity so much endangered as by the other sex, which often, without any participation of its own, weakens resolution, shakes firmness and suddenly precipitates the highest virtue into the abyss."†

The subject of the second book is the growth of the Society. In ten chapters, four discourses and eighteen poems,‡ with bombastic self-glorification, the spread of the Order of the Jesuits over the whole world is traced to the Order's intrinsic merit. Fifteen pages are filled with funeral orations (*elogia sepulcralia*) on Ignatius and his first disciples, which vie with one another in arrogant expression.§ The third book describes the actual work of the Society. In preaching, instruction and education, the Jesuit Order attains the most excellent results. By its means morality and piety have been restored, its charity is unlimited.|| The successful activity of the Jesuit Order in the confessionals is described and praised in these frivolous words: "How crowded they are everywhere! How often has the industrious zeal of our confessors been insufficient for the number of penitents. Crimes are now redeemed more cheerfully and eagerly than they were formerly committed. . . . The majority wash off their sins almost as soon as they have burdened themselves with them."¶ The chariot of God described by the prophet Ezekiel foreshadows the Jesuit Order, "as any honest critic may easily recognise."** The noble spirit of the Jesuits (*generositas*) is eloquently praised.†† Through the sagacity of its members, the Jesuit Order resembles the eagle. . . . Equipped with wisdom, virtue, mental qualities, sagacity, and industry, they distinguish truth from falsehood; they examine, perceive, and understand everything, nor do they occupy the

* Chap. IV.

† P. 92.

‡ Pp. 204-330.

§ Pp. 280-295.

|| Pp. 331-400.

¶ P. 372.

** P. 401.

†† P. 403.

lowest place in the arena of art and science. All that is flourishing in the humanities, all the intricacies of philosophy, all the hidden things in Nature, all the difficulties in mathematics, all the mysteries of the Godhead shining in darkness would be proclaimed by their works, which fill great libraries, though I were to pass them over in silence.”* This self-praise continues for another seventy-four folio pages of prose and verse.†

The fourth book deals with the tribulations of the Order‡; these are unmerited; their chief cause is the hatred of the wicked against the Jesuits. On the slanders directed against the Order: “The Son of Man came eating and drinking [the Society of Jesus came after the example of its leader, contenting itself with ordinary food and raiment] and they say: ‘Behold a glutton, a drunkard,’ the Society is soft, luxurious, effeminate.”§

The fifth book revels in a display of honours gained by the Order of the Jesuits.|| One chapter (the fifth) is filled with miracles wrought by Jesuits. The next chapter describes the heroic virtues practised in the Order. The eighth chapter proves from special “revelations” that everyone who dies a Jesuit goes to heaven. “It is the privilege of the Society of Jesus that Jesus Himself comes to meet every dying Jesuit.”¶ The ninth chapter enumerates the honours shown to the Order of the Jesuits by Popes, kings and princes. In the tenth chapter the list of honours is continued by quotations from panegyrics on the Jesuits by famous men, among them a bishop: “O sacred Society, formerly not sufficiently known or appreciated by me, thou excellest the pastoral staff, mitres, cardinal’s purple, sceptres, empires and crowns!”** It is significant that this fifth book, which extols the honours of the Jesuit Order, contains nearly the

 * P. 406 *et seq.*

† Pp. 406-480.

‡ Pp. 481-580.

§ P. 559.

|| Pp. 581-727.

¶ Pp. 648, 649.

** P. 667.

largest number of pages (147) of the six books of the *Imago*.

The sixth book, extolling the glorious achievements of the Flemish-Belgian Province of the Order, which concludes the work, displays to the last the same arrogant spirit and hatred of Luther. On page 937, the Belgian lion is depicted with the Jesuit emblem on its breast, inscribed all over with the names of Belgian-Flemish Settlements of the Jesuits. Below the picture is a poem, entitled: "The sun [*i.e.* the sign or emblem of the Jesuits] on the Belgian lion." Here is a verse of this poem: "He [the Belgian lion] bears Loyola's emblem graven on his breast. Greeting from afar with bowed neck the divine [Ignatius], he rejoices to lick his sacred feet."

Enough of quotations. Those given are not forced and far-fetched passages, but real, ordinary samples.

Whoever has struggled through this folio volume, so full of hatred for those of different faith, and above all, of endless self-praise, of pompous prayers to God, Christ, and Mary, all to the tune of "We Jesuits are specially favoured, holy, perfect," of boasts, of exploits, and good works accomplished by the Jesuit Order, while realising at the same time that it is all meant to be a picture of the essence and history of the "genuine associates of Jesus" (*genuini Jesu Socii*), must needs recall the words of Jesus:

"Take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them . . . Therefore when thou doest thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men . . . let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth. . . . And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are; for they love to pray standing in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men."*

* Matt. vi. 1-5.

“So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do.”*

In the light of these and similar words of Jesus Christ, the hollowness, nay falsity, of the “Picture of the First Century of the Society of Jesus” must appear as obvious and clear.

The magnificent volume of the *Imago* supplies overwhelming testimony to the correct opinion of the comparatively honest Jesuit Cordara, who from his orthodox Christian point of view saw in the suppression of the Jesuit Order a judgment of God on their arrogance and pride: “for God resisteth the proud.”†

THE RELATION OF THE ORDER TO WOMEN

In the Constitutions and history of the Order there are two chapters on this subject which almost contradict one another.

While Jesus and His disciples stood in simple and natural relationship to women, and innocently admitted them as followers and helpers, the Society of Jesus takes up a position towards women which in theory is distorted and unnatural, and in practice selfishly exploits them.

In theory it sees in woman the dangerous and intellectually inferior sex, to be surrounded by danger signals and warnings; in practice it treats her as a docile creature, easily influenced, whose devotion is of high value to the Order.

The theory contained in the Constitutions of the Order is thus expressed:

* Luke xvii. 10.

† I. Pet. v. 5.

“Jesuits are not to undertake the regular cure of souls for nuns or other women, but they may on occasion (*semel*) hear confessions of nuns, of one convent for some special reason.”* In hearing confessions of women they should be severe rather than familiar. If obliged to speak to women outside the confessional, it should be in a public place and with downcast eyes. If any priest be sent to women by his Superior to hear confession, or for some other purpose, the companion assigned to him by his Superior [generally a lay brother] is to be in a place where he can see both parties, so long as the priest may be engaged with the women, but out of earshot of any secret conversation, so far as the place admits of this; if it does not, the priest is to be careful that the door should remain open, and that the meeting should not take place in a dark spot.

“The cure of individual souls, especially of women, should not be undertaken by our members.† When they [lay brothers] accompany our priests on visits, especially to women, they are to observe carefully what rules are prescribed for priests. Besides, they ought to know that they are obliged on their return to report to the Superior without being questioned by him, if [during the visit] these rules have been in any way disregarded.”‡

He [the Superior] is not to allow our priests to visit women nor to write to them except in an urgent case, or in the hope of great results, and even then he is only to allow it to experienced and prudent men.§ The rule, that the companion of a priest visiting women or hearing their confessions should report to the Superior, if Rule 18 [presence of the companion during the visit or confession] has been observed, is to be maintained so strictly that the Superior is to impose on the companion omitting the report a penance of three scourgings, besides one in public. In case of repetition, the matter should be reported to the General, who will then consider if such persons can remain members of the Order.||

* Constit. VI., 3, 5.

† Rules 16-19 for the Priests.

‡ Rule 72 for the Superior of Professed Houses, and Rule 70 for the Rector.

§ Rule 5 for Lay-brothers.

|| From an epistle of General Acquaviva, Nov. 13th, 1607. *Inst. S.J.*, II.

“ Our members (*nostris*) should know that not only priests, in going to women for the purpose of confession or for other reasons, should strictly observe Rule 18 on the continual presence of the companion, *i.e.* that so long as they are engaged with the women the companion is to be where he can see them, but not hear what is to remain a secret ; but that all lay brothers are under this law, whether they themselves visit women or accompany others of our people. . . . And the companions should know that they must report to the Superior anything that may have occurred contrary to this rule and ordination without being questioned by him immediately on their return.*

“ If the place where the sick woman is lying is so small that the companion of the confessing priest cannot be present, the former must report to the Superior immediately on his return [that the confession of the sick woman had been heard without the companion’s presence], and the Superior should consider if the Father should go to this place a second time, or if, as I [the General of the Order, Acquaviva] should be more inclined to think, the care of the invalid should be left to the parish priests.”†

As regards the advancement of their spiritual life, *e.g.* by Exercises, women are placed in a line with uneducated people (*rudibus*). The particular meditations (of the Spiritual Exercises) are to be set before women in church, and in doing this great care must be taken that no suspicion or offence may arise. For this reason it may be well to give the points of meditation to women not in writing but verbally, lest people should think there was an exchange of letters. If anything has to be given in writing, it should be done quite secretly.‡

An ugly spirit meets us here. It is, of course, in the first instance, the general ultramontane spirit, already noted, which estimates and judges woman only as an “ immediate occasion for sin.” But here also we meet with a

* *Monita generalia*, 3. *Ibid.* II., 215.

† *Instructio III. pro Confessariis Societatis*, II., 285.

‡ *Directorium*, 9, 16 ; *Inst. S.J.*, II., 435.

striking speciality of the Jesuits: to the general sexual contempt of women the Order adds as its own specific a certain social classification.

In a secret instruction by General Mercurian to the Provincial Superior of the Upper German Province, the Jesuit Hoffäus, quoted by Döllinger-Reusch* from the Jesuit manuscripts in the State Archives at Munich (confiscated on the suppression of the Order in 1773), we read: "Women of rank, who must, however, at least be baronesses (*haec facultas ad eas, quae sunt infra statum Baronissarum extendenda non est*), may enter colleges of the Society of Jesus. But care should then be taken that steady matrons, and not young ladies (*adolescensulae*) should be the companions of the lady of rank."

"Most carefully," writes another General of the Order, "familiarity with women of poor or low estate (*familiaritas tenuiorum et ignobilium feminarum*) should be avoided, as they are more exposed to suspicion and danger."†

An "instruction" of the sixth General Congregation of the year 1608 is still more explicit. The interesting words show how skilfully rigid theory may turn into indulgent practice when the transformation seems desirable for the advantage of the Order:

"Since custom has decreed, to the loss of much time and spiritual advantage, that visits and greetings should be exchanged [with women], we deem it necessary to give definite instruction as regards the strict observance of the rule on not visiting women. Certainly we may but rarely hope for great advantage therefrom except in cases of necessity (*e.g.* illness, mourning, death, or some religious ceremony). But as the customs of the Society, and the benefits received, and a certain discourtesy implied by refusing these, do not permit that visits to women should be forbidden to all

* *Moralstreitigkeiten*, I., 250.

† Instruction of General Acquaviva, Jan. 1st, 1604. *De Spiritu ad Superiores*, c. 5 de castitate. *Ibid.* II., 272.

our members, a certain modification [of the rule] is required. At present we think it most appropriate that regard should be paid not only to the persons to be visited, but also to those of our members who are to pay the visit. Three conditions are necessary in order that a woman be found worthy (*ut digna existimetur*) of being visited by our people. In the first place, she must be a person of rank and distinction (*persona nobilis et primaria*); for there is no need to show special courtesy to all pious women of whatever estate they be, as such may be sufficiently helped and instructed in our churches in confession and pious discourse. Secondly, the woman in question must have uncommon merit as regards services rendered the Society. Thirdly, the act of courtesy must be welcome to her husband or her relations.”*

This division of the female sex into aristocratic and non-aristocratic women, and the different treatment based upon it, may be traced back to the founder of the Jesuit Order, Ignatius Loyola, and is thus an original characteristic of the Jesuits. In confidential communications on himself, dictated to his amanuensis, the Jesuit Gonzalez, we read: “He [Ignatius] said: ‘We must behave prudently, and have no intercourse with women, except with those of very high rank’”† (*nisi essent admodum illustres*).

And now to pass from theory to practice.

There we find that Jesuits very soon and very generally break through the wire fencing drawn by their Constitutions round women, and show no prudence at all in their intercourse with them. I have already quoted, in speaking of the theory and practice of the vows of chastity, the accusing testimony of the Jesuit Hoffäus, the Visitor of the Upper German Province. To this may be added as still more weighty, because founded on a still more universal knowledge of things pertaining to the Order, the complaint of General Acquaviva in a circular epistle to the whole Order, dated December 21st, 1605:

* *Instructio III. pro Confessariis Societatis*, I, 9; II., 286.

† *Acta S.S.*, Julii 7, 653.

“Lay-brothers [who accompany visiting priests] should be exhorted that, on returning home in the evening, they must report to the Superior if the rule [concerning the manner in which women are to be visited] has been neglected by the priest or any other for any reason whatever, and those who show themselves to be less conscientious in this should be treated with severity, and their confessors should be exhorted to reprimand them sharply, if they do not observe this rule. . . . As regards hearing confessions [of women] in church, the Superiors are charged to have the confessionals erected in exposed places and in such a manner that confessors may, as it were, be companions one to another; the Superior should also occasionally investigate if the confessionals have not perchance been moved from their position, and if the gratings are still intact and narrow.”*

Especially this last remark, on the confessionals not being displaced and on the gratings being intact and narrow, forces us to the conclusion that there were gratings which had been damaged and widened for unmistakable purposes.

An enlarged grating seems to have existed between the English Jesuit Garnet, whose acquaintance we have already made, and his penitent, Lady Anne Vaux. Passages from letters of the lady to the Jesuit seem, at any rate, to point to an earthly rather than heavenly love, and in any case their tone contrasts strongly with that prescribed in the Constitutions of the Order. Thus Lady Anne signs on one occasion: “Yours and not my own, A.V.” And furthermore: “To live without you is not life, but death. O that I might see you!”†

I have spoken already of the extent to which the exploitation of rich women, especially in England, was carried. Rich and aristocratic women were and are special objects of the spiritual care of the Jesuits, in spite of all

* *Inst. S.J.*, 307, 308.

† Jardine, *A Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot* (London, 1857), p. 177 *et seq.* 1

decrees and ordinances of their official Constitutions, though women of low degree are neglected in accordance with the Constitutions of Ignatius Loyola, whose reference to "women of very high rank" has been already quoted. History reports that Elisabeth Roser, a Spanish lady, who had bestowed many benefits upon him during the early times after his conversion, was curtly rebuffed by him, when he began to aim higher; and when she demanded back money she had lent he broke with her altogether, saying with emphasis that the Society had no dealings with women. At the same time, however, he was in close intercourse with Margaret Duchess of Farnese, daughter of the Emperor Charles V. He became her father confessor, and assigned to her his most distinguished associate, the Jesuit Laynez (his successor as General of the Order) as travelling companion to Genoa, when the duchess went to greet her imperial father there. And he himself baptised her twins born in 1541.*

The activity of Jesuit confessors at the courts of princes, to be treated in detail in the next chapter, is chiefly directed to princesses.

This historically established attitude of the Order is confirmed by my personal experience. I need only recall to memory what I experienced in the house of my parents, in so many families of relations and friends, and later on during my own membership of the Order.

My mother, as a woman of rank, was a continual object of Jesuit attention, which received outward expression in a diploma, signed by General Anderledy, in which she was endowed with "all the graces and dispensations of the Order." The Jesuits Behrens, Wertenberg, Hausherr, Meschler followed one another in uninterrupted succession for decades, till her death in 1903, as directors and

* See Druffel's *Ignatius von Loyola an der römischen Kurie* (Munich, 1879), pp. 9 and 36.

father confessors. My dear, good mother! How completely she surrendered herself to Jesuit influence in the best of faith and with voluntary self-sacrifice. She obeyed her Jesuit advisers like a child. How trustfully she heaped benefits upon them and gave liberally of the goods of this world to her "disinterested" spiritual directors! I am filled with anger and bitterness when I remember how Jesuitism inveigled and exploited this remarkable woman.

Many other women, relations of mine, fared similarly.

The soul of my sister Antonia was completely enslaved by the Jesuits Behrens, Brinkmann and Hausherr, as was that of my aunt Countess Therese von Loë (*née* Countess Arco-Zinneberg) by Hausherr. The Jesuits Behrens, Löffler, Meschler, Fäh, Schäffer, frequented the castles of the Rhenish Westphalian, Silesian, and South-German Catholic nobility, and everywhere it was rather the lady than the lord of the manor that submitted to Jesuit direction. The noble families of Droste-Vischering, Galen, Fürstenberg, Geyer, Matuschka, Waldburg-Wolfegg, Metternich, Oberndorf, Loë, Stolberg, and others were and are linked to the Jesuits by their womenkind.

When I myself, on completion of my ascetic and scholastic training, entered on my work as member of the Order, it was the obvious intention of my Superiors to take advantage of my many aristocratic connections, and without my own repeated, energetic opposition I should have doubtless turned into an "aristocratic ladies' confessor."

When I had to give Spiritual Exercises to a number of ladies of rank in 1889 or 1890, I found out how little the Constitutions of the Order, as to the way in which Exercises are to be given to women, are observed in the case of ladies of rank. They were not given in either church or chapel as required by the rule, but in the ballroom of the splendid Erbdroste Manor at Münster in Westphalia.

The avoidance, nay refusal, of the pastoral care of nuns emphasised in the Constitutions is humbug also. There is no Order which exercises a more comprehensive and systematic influence over nuns, or stands in closer connection with them, than the Jesuits. Even those nuns who ought naturally to turn for direction to the monastic orders of their own name and spirit, such as the various orders of Franciscan nuns, receive their ascetic and pious training from the Jesuit Order. Only the Dominican nuns form an exception. The old antipathy between the sons of St. Dominic and the sons of St. Ignatius is after all too strong. Otherwise the Jesuit is the constant guest of nunneries. The number of Exercises he gives, of confessions he hears there, is legion. During the short period of my work in the Order I was employed a good deal in the nunneries of England, Holland, and Germany. This work is much sought after; the good nuns take excellent care of the father, and show their gratitude abundantly in coin of the realm for the pious services rendered gratuitously. Violent outbursts of jealousy are not infrequent among the Jesuits who, according to their Constitutions, decline the pastorate of nuns, on account of real or imaginary poaching on their special preserves in a nunnery. I may quote a tragi-comic experience of my own. In the summer of 1892, when I was studying in the Royal Library at Berlin (which sealed my resolution to leave the Roman Catholic Church and the Jesuit Order), the well-known Jesuit Tilmann Pesch, the Gottlieb of the notorious Hamburg Letters, was there at the same time. I was staying with the Grey Sisters in the Nieder Wallstrasse, and he I do not know where. One day at noon, while I was sitting at dinner, Pesch rushed into my room and heaped abuse on me, accusing me of wishing to give Exercises to the Ursuline nuns in the Lindenstrasse, which he himself had intended to do. As I was absolutely

innocent, I wrote to my Superior at that time, the Jesuit Frink at Exaeten, and complained seriously of this foolish exhibition of jealousy. In his answer, the Rector tried to find excuses on the score of "peculiar temperament."

The following anecdote will show how well these nun-shunning Jesuits fare among them:

The Jesuit Meschler was travelling with several French Jesuits from Rome across the Alps, after the General Congregation of 1883. In some town in the north of Italy—I believe it was either Milan or Turin—they spent the night. But the French Jesuits did not stay with members of their own Order according to the statute,* but, as Meschler told me, in the beautiful nunnery of the Sacred Heart. Of course, they were more comfortable there.

In the light of all these facts, it was truly Jesuitical for Ignatius Loyola to ask Paul III. to deliver himself and his Order from the spiritual direction of women and nuns,† and for the Order to persist in the pretence: "We exist not for women and nuns, but for men!" It would be more honest to add: "But women and nuns exist for us."

* *Regulae peregrinorum*, 11.

† Genelli, S.J., *Leben des heiligen Ignatius von Loyola* (Innsbruck, 1848), p. 262.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CRITICISM CONTINUED : POLITICS AND CONFESSORS

THERE has been no more constant reproach against the Jesuit Order, and hardly any that the Order itself has repudiated with greater moral indignation, than that of political activity, in contravention of the Constitutions and the destination of the Order, which is declared emphatically to be not of the world, but devoted exclusively to the salvation of the soul.

In a letter to the *Courrier Français*, in Paris, in 1847, Johannes Roothaan, General of the Order, still declares with an air of most ingenuous sincerity :

“ Politics are absolutely foreign to the Society. It has never joined any party, no matter what its name. The purpose and vocation of the Order is greater and loftier than any party; . . . Slander may delight in spreading false assertions accusing Jesuits of taking part in political intrigues. I have yet to be shown that even a single member of the Order entrusted to my care has offended in this respect against the very definite rules of the Order.”*

And, indeed, whoever innocently peruses the Constitutions would be inclined to believe the simple, straightforward-sounding words of Roothaan. For they state, as plainly as could be desired :

“ As our Society, established by the Lord for the propagation of the faith and the salvation of souls, can fulfil its purpose under the banner of the Cross for the benefit of the Church and the edifica-

* Ebner, S.J., *Beleuchtung der Schrift des Dr. Joh. Kelle : Die Jesuitengymnasien in Oesterreich* (Linz, 1874), p. 536.

tion of our neighbour through the spiritual service and weapons peculiar to it and its Constitution, it would injure these and expose itself to great dangers by putting its hand to worldly concerns or affairs of politics and the State. That is why our fathers have very wisely ordained that we who serve God should not become involved in things from which our vocation must shrink. And as our Order, especially in these dangerous times, is in bad odour in many places, and with various princes (the maintenance of whose love and favour should be counted as a service to God, as our Father Ignatius of sacred memory believed), perhaps through the fault of some, or through ambition, or indiscreet zeal, whereas the odour of Christ is needful for fruition, the Congregation has decided that even the appearance of evil must be avoided, and the accusations repudiated, even those arising from false suspicions. Therefore, our people are forbidden emphatically and earnestly by this present decree to engage in these public affairs, even if invited or tempted to do so, or to let themselves be moved by entreaties or persuasions to deviate from the Institute of the Order. The *Patres definitores* have also been charged to indicate the most effective remedies for this disease.”*

“By virtue of sacred obedience, and under penalty of ineligibility for all offices and dignities, and loss of the right to elect and be elected, our people are forbidden to meddle with the public and worldly affairs of princes which concern the State, or to presume to be charged with things political. The superiors are strictly charged not to allow our members to interfere with such things in any way. If they perceive that some are thus inclined, they are to report them as soon as possible to the Provincial, so that he may remove them from their posts, if there is opportunity or danger of their becoming involved in such affairs.”† Similar prohibitions are repeated in Canon 12 of the fifth General Congregation, and in the *Monita generalia*, 18.‡

Yes, indeed ! If the Jesuit Order were not permeated by an abysmal contradictoriness founded on conscious insincerity, as I have already so frequently pointed out.

* Congreg. 5, Decret. 47, *Inst. S.J.*, I., 254 *et seq.*

† Congreg. 5, Decret. 79, I., 269.

‡ I., 485; II., 217.

To the non-political programme of its Constitutions, and the non-political declaration of its General, uttered in the deepest note of conviction, are opposed as weighty accusations the political actions or rather factions of the Order, almost from the first year of its establishment.

Not the "welfare of the souls" of men, so piously placed in the foreground, is the purpose of the Jesuit Order; its aim always and everywhere, in detail as in general, is: *Government of the individual, the family, the State, attainment of a definite influence on the current affairs of the world. And that is why the Order is intensely interested in politics.*

Until 1773, the year of its suppression by Clement XIV., the Jesuit Order intervened decisively and assiduously, but as much as possible in secret, in the politics of almost all European countries. And in the genuine ultramontane and Jesuitical spirit, the Order cloaked its political activity with religion by establishing from the beginning of its labours the institution of princely confessors, an institution—I emphasise this word as expressing an organisation—which, though in the sharpest imaginable contrast to the Constitutions of the Order, furnishes almost immeasurable leverage to Jesuit lust of power.

Since the restoration of the Order by Pius VII., in 1814, its active political power has not even distantly approached that of former centuries. Though the striving for it has remained the same, the circumstances are altered. Constitutionalism is not suitable soil for royal confessors, and many courts, where Jesuit confessors used to hold their evil sway, have vanished from the scene (*e.g.* France, the Bourbon Courts in Italy, the Episcopal Principalities of Germany and Poland).*

* One Jesuit confessor of princes, in miniature (as regards the Court, not the Jesuit), has appeared in the nineteenth century, the Jesuit Beckx (afterwards General of the Order), who, with his fellow-member, Devis, played the part of such Jesuits as Lamormaini, La Chaise or Tellier, at the little court of the last reigning

By no means always, but rarely, indeed, have the politics of the Jesuits been skilful, still less successful. Failure upon failure must have been entered in the political log-book of the Order, until at last it fell a victim to its own politics. Still the question is not whether the Jesuits were clever or clumsy politicians, but only whether and to what extent they took part in political conflicts in spite of their Constitutions and the oft-repeated solemn assurances to the contrary.*

As I am not writing a history of the Jesuit Order, I shall give no connected, complete description of its political activity. I shall present extracts, snapshots, from the course of the Order's existence, extending over nearly four centuries, but in such abundance that a complete estimate may be formed.

Neither shall I touch on the question, whether and how the Order, in its vastness and intricacies, could have avoided political activity. We are only concerned with the fact, which is, moreover, naturally evolved from its system, of its political activity, and with the irreconcilable contrast between this fact and the assertion laid down by the Order itself as a principle regarding its avoidance of politics.

For this contrast contains a huge amount of untruthfulness and hypocrisy, and as both these failings characterise the essence of Jesuitism—the system, not the individual—their exposure is of special value in a characterisation of the Order.

Duke of Anhalt-Köthen, converted to Catholicism at Paris in October, 1825. And possibly, even probably, the twentieth century may show us in Austria, always greatly blessed with Jesuits, another confessor of princes in the grand old style drawn from the Jesuit Order, when the Archdukes Francis Ferdinand and, still more, Francis Salvator, with their wives, who are wholly devoted to the Jesuits, ascend the throne of the Habsburgs.

* The political and general ability of the Jesuit Order has been enormously overrated. In a final estimate I mean to show that the power and danger of the Order result less from ability and superior skill in applying its various means than from other circumstances.

My long list of political facts and documents is prefaced by a caution against political activity proceeding from the Order itself and, moreover, from a part of the Order where facts were accurately known. But there is this to be said about the caution: it was not sincere, as I shall prove. It was meant to save appearances only.

In his treatise on "Remedies for the Cure of Diseases of the Soul" (*Industriae ad curandos animae morbos*), incorporated in the "Institute" of the Order, General Acquaviva speaks of "the worldly and insinuating spirit of the courtier seeking the familiarity and favour of strangers" (*saecularitas et ulicismus insinuans in familiaritates et gratiam externorum*).

This paragraph was addressed to the numerous Jesuits who, as the counsellors of princes, obviously had influence on political affairs. The General does not straightway forbid the acceptance of such positions, although they are contrary to the Constitutions of the Order, but after some general ascetic counsels as to how the danger of the worldly spirit of the court might be obviated, Acquaviva says, with inimitable cunning and equivocation:

"They [*i.e.* members of the Order occupying such positions at temporal courts] are to be exhorted to a wise reserve; they are to suggest (*suggerant*) that in some things princes should apply to other members of our Order, or to persons outside it, according to circumstances, so that it may not appear as though our members directed everything" (*ne videantur nostri omnia movere*).*

This caution is easily understood, seeing that even in a confidential letter of June 6th, 1579, General Mercurian writes to the Jesuit Mengin, the confessor of Duke William of Bavaria: "The other day a father wrote to me that a man of great distinction had said to him: 'Your people would do well, and it would be much to the

* *Inst. S.J.*, II., 358.

Society's credit, if they kept within their [pastoral] limits.' ”*

Thus, but a few decades after the institution of the Order, its interference in politics had assumed such dimensions that responsible men felt obliged to protect the religious prestige of the Order, at least in the eyes of the public, from the unconstitutional and worldly political activity of numerous members. These cautions were of no avail, if only because they were not inspired by a serious desire to check the abuse. General Acquaviva, in particular, played a double part, as we shall see.

And now to give instances of the political activity of the Jesuits.

In the latter part of the sixteenth century we meet the Jesuits Stanislaus Warszewicz and Anton Possevin as political agents at the court of John III. of Sweden. Possevin went about in Stockholm in splendid clothes and wore “costly headgear with a black silk veil, more like a courtier or the ambassador of a prince than the member of an Order.” Having received the King into the Catholic Church, he returned to Austria and Rome in May, 1578, with many commissions for the Emperor and the Pope. These concerned partly family and partly public affairs, and were addressed to the Emperor, the Kings of Poland and of Spain, and to the Pope. Possevin had tried in every possible way to bring about friendly and peaceful relations between King John and the Emperor and the Kings of Poland and Spain, in order, by the protection of these powerful rulers, to shield him from internal and external attacks by Protestant princes, and at the same time to inspire him in this way with courage and confidence in the fulfilment of his sacred enterprise [the Catholicising of Sweden].

* Duhr, S.J., *Die Jesuiten an den deutschen Fürstenhöfen des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg, 1901), p. 62.

Nor had John failed to supply Possevin with the requisite documents for the establishment and confirmation of these friendly relations with the above-mentioned courts. Even the affair of the Neapolitan inheritance had taken a happy turn, owing to the endeavours of Possevin and the Bishop of Mondevi, Papal Nuncio in Poland. Possevin was also to urge it again, and if possible to achieve its success with the assistance of the Pope and the above-mentioned Powers. Of many things Possevin had to treat in the name of the King with the Emperor [Rudolph II.].*

A letter addressed by Father Haller, Rector of the Jesuit College at Graz, to General Acquaviva, June 11th, 1598, is literally a political report :

“For many years there have been disputes between Bavaria and Austria, especially with the Emperor. . . . As regards our people, I doubt if they are quenching this fire with the requisite love and wisdom. Father Viller acts to the contrary. . . . Both parties have their adherents, who report from their party point of view, and thus add fresh fuel to the quarrel. As the matter is submitted to our people by these reports, there is a danger that the advice to test the truth of the reports be not given. . . . But because the cause of Christianity in Germany is obviously much concerned in the union of the two parties, and the great influence of members of the Society of Jesus on princes and their councillors is well known, it would be well worth the Society’s while to try with greater zeal than before, and with every means at its disposal, to bring about this reconciliation, especially at Prague, Vienna, Munich and Graz.”†

The Father Viller here mentioned was one of the most active political Jesuits in Austria. The following two passages from letters help to characterise him; one from a letter of Archduke Charles to his mother, dated

* A. Theiner, *Schweden und seine Stellung zum heiligen Stuhl. Nach geheimen Staatspapieren* (Augsburg, 1838), I., 497, 498.

† Duhr, *Die Jesuiten an den deutschen Fürstenthöfen*, p. 46.

Rome, the 29th of May, 1598, and the other from a letter by Viller to the Spanish Ambassador de San Clemente. The first passage :

“To Sper [Bavarian Agent in Rome] I have not said a word, but the Reverent Nuncio, the tutor and my *father confessor* [the Jesuit Viller] have given him a piece of their mind.”*

The second passage :

“As the Archduchess Maximiliana was dead, he [Viller] recommended for marriage with the son of the King of Spain her younger sister of thirteen, Margaret, who was eligible in every respect.”†

The Jesuit Blysssem, Austrian Provincial, was also one of the political councillors of the Styrian Court. On the 16th of April, 1580, he reports from Vienna to General Mercurian :

“Before Christmas I was summoned to Graz by Archduke Charles, and had various discussions with him regarding his person, and the general position of things. Then he begged me to stay till Easter, so that what he had begun so successfully should be confirmed. Your Reverence may see from a few points quoted here that my stay was not in vain.”

The “few points” concern the difficult position of the Archduke respecting “the Turk and his obdurate heretical subjects.”‡

Regarding the interference of the Jesuits with respect to the Protestants and the Augsburg Confession of Faith, we must not lose sight of the fact that these points were eminently political. As regards the Turkish question, it is obviously of a political character, though perhaps not for the Jesuits. For in a note to the Jesuit Viller, sent by Archduke Ferdinand on a political embassy to Rome, General Acquaviva characterises “Proceedings against the Turks” as not pertaining to politics.§

* Hurter, *Ferdinand II.*, 3, 582.

† Duhr, *Die Jesuiten an den deutschen Fürstenhöfen*, p. 47.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

We shall see how the Jesuit Caussin, father confessor of Louis XIV. of France, utilises this principle of Acquaviva's to justify his position. In the winter of 1581-82 Blysem returned to Graz in order to assist the Archduke during the sessions of the Diet :

“ Although I much dislike travelling because of the dangers which I know from former experience and therefore dread, yet I cannot disappoint the pious prince or the councillors who so greatly desire it. I shall, therefore, render assistance, as I did last year, but only in things referring to God, conscience and holy religion ” *

In the end everything was ranged under the heading of “ God, conscience, holy religion,” as indeed everything can be ranged under it. In his “ Instruction to Confessors of Princes,” to be discussed later, General Acquaviva simplifies matters still more by indicating “ conscience ” as the only limit to their actions.

The equivocations of the Jesuit Blysem are distinctly and hideously evident in a confidential report to the General Acquaviva, dated February 28th, 1582.

Blysem repudiates interference with military or political questions, as subjects unsuitable for a confessor; while in the same breath he tells of having worked out a report on the military and political question, if and how the fort of Graz could be manned against the Protestants, but that “ the document was written in the third person and without the name of the author ” ; at the end of this document, actually written by him, but apparently and in the eyes of the public anonymous, “ he had, as a final conclusion, given his own opinion.” This conclusion read as follows :

“ Affairs of war are to be discussed with warriors, and princes, and men of the world who are versed in such things, and not with members of the Order: The profession of the Jesuits does not

* Duhr, *Die Jesuiten an den deutschen Fürstenhöfen*, p. 60.

extend to such discussions, on the contrary it absolutely forbids them.”*

Thus the Jesuit who meddles in politics is safe on all sides. He himself has composed a military and political report, but so that the authorship is not to be identified, and, moreover, he repudiates his own document by reference to his profession as a Jesuit.

In the second part of his report Blysem gives the means to be employed by the Archduke in order to save the Catholic religion. These means are anything but religious.

Surrender of the arsenal and artillery to the Catholics; gradual and unobtrusive increase of soldiers in the fort; appointment of Catholic officials; favours to Catholics; treaties with Catholic princes; expulsion of preachers from the towns; prohibition of heretical sermons; pastorates, and schools in Graz, etc.†

Duhr, the Jesuit of the twentieth century, reporting these “non-political” practices of his fellow member of the sixteenth century, is not in the least offended by them. For him also all this was regulated by conscience. But when Duhr adds: “These counsels of Father Blysem are quite in harmony with the valedictory decree of the Reichstag of 1555,”‡ he makes it plain to everyone not trained as a Jesuit that there is absolutely no domain to which “pastoral” counsels might not extend. Further reports of the Jesuit Blysem to Rome grew so “non-political” that the author found it advisable to employ pseudonyms. The Nuncio is called *Substitutus*, the Archduke *Bedellus*, the Provincial (Blysem himself) *Examinator*, the General of the Order *Rector Academiae*, the Pope *Promotor*, the Estates of the Realm, *Eruditi*.

On the 20th of March, 1580, Blysem reported to the General of his Order on his intervention in the negotiations

* Duhr, *Die Jesuiten an den deutschen Fürstenhöfen*, p. 62. † *Ibid.*, p. 63.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 63, 64, 65.

with the Estates, concerning the separation of the other Estates from the cities. This report also ends with the typical assurance: "I refrain from all political advice, and only discuss what belongs to my office," *i.e.* what concerns conscience.

What a very elastic conscience! Even the Jesuit Duhr, at the end of his description of the "pastorate" of Blysem at the court of Graz, allows this admission to escape him:

"The Jesuits might expect at the court of Graz a greater interest in the real field of their activity, the moral and religious life of the court, than in the political measures against the refractory Protestants."*

The quarterly reports of the Jesuit College at Braunschweig, in Ermeland, of March, 1565, contain the following:

"In February there began in the presence of the King the session of the Comitia of the Kingdom of Poland, in which two of our priests took part, one accompanying the Nuncio of the Pope, the other the Cardinal [Hosius].† In May, 1606, the Jesuit M. Mairhofer, Rector of the Jesuit College at Munich, wrote to Duke Maximilian of Bavaria on the re-election of a prince-abbot of Fulda. The letter, founded on a secret report of the Jesuit Rector of Fulda, is so political that Mairhofer himself thinks it well to emphasise:

"I beg that this letter may be kept secret, for it would be taken very ill of me and of us all [the Jesuits], if we interfered in political affairs, as indeed only *suspecti vel qui non longe respiciunt* (suspicious or shortsighted people) will say."‡

* Duhr, *Die Jesuiten an den deutschen Fürstenhöfen*, p. 68.

† Published from the original deposited in the archives of the Cologne Parish of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, by Karl Benrath. *Die Ansiedelung der Jesuiten in Braunschweig*, p. 71.

‡ For the whole letter, from an original MS. in the State Archives at Munich, see Stieve, *Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Krieges*, V. 931.

It is a very remarkable fact that the Jesuits delegated to Rome for the General Congregation of the Order by every Province were also political agents. Thus the General Congregation, a purely religious institution according to the Constitutions of the Order, became the centre of far-reaching political intrigues.

Steinberger reports that the Electors Maximilian I. of Bavaria and Anselm Kasimir of Mayence charged the Jesuits Lorenz Forer and Nithard Biber, delegated by the South German Province of the Order in 1645, to the eighth General Congregation in Rome, with commissions and instructions in order to induce Pope Innocent X. to promote a separation of France from Sweden, and to support Germany with money and troops. Innocent was so unpleasantly impressed by this Jesuit importunity that he addressed a serious warning to the General Congregation: to beware lest anyone should interfere in worldly matters.*

Under Henry III. of France, whose murder by Jaques Clement was glorified by the Jesuit Mariana, the Jesuit Matthieu was a chief promoter of the League of the Guises. He was active in Rome, Paris, and Madrid. The heads of the League employed him repeatedly as political ambassador, especially in treaties with Philip II. of Spain.†

As the Jesuit Cordara reports, the Jesuit Cabrallius was the ambassador of King Joseph I. of Portugal to the Pope.‡

From the manuscripts deposited in the Court Library at Vienna, *Litterae annuae S.J. Provinciae austriacae* (Annual Reports of the Austrian Province of the Society of Jesus), of 1615-1771, Kroner quotes some interesting details of the political activity of the Order in Hungary before and after the Peace of Tyrnau-Linz in the year 1647. At

* *Die Jesuiten und die Friedensfrage bis zur Nürnberger Friedensezekutionshaupttrezess, 1635-1650* (Freiburg, 1906), p. 100 et seq.

† Grégoire, p. 301.

‡ Döllinger, *Beiträge*, 3, 18.

the Hungarian Election and Coronation Diet in 1655 the Jesuits sought with all their might and cunning the repeal of the decrees of 1606 and 1608, which were unfavourable to them :

“ The Austrian Provincial Bernhard Geyer consulted with the Catholic leaders on the means of carrying out this difficult enterprise . . . this was the secret plan of campaign : First, ways and means must be found in order to prevent the delegates of the counties from letting directions hostile to Jesuits prevail, and from speaking in that sense during the Diet. On the other hand, it was important to guide the decisions of the monarch in the proper direction. The Provincial undertook to do the latter. Father Geyer painted to the monarch the dangers of heresy, and received from him the most welcome assurances. The General of the Order, Goswin Nickel,* did not spare petitions to the royal councillors and the Catholic magnates of Hungary. But the most effective measure was the influence brought to bear on the delegates of the Diet and above all on the so-called ‘ mixed Compilation Committee,’ for the compilation of objects of treaty. . . . Pope Alexander VII. sent his Nuncio to Pressburg for the furtherance of the desires of the Jesuits [settlements and the possession of landed property for the Order] to explain to the monarch there how friendly the Church of Rome was to the Order and the interests of Catholicism. . . . In the printed annual report of the Order of 1651 there is a remark actually expatiating on the profit to be derived from the Order for government purposes. It is too significant not to find a place here. ‘ The Secretary of State of the Crown of Sweden,’ it says, ‘ a wise and not unlearned man, did not hesitate in the presence of twenty selected magnates to make the assertion that the Austrian dynasty had nothing more excellent or useful in its realms and provinces than the Society of Jesus. For with its help the Emperor could keep the nations conquered by him in faithful obedience with a mere sign, and direct them at his will.’ The Report inserts the remark that the ‘ Order did not learn this without a blush of modesty ’ ; in any case, it took good care to divulge this equivocal

* The only German General besides the present General of the Order, Francis Xavier Wernz.

praise: But it would be a mistake to consider the Jesuits in the State of Austria in the light of disguised agents of the Viennese Government, as grateful tools and supporters of monarchical interests, with which the Order was determined to rise or fall. In the great structure of the ruling Order, which extended over all parts of the world, the Austrian Province (including Hungary) formed only a part, one link in the mighty chain, the end of which was in the hands of the central administration—the generalship. The fathers of the Austrian Province also served the one common purpose: the authority and power of the Order in the denominational life of the Catholic world. Thus it would be much more justifiable to make the assertion that the Order of the Jesuits had used the Austrian and every other dynasty as a means for its comprehensive purposes. It served the dynasty as far as it benefited itself by doing so. And no unprejudiced person following the history of the development and activity of the Society of Jesus could deny that the chief aim of its ambition was pre-eminence in the world of Catholic Orders.”*

When the Polish throne had become vacant through the abdication of King John Casimir of Poland, Duke Philip Wilhelm of Neuburg and Jülich-Burg and Prince Charles of Lorraine applied for it. The Polish Jesuits worked for the latter; for the former in particular his confessor, the Jesuit Joh. Bodler. A few months before the election, which resulted eventually in the choice of neither the Duke nor the Prince, but the Pole, Michael Wisniowiecki, Bodler wrote on the 14th of January, 1669, to his fellow member Servilian Veihelein, Rector of the Jesuit College at Munich. His strictly confidential letter affords a profound insight into the political activity of the Jesuits and their cunning and duplicity:

“Recently,” it states, “a letter from Prince Auersperg, Imperial Prime Minister for the Duke of Neuburg, had come to Neuburg. As Auersperg could have no inkling that his letter would be sub-

* Kronos, *Zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens in Ungarn* (Vienna, 1893), pp. 8, 9, 11, 18 et seq.

mitted to the Jesuits he had spoken freely and bitterly about them. On account of Auersperg's bad handwriting, which only the Jesuit Carlius [the English Jesuit Carly] could decipher, Duke Wilhelm had given the letter to the Jesuits. He [the Jesuit Bodler] was sending him [the Jesuit Veihelin] a copy of a passage from Auersperg's letter, but it was exclusively meant for him alone, 'for you see how careful we [Jesuits] must be, lest our prince [the Duke of Neuburg] or the other [the Prince of Lorraine] should learn that matters which at their urgent request were to have been kept secret have been read by and made known to us.' "

The important passage from Auersperg's letter was as follows :

"The *dilatatio electionis* would not benefit Lorraine either. I am for dismissing Isola's [Baron L'Isola] secretary. These and other people are serving the Duke of Lorraine, and this might easily have caused the rumour that your Excellency was not in favour here [in Vienna]. Your Excellency need not think that it would be in his Majesty the Emperor's power to prevent the *Patres Societatis* from working in a different direction, partly as confessors, partly as Polish Jesuits. It is their way—how long they may succeed in it God knows—in all *promotionibus*, that some work for one party, some for the other, so that they should earn thanks and benefit, no matter how it may turn out. If your Excellency now, when there is perhaps still time, would complain of it to the General [of the Jesuits] it may have the effect of recommending all *cautelae ne sic pateat*, but *in toto non esset remedium*. Your Excellency has not deserved it of them [the Jesuits], and the more they interfere with worldly affairs, the worse they come off, as can be seen in Spain, and I am sorry for the Society, which did so much good in the first century."

The Jesuit Bodler continues :

"So much for Auersperg. Father Gabriel [Riddler] has translated this into Latin and thinks of sending it to the General [of the Order]. Having read these and other similar communications, our prince continues in kindness to us, but is eagerly trying to find out what reason induced our *patres* to work for his rival."

The General might perhaps be induced to forbid the Polish Jesuits their machinations. The Duke wanted to send Father Riddler to Prague :

“None of us approve of this plan, neither do we see what he could accomplish there, especially as the Duke seems to require of him, what he now condemns in Father Richard, the confessor of the Duke of Lorraine, and in the Polish Fathers. I hope Father Gabriel will speak to the Duke about this journey, or at least that the Duchess may do so, as she wishes to keep Father Riddler here for her own sake (*sui solatii causa*). . . . I am writing this, not only that you should know what is going on, but also that you may help me with your advice. I have hitherto kept silence on the matter as one that does not concern me, but now, if the matter ends less favourably for the Society, which is sure to be the case if the Duke’s hopes are not fulfilled, I may possibly be reproached for not having written to the General more carefully and in detail, seeing I was familiar with the course of events. I have written to him once, but thought afterwards that further reports could be of no use.”*

It cannot be denied that those who try to promote religion by force of arms and political revolution are taking part in politics. Indeed, these violent religious politics are a fundamental principle of the Jesuits. Of this we have a striking testimony. A report on affairs in Scotland, sent by the Papal Agent at Brussels, Monsignore Malvasia, in 1596, to the Secretary of State of the Papal Cardinal Aldobrandini, says :

“The Jesuits consider as one of their established axioms (*assioma stabilito*), confirmed by the authority of Father Parsons [one of the leading English Jesuits], that the Catholic religion [in England and Scotland] can only be restored by force of arms. For the property and revenues of the Church, which have in the meantime been distributed among heretics and have passed through many hands already, cannot be recovered in any other way. They

* Reusch, *Beiträge: Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (1894), Vol. II., p. 268.

[the Jesuits] believe that only the arms of Spain may be used to bring about this event. They [the Jesuits], no matter whether from Rome or anywhere else, come to these parts with this idea, which has been firmly impressed upon them by their Superiors.”*

Perhaps Malvasia was thinking of an event which caused this Jesuit principle to be made known a decade earlier. In September, 1584, the vessel in which the Jesuit Creighton was going to Scotland, furnished with secret instructions, was captured by the English, and Creighton taken to the Tower of London. On his capture he tore up a document, and tried to throw the pieces into the sea. They were collected again, and the Catholic priest, Thomas Francis Knox, member of the Oratorian Congregation founded by St. Philip Neri, and thus a trustworthy witness, published this interesting document for the first time a few years ago in his *Records of English Catholics*. It is sufficient to quote the following from a number of things enumerated which Creighton is to accomplish :

“ Lastelie and especially to depose her Matie [Queen Elizabeth] and set up the Scottish Queene [Mary Stuart], which indeede is the scope and white whereto all this practise dothe level.”†

In the confessions made by Creighton in the Tower, and also published literally by Knox, the “ aim and end,” and the means to attain them, are very plainly expressed. Pope Gregory XIII., Philip II. of Spain, and the Duke of Guise are mentioned, with the number of troops to be furnished by each, as chief promoters of the “ religious ” scheme. There was even an exact estimate among the papers of the “ non-political ” Jesuit as to the number of soldiers required for the conquest of England. Since 1581 or 1582 the Jesuit Parsons had been in close touch

* Bellesheim, *Geschichte der Kathol. Kirche in Schottland* (Mayence, 1883), II., 466.

† Thomas Francis Knox, *Records of English Catholics*, II., p. 426 et seq.

with the Duke of Guise, who in his turn was completely in the hands of the French Jesuit Matthieu. Guise was one of the worst political intriguers of his time, and tried to promote in every way the deposition of Queen Elizabeth of England and the raising of Mary Stuart to the English throne. In this endeavour, supported above all by Philip II. of Spain, which also aimed at the assassination of the odious "heretic,"* Guise was eagerly helped by the two above-mentioned Jesuits. Especially Parsons pursued the cause most zealously with Philip II., whose confidence he had gained.

There is no direct proof that Parsons and his French brother-member Matthieu promoted the murder-plot. But there is a very suspicious passage in a letter of Parsons to his General, Acquaviva, dated Rouen, September the 26th, 1581, in which he strongly advocates Mary Stuart's rights to the throne and then, speaking of Elizabeth, uses the words: "When she who now reigns is destroyed: *Extincta ista quae nunc regnat.*"†

An indirect and convincing proof of Parsons' knowledge and approval of the murder-plot is the fact that its chief promoters, the Duke of Guise, Philip II. of Spain, the Papal Nuncio in Paris, and the Cardinal Secretary of State in Rome, were Parsons' confidants, so that it would have been a matter of impossibility for the Jesuit going to and fro and mediating between these persons to have remained ignorant of a plot which had been hatching for years.

A sidelight on the political activity of the Jesuits is thrown by the report of Mendoza, the ambassador of Philip II. to the King, saying that: The Jesuit Creighton had promised the Duke of Lennox 15,000 men for the war in Scotland.‡ Mendoza adds, however, that Creighton

* Cf. my work, *Das Papsttum*, etc., 201-204.

† Taunton gives the most important part of this interesting and wholly political letter, pp. 89, 90.

‡ S.S.P. (Simancas), III., No. 255. Taunton, p. 97.

might have made the promise "entirely on his own initiative," which is all the more suggestive of the vast "religious" activity of the Jesuits.

Under the pseudonym of Richard Melino, the Jesuit Parsons was sent to Rome in 1583, with secret instructions by the Duke of Guise, in order to induce the Pope to give money for the enterprise against England; troops were to land in several ports, and the English Catholics were to unite with them.*

Parsons† is also the author of two political pamphlets which, under the cloak of religion, demand the dethronement of Elizabeth: "An Admonition to the Nobility and the People of England and Ireland concerning the present wars made for the execution of his Holiness' sentence [Deposition by the Pope of Elizabeth] by the high and mighty Catholic King of Spain," and "A Declaration of the Sentence of Deposition of Elizabeth, the Usurper and Pretended Queen of England." Like a true Jesuit, Parsons tries to pretend that his friend, the subsequent Cardinal Allen, was the author of these pamphlets.

The Catholic priest Taunton sums up Parsons' highly treasonable plots in these words:

"The party to which Parsons attached himself had given themselves wholly to furthering the Spanish King's schemes, and the Jesuit became one of the most earnest workers. Fortunately, among the Spanish State papers of the period there has been preserved a document which puts Parsons' position in a perfectly clear light. On 18th of March, 1587, he produced a paper entitled 'Considerations why it is desirable to carry through the enterprise of England before discussing the succession to the Throne of that

* Teulet, *Relations politiques avec la France et l'Espagne*, V., 308.

† So as not to be disturbed in his political activity Parsons used the following pseudonyms: Robert, Perino, Ralph, Stefano Cornelio, Ottaviano Inghelberto, Richard Melino, Marco, Mercante, Rowland Cabel, John Howlett, Redman Giacomo Creletto, Signor Hamiano, Eusebius. (Taunton, *History of the Jesuits in England*, London, 1901), p. 48 (2).

country, claimed by His Majesty'; and the document is of sufficient value to be quoted *in extenso*, for it shows Parsons, who as a Jesuit was supposed to be particularly devoted to the Pope's interest, engaged in deceiving both him and the unfortunate English Catholics in the interests of the King of Spain.*

Taunton copies the document *in extenso*. The Jesuit coolly discusses Philip II.'s prospects after the strongholds of England and Scotland had fallen into his hands, and he calmly takes the death of Mary Stuart into his political and military calculations. Of himself Parsons speaks in the document only as Richard Melino, one of the many pseudonyms under which he concealed his political activity. In 1593 Parsons went to Spain to the court of Philip II., and there continued his intrigues with great zeal. In the following year, 1594, appeared the worst of his political writings—of course, again without his name—"Conference on the next Succession to the Crown," which was so hostile to Elizabeth that its mere possession was declared high treason by Act of Parliament. For a long time the Jesuit Order tried to deny the authorship of Parsons, but it is undoubtedly his work.†

During his residence in Spain Parsons issued another political treatise: "Principal Points to facilitate the English Enterprise." In this, after proposing that "the English exiles in Flanders should make constant raids, summer and winter, on the English coast . . ." he says:

"Finally, the great point which ought to be considered first is to obtain very good information from England of everything that is being done or said by the enemy. . . . An attempt may now be made to amend matters, as Father Henry Garnet, Provincial of the Jesuits, writes that trustworthy men may be obtained in London who will get their information at the fountain-head in the Council, and they themselves will provide correspondents in the

* Taunton, p. 116.

† Compare *Historia Societatis Jesu*, by the Jesuit Jouvençy, p. 138.

principal ports, who will keep advising as to the warlike preparations."*

Parsons' political and warlike intrigues are also evident in a report of the Spanish Council of State to King Philip II., dated July 11, 1600 :

"The Queen of England will not live long, and the English Catholics beg your Majesty to declare yourself in the matter of the succession. . . . Your Majesty's decision may be conveyed in confidence to the Arch-priest and General of the Jesuits in England, so that it may be published at the proper time. . . . The answer to be given to Father Parsons may also be left to the Duke [of Sessa, ambassador in Rome]. We here are of opinion that Parsons may be told, as was before resolved, that your Majesty would nominate a Catholic sovereign as the successor of Queen Elizabeth."†

Under James II. of England (1685-88) the Jesuit Order exercised an almost unlimited influence. Among the tools of the Order were the King's confessor, the Jesuit Warner, who was also Provincial of the Jesuits in England, and above all James's favourite, the Jesuit Edward Petre. Of him Macaulay says : "Of all the evil counsellors who had access to the Royal ear, he bore perhaps the largest share in the ruin of the House of Stuart."

To avoid entering into too great detail about the Jesuit Petre, I will only quote some extracts from the reports of the Tuscan Ambassador in London, Terriresi, quoted by Taunton from MSS. in the British Museum :

"Writing to the Grand Duke (22nd July, 1686) he says : 'Let your Highness prepare to hear continually fresh news of this country both as to its temporal and spiritual affairs ; for the King seems determined to push forward in matters of religion as far as he can. And the Jesuit Petre, who governs him, is the man to force him to extremes without a thought as to the consequences. He says

* Taunton, pp. 448, 449.

† *Ibid.*, p. 276, from Cal. S.S.P. (Simancas), IV., 665.

plainly that Protestants believe 'that the Jesuits are at present the *primum mobile* of the government.' "

" Writing 30th December, 1686, he says : ' The Jesuit Father Petre rules His Majesty's mind more than ever. . . . '

" Writing 15th August, 1687, Terresii says : ' The report they [the people] circulate, ascribing all the trouble to the Jesuits' counsel, by which they say His Majesty is completely governed, is most intolerable to the King. Yet I believe it in a great measure to be a calumny ; still, as His Majesty has the Jesuits so constantly with him, it causes suspicions, which will be worse if Father Petre becomes Cardinal, as it is said the King certainly wishes. . . . ' " *

The Jesuit Petre attained to the height of his political activity on November the 11th, 1687, when James II. made him a member of the Privy Council. As Privy Councillor Petre took an oath of allegiance, which would naturally suggest some scruples from a Catholic point of view. † But that is where the use of the Jesuit maxim, " The end sanctifies the means," would come in.

Petre accepted his political office by express permission of the Provincial of the English Province, the Jesuit Keynes, and with the silent consent at any rate of General Gonzalez himself. A letter, dated January 8th, 1688, from the General to the English Provincial does certainly express " surprise " that Petre should have been allowed by the Provincial to accept an office " implying interference with matters forbidden by the statutes of the Order," but it does not contain a word of blame, let alone a command to relinquish the office. ‡ The letter ends with an assurance that the General would consult his assistants on the matter. As Petre retained his office undisturbed even after this consultation, it may be concluded that it ended in approval of Petre's political office. This conclusion is all the more justified as, if there had

* Taunton, pp. 448, 449.

† Cf. Michaud : *Louis XIV. et Innocent XI.* (Paris, 1882), 2, 113, 118.

‡ Crétineau-Joly, *Historie de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 3rd edition, 4, 148.

been the slightest sign of disapproval, the Jesuit authors would certainly have pointed it out. But they have maintained a profound silence.

Taunton concludes his account of the Jesuit Petre with these trenchant words :

“ It is the custom to speak sternly of Petre’s foolhardy conduct, and to accuse him of ambition. I think historians have not, as a rule, understood the full position of the case. Petre has been made the scapegoat for others. I do not wish to extenuate his responsibility for the catastrophe ; but I do think the chief blame rests on other shoulders. If he were free from ambition, who^s then were the ambitious men ? Petre, like a good Jesuit, was in the hands of his superiors *perinde ac cadaver*. It was therefore the superiors of the Society who were the ambitious men. They and they alone are primarily guilty of the fall of the Stuarts. Hitherto they have escaped, while Petre has borne the opprobrium. The General, the Provincial and the Confessor are the real culprits. If, as we know, from a letter dated 3rd March, 1688, the Provincial had, without the leave of the General, allowed Petre to accept the office of Privy Councillor, still the General tolerated it. Considering that they knew all about the man, and yet left him in this position ; considering that they allowed him to take the oath and become a Privy Councillor, who can now say that they were not the ambitious men ? The *libido dominandi* eats into a Society as well as into persons, and more easily where the individual gives up all personal ambition and makes the Society his all in all.”*

The historians of the Order do not speak of Petre and his political doings unless absolutely obliged to do so. They mostly prefer to ignore the existence of a Jesuit Petre ; that is to say, they pass him over in absolute silence. In modern times the Jesuit Duhr is conspicuous for such silence. In his voluminous work of 975 pages, *Jesuitenſabeln*, published in a fourth edition in 1904, Petre is only mentioned once in a superficial remark (p. 674), though thirty pages are devoted to the court

* Taunton, pp. 460, 461.

confessors of the Order and their doings, but Petre does not exist for him.

This silence of Duhr's is all the more striking, considering that eighteen years before (1886-87), in the *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, he attempted the defence of Petre in long articles. And in 1904 not a word of such defence, not even a reference to it. Duhr must have had a feeling that it would be best not to reopen the topic of Petre.

From Duhr's defence of 1886-87 we may report as curiously characteristic that it is almost exclusively restricted to refuting the reproach of Petre's having aspired ambitiously to the dignity of a cardinal; this was impossible, he asserts, since Petre, as a professed member of the Society of Jesus, had taken a vow not to aspire after such dignities. Duhr ignores almost completely the far more serious reproach of political activity, also forbidden by the Constitutions of the Order, and seals his very extensive defence of his fellow-Jesuit Petre with this assertion :

“There are no facts nor authentic, irrefutable conclusions to justify the accusation brought against the Jesuit Petre. But if incontestable proof should be brought against Father Petre, there would be absolutely no reason why we should hesitate to recognise it, for it would be no more reasonable to reproach an Order of the Catholic Church for having one wicked member than the company of the Apostles on account of one Judas. In any case, truth must prevail.”*

That is Duhr all over, or rather the Jesuit spirit. The facts, that for years Petre exercised unlimited political influence, that he officially held a political post involving work contrary to the statutes of the Order, as even the General was obliged to confess; these facts, and authentic, irrefutable conclusions drawn from them, exist. And yet

* *Zeitschrift für Kathol. Theologie, Jahrgang, 1887, p. 232.*

he clamours for facts to justify the accusations. Jesuit and ultramontane authors in general know their public.

The comparison between the Order of the Jesuits and the company of the Apostles, among whom there had also been a Judas, is also characteristic. There we have, first of all, the genuine Jesuit arrogance: The company of the Apostles = the Order of the Jesuits. Well, why not? The Order of the Jesuits is the Society of Jesus. But then there is a suggestion of confession and resignation in the reference to Judas; after all, the Jesuit Petre may possibly have been a Judas. How strange, then, that the Superiors of the Order always gave this Judas the highest praise and entrusted him, even after he had played his political, his "Judas" part in England, up to his death in 1699, with the most important offices, as Duhr himself reports!* In this way the likeness to Judas extends really to the Superiors of the Order, and the above-quoted opinion of Taunton is thus confirmed.

Seeing the numerous ways—and there will be more still—in which Duhr's truth has been unmasked, his emphatic word in conclusion: "In any case the truth must prevail," need hardly be discussed.

After all, Créteineau-Joly is more honest than the Jesuit Duhr. This is what he says about Petre and the Order's toleration of the latter's position of political power:

"Petre took a position contrary to the statutes of Saint Ignatius, and the rest of the Jesuits raised no objection, or else, which is very improbable, the document was lost."†

It is true that the Jesuits raised no objections, but they tried to make up for this in another way. Their sixteenth General Congregation in 1730, when Petre's political

* *Zeitschrift für Kathol. Theologie, Jahrgang, 1886, p. 682.*

† Créteineau-Joly, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus, p. 172.*

activity was at an end, issued a decree, the 26th, which says :

“If Jesuits are claimed for political work by any sovereign, they must declare that their Constitutions forbid their interference in such matters.”*

Thus the Order had saved its principles in the case of Petre, and had officially disapproved of a practice it had known and tolerated. The Order would, if necessary, save appearances.

A pendant to the Jesuit Petre is found in the seventeenth century in the Minister of State and Jesuit, Eberhard Nidhard, in Spain, characterised tersely by the Ultramontane *Historisch-politische Blätter* (surely an unimpeachable source) as : “Soldier, Jesuit, Professor of Philosophy, Confessor and Preceptor at the Viennese Court, Father Confessor to the Queen of Spain, Spanish Minister of State, Inquisitor-General, Spanish Ambassador in Rome, Archbishop, Cardinal—that is, in brief, the biography of the Austrian Jesuit Eberhard Nidhard.”†

The Venetian Ambassador at the Court of Madrid, Marino Zorzi, states in a report to the Signoria, of April, 1667, that Nidhard “ruled the Spanish Monarchy.”‡

The fact that the Jesuits took an active part and were a moving force in the political and military troubles of the Thirty Years’ War hardly requires to be proved. Gfrörer says :

“After the Jesuits had fully established themselves under the two childish weak successors of the Emperor Maximilian II., and had, as it were, become masters of the House [of Austria], they carried forward openly their great political schemes. It was no longer a question of merely winning a few provinces by cunning, but of subjugating by force of arms the whole of Germany and,

* *Inst. S.J.*, I, 397.

† *Historisch-politische Blätter*, vol. 98, p. 139.

‡ From the Reports of the Embassy, *ibid.*, p. 143.

through Germany, Protestant Europe, and of suppressing the Reformation. They intended to bring about an enormous revolution. If the Jesuits themselves and their ambitions are not merely to be taken as products of the period, the Thirty Years' War is the work of their Order. The princes and kings who fought for the Catholic cause in this terrible struggle played the parts assigned to them by the Jesuits. . . . The most important part in this far-seeing plan was reserved for the Imperial House. Unconditional satisfaction of their lust of power was the bait thrown by the Jesuits to the House of Habsburg. These princes were led to imagine Germany at their feet . . . and were flattered in the ancient claims of this dynasty to rule the universe, which had been revived since the union of the Spanish and Austrian inheritance in one House. But first the Jesuits had to procure an emperor suitable to their plans, for what was to be done with men like the Emperor Rudolf II., like Matthias? They found him in the person of Ferdinand II. . . . The establishment of a military force independent of the Emperor, under the command of the Duke of Bavaria, alongside of the imperial sovereign, was not merely a natural result, but rather the work of a profound, far-seeing policy. Because Wallenstein's gigantic genius tore this fabric to pieces, and tried to imprint on the Thirty Years' War a purely imperial character, he was bound to fall. That artful calling into the ranks of the Bavarians and the fall of the Duke of Friedland were the work of the Jesuits."*

This general opinion is confirmed by many a fact taken from the history of the Order. On the 19th of June, 1618, the Jesuit Rumer, Rector of the Jesuit College at Passau, wrote a letter to the Jesuit Lamormaini, Rector of the Jesuit College at Graz (who soon after became Father Confessor to the Emperor Ferdinand II.), which gives proof positive of the activity of the Jesuits in urging on the war:

"I hear that an army is being raised for your Imperial Majesty against the Bohemians. If this matter should lead to war, I may

* Gfrörer, *Geschichte Gustav Adolfs* (Stuttgart, 1837), p. 339.

hope for good results soon. But if it leads to concord, I fear we shall be left out, as we were at Venice: The Estates will certainly not accept us unless obliged to it by force. . . . There has never been a better opportunity for depriving the Bohemians of all privileges injurious to religion and the Royal charter than now.”*

The Jesuits of Münster were also eagerly devoted to politics. Fathers Schücking, Cörler and Mulmann were specially prominent.

In the garden belonging to the House of the Order the Catholic ambassadors held their preliminary meetings. During his sojourn in Münster, one of the most distinguished among them, Gaspar de Bracamonte y Guzman, Count of Peñaranda, the principal Spanish ambassador, built for himself in the neighbourhood of the college a house which he presented to the Fathers on his departure in 1648. . . . In spite of their rigid principles the Fathers managed to get on very well with the non-Catholic statesmen also: “*suaviter in modo, fortiter in re.*”†

Jacob Balde, the famous Jesuit composer of odes, entered at the same time from Munich into political relations with the French ambassador Avaux, at Münster. These he immortalised by dedicating the Ninth Book of his *Silvae Lyricae* to the representative of France.‡

One of the most interesting proofs§ of the active share of the Jesuit Order in the Thirty Years' War is the following fact, drawn from the depth of the State Archives of Munich after a hundred and sixty years:

From an official estimate of January, 1729, made by the Provincial Procurator of the Upper German Province of the Order of the Jesuits, Father Bissel, it appears that at the

* *Apologia oder Entschuldigungsschrift auss was für unvermeidlichen Ursachen alle drey Stände des löblichen Königreichs Boehaimb sub utraque ein Defensionwerk anstellen müssen* (Prague 1618), pp. 81, 394.

† Steinberger, p. 54.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 48 et seq.

§ I shall bring forward other proofs later, in discussing the activity of Jesuit confessors of princes.

time of the Thirty Years' War the Order advanced large sums to the Catholic League :*

The German Province had lent 262,208 guildens, the interest on which in 1729 amounted to 302,271 guildens 18 kreuzers ; the College at Liège 200,000 guildens, for which in 1729 interest of 130,833 guildens 9 kreuzers was due ; the Cologne College 29,250 guildens for which the interest in 1729 amounted to 30,000 guildens. The sum total of capital advanced plus interest amounted accordingly to 954,562 guildens 27 kreuzers. To his estimate the Jesuit Bissel adds this remark :

“ I shall not reveal this to others [of the Order], so that our people may not tell strangers. For this might bring mischief and ruin on our establishments.”

Thus the estimate was strictly private and only meant for the Superiors. The Jesuit Duhr, trying to hide the fact that the Jesuits had anything to do with the Thirty Years' War, though referring to the Catholic League, of course says nothing of the Order's great money loans to the League.†

On the relations of the Jesuits to the French League at the end of the sixteenth century the Jesuit Prat, who characterises the League as a revolutionary movement, admits :

“ The Society of Jesus supplied it [the League] at first with a few eager partisans, while other members were on the royal and legal side. But eventually, led by the directions of their General [Acquaviva] and by the example of Sixtus V., they kept in the background. . . . Henry III. . . . demanded the presence of Father Auger at his court, and that all the members of his Order should openly range themselves on the Royal side. Being informed of the complaints and wishes of the King, Claudius Acquaviva at first proceeded to treat with the French ambassador in Rome.

* J. Friedrich, *Beiträge*, p. 16. Here is also the documentary evidence from the Jesuit Papers in the State Archives of Munich.

† *Jesuitenfabeln*, pp. 151, 161.

Then he entrusted Father Maggio with the task of explaining to Henry III. the reasons for the measures [taken by the Order] of which the King had complained.”*

So the amusing anecdote which Saint-Simon tells of the 1692 campaign is probably no mere invention.†

“*Il arriva une chose à Namur, après sa prise, qui fit du bruit. . . . On visita tout avec exactitude . . . Lorsque, dans une dernière visite après la prise du château, on la voulut faire chez les Jésuites, ils ouvrirent, toute en marquant toutefois leur surprise, et quelque chose de plus, de ce qu'on ne s'en fioit pas à leur témoignage. Mais en fouillant partout où ils ne s'attendaient pas, on trouva leurs souterrains pleins de poudre dont ils s'étoient bien gardés de parler : ce qu'ils prétendoient faire est demeuré incertain.*”‡

The participation of the Jesuits in the revolution in Portugal in the middle of the seventeenth century, through which John IV. of the House of Braganza came to the throne, has been so clearly proved that even the Jesuit Ravignan could not but admit it:

“It was the only time, so far as I know, that the Religious of the Society took part in a political revolution that overthrew one throne in order to put another in its place.”||

Ravignan tries to extenuate the awkwardness of the

* *Recherches historiques et critiques sur la Compagnie de Jésus en France du temps du P. Cotton, 1564-1626* (Lyon, 1876), I., 65 et seq.

† Saint-Simon is very inconvenient to the Jesuits as a witness. The Jesuit Duhr disposes of him for his readers with the following words: “Lavallée [editor of Madame de Maintenon's Letters] charges the Memoirs of the Duc de Saint-Simon, which have been exploited in an anti-Jesuit manner, with blind hatred and deliberate untruthfulness.” This is a piece of genuine Jesuitical misrepresentation. Lavallée does not dream of discrediting Saint-Simon's Memoirs as a whole; indeed he constantly refers to the Memoirs in explanation of passages in Madame de Maintenon's Letters. In the passage quoted (inaccurately, too) by Duhr, Lavallée speaks exclusively of Saint-Simon's antipathy for Louis XIV. and Madame de Maintenon, without saying a word against the general trustworthiness of the Memoirs.

‡ *Mémoires* (Paris, 1873), I., 12.

|| *De l'Existence et de l'Institut des Jésuites* (Paris, 1855), p. 238.

fact by saying that the Portuguese Jesuits had acted here rather as Portuguese than as Jesuits, an evasion which might serve in similar cases for all countries in which Jesuits live and support thrones. Georgel, Secretary of the French Embassy in Vienna, tells us how great was the general influence of the Jesuits in Portugal :

“ At court they were not only directors of conscience to the Princes and Princesses of the Royal Family, but the King and his Ministers consulted them on affairs of importance. In the government of State or Church no office was bestowed without their approval or influence, so that the high clergy, the aristocracy, and the people vied with each other for their mediation and favour.”*

Even Pombal had to bow at least once to the preponderant influence of the Jesuits. At one time he seems to have planned marrying the Princess de Beira to the Duke of Cumberland, and thus uniting Portugal to England. Surely a political enterprise ! Who was it that thwarted this plan successfully ? The Jesuit Order. Thus reports Maréchal de Belle-Isle,† and Crétineau-Joly is bound to confirm him.

I have mentioned already the fact and the reason why the Jesuits have been less prominent politically since the restoration of their Order than formerly. But even during the comparatively short period of not quite a hundred years numerous political intrigues and actions were set on foot by the Order.

In the diary of Manning (afterwards Cardinal), written during his second stay in Rome (after his secession to the Church of Rome), November, 1847, to May, 1848, the following passage, dated December 5th, 1847, occurs :

“ Brocchi told me that the Jesuits are able and excellent in their duties as priests, but that their politics are most mischievous ;

* *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Événements de la Fin du 18 Siècle* Paris, 1817), 1, 16.

† *Testament politique*, p. 108, and Crétineau-Joly, 5, 176.

that if a collision should come with the people the effect would be terrible; that they stick to the aristocracy, *e.g.* to the Dorias, the Princess being a Frenchwoman; that no day passes but they are there. The people call them *Oscuri, Oscurantisti*.”*

In 1866 and 1870-71 I was too young to be able to judge of the political activity of the Order in those stirring times, but the events at Feldkirch and in my family circle, which, as I have already shown, was completely under Jesuit dominion, prove the strong political partisanship of the Order for Austria and France. The extensive influence of the Order and its traditional habit of political intrigue justify the conclusion that its anti-Prussian and anti-German sentiments may have led to actions, or in any case to desires.

But I was old enough to judge of subsequent events.

In 1883-87, when I was studying theology as a Jesuit scholastic at Ditton Hall, in England, I was sent several times for a short stay to the Continent for various purposes of no special interest. During one of these journeys (I forget in what year) I spent the night in the Jesuit College at Canterbury, where some of the Jesuits exiled from France had settled. The Rector was the renowned Jesuit du Lac. He treated me with great candour, and told me with many details, which I have forgotten, how zealously he had been working in France for General Boulanger; that he had collected large sums of money for the “Deliverer of France” from the Legitimist nobility; “*la sale et impie République*” would have to be overthrown by Boulanger, whom God (!) had elected, and “*le drapeau blanc royal*” hoisted once more. These words sounded strange in my ears from the lips of so responsible a person. I should have thought them stranger still if I had known who and what *le brave Général* was (but I never caught sight of a newspaper), and that the qualifying

* Purcell, *Life of Cardinal Manning* (London, 1895), I., p. 364.

epithets "*sale*" and "*impie*" used by du Lac of the Republic applied particularly well to Boulanger.

There was a significant epilogue to this conversation at Canterbury. In a letter to General Anderledy, well known to me from my youth, I felt bound to report to him the political activity of the Jesuit du Lac; other matters too were dealt with in this letter. Anderledy replied to all, omitting only what concerned du Lac and Boulanger. Later I understood the reason for this omission. The General of the Order, who may also have placed his hopes on Boulanger, did not wish to interfere with du Lac's political doings.

Ever since the establishment of the Centre Party in Germany it has always been closely connected with the Jesuit Order. Theologians of the German Province were often consulted by parliamentary members of the Centre. The leader of the Centre, Lieber, was a frequent guest in the German Jesuit Colleges on the Dutch frontier (Exaeten, Wynandsrade, Blyenbeck). The Provincial, Jacob Ratgeb, used to go to Hanover for important consultations with Windthorst. Once he returned in a state of great annoyance, and in his vexation at Windthorst's "prudence" he allowed these words to escape him: "If Windthorst is not willing, we shall go ahead without him." I never learnt to what the cunning Guelph's unwillingness may have referred. In 1889, at Windthorst's desire, and under the pretext of study and pastorate, two Jesuits were sent to Berlin for permanent residence. I was one of the two, and the other was Jacob Föh, formerly Rector of Feldkirch, and chief editor of *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*. I shall recur again to my stay in Berlin. Here, in connection with politics, I can only say that Windthorst and the other Centre leaders made us very welcome. In the lobby of the (old) parliamentary buildings I had a long conversation with Windthorst, in which he said emphatic-

ally that the question of the return of the Jesuits, and of the territorial independence of the Pope (the Papal States) must always remain in the foreground. Later on, up to Windthorst's death, another Jesuit, Victor Frins, was his constant adviser in Berlin. In the discussions on the new civil code (*Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch*) the celebrated Jesuit Lehmkuhl played a great part as an inspirer of the Centre Party. August Reichensperger also held lively intercourse with the German Jesuits. His name recalls to me a serious yet diverting "political" occurrence.

In the summer of 1882 August Reichensperger visited the Jesuit College at Blyenbeck. In his honour an open-air picnic was held. Pütz, the Rector, made a speech on the guest of the day, in which he mentioned the exile of the Jesuits from Germany, and the hope of their speedy return with the aid of the Centre Party and its glorious leader Reichensperger. August Reichensperger answered very pleasantly, but with reference to the exile said, almost literally: "Those who plunge into politics as deeply as the Jesuit Order must put up with the occasional political consequences of the plunge." Tableau! The faces of the surrounding fathers (for we scholastics stood apart) grew long and aghast at this candour. On the very same evening the Rector joined us young Jesuits during recreation, and tried to blot out the impression made by Reichensperger's words. He said Reichensperger had been brought up on Gallo-Josephinian ideas, and a little youthful infection was still in him, and that was why he repeated things he had heard in former days; but the Jesuits had never interfered in politics.

After the expulsion of the Jesuit Order from Germany, the German Province of the Order settled not only in Holland and England, but also in Denmark. Very soon the Jesuits succeeded in converting the widow of the Danish multi-millionaire and press magnate, Berling, proprietor

of the great Copenhagen paper *Berlingske Tidende*, to Catholicism. With this lady's money the Jesuit College at Ordrupshoj, near Copenhagen, was built, being in the North what Feldkirch is in the South. It is naturally impossible to ascertain how far the Jesuit influence extended to the *Berlingske Tidende*, and through it to politics.

The Catholic Princess Waldemar of Denmark, daughter of the Duke of Chartres, was also in the hands of the German Jesuits of Copenhagen and Ordrupshoj. Her intense hatred of Germans may doubtless be ascribed to Jesuit influence, apart from her French descent. It is well known that it was Princess Waldemar of Denmark who, in 1887, manipulated matters so as to place the forged documents against Bismarck in the hands of the Tsar Alexander III. Considering the simultaneous political activity of the French Jesuit du Lac, and the influence of the "German" Jesuits in Copenhagen on the French Princess Waldemar of Denmark, it is not a very romantic supposition to connect the origin of the forged anti-Bismarck documents, which almost caused a war, with the Jesuit Order.

An interesting and instructive medley of the political proceedings of the Jesuit Order is spread before us, sufficient to mark the striking contrast between Jesuit words and deeds in this important point also. It only remains to show the road by which the Order is enabled to enter the political arena in the most effective and, at the same time, the least conspicuous manner. That road is confession. For centuries the Jesuit Order supplied nearly all Catholic princes and politically influential men with confessors. Their pastoral work presents vistas of quite enormous activity, comprising in their motley but systematic variety the whole of Europe.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century the Duke of Saint-Simon writes :

Fourteen Years a Jesuit

“ *Les Jésuites maîtres des cours par le confessional de presque tous les rois et de tous les souverains catholiques . . . terribles par la politique la plus raffinée, la plus profonde, la plus supérieure à toute autre considération que leur domination, soutenue par un gouvernement dont la Monarchie, l'autorité, les degrés, les ressorts, le secret, l'uniformité dans les vues, et la multiplicité dans les moyens en sont l'âme.*”*

But the Jesuits do not admit Saint-Simon's testimony. Well! a few decades later it was borne out by a man whom they could hardly set aside as a Jesuit-hater or misinformed. The Jesuit Cordara admits in his Memoirs :

“ Nearly all kings and sovereigns of Europe had only Jesuits as directors of their conscience, so that the whole of Europe appeared to be governed by Jesuits only : *reges ac principes prope omnes Europae solis Jesuitis utebantur conscientiae arbitris, ut soli jam Jesuitae tota dominari viderentur Europa.*”†

Therefore, *Habemus confitentem reum*. The Order of the Jesuits governing Europe through its confessors of sovereigns stands here convicted before us : the official Constitutions forbid the acceptance of the office of confessor of a sovereign. The fortieth decree of the second General Congregation of 1565 runs thus :

“ Since it was proposed to appoint for the illustrious Cardinal of Augsburg [Otto von Truchsess] a theologian of our Society to be his father confessor and also join his court, the Congregation has decided not to appoint any of our people either to a sovereign or any other lord of the Church or State, to attend his court or reside there in order to fulfil the office of confessor, theologian, or any other office, except for the very short period of one or two months.”‡

Is this strict prohibition meant to refer back to the

* *Mémoires* (Paris, 1873), 7, 132 et seq.

† Döllinger, *Beiträge*, 3, 72.

‡ *Inst. S.J.*, I., 188.

founder of the Order himself, Ignatius Loyola, who, scarcely twenty years before, by virtue of holy obedience, *en virtud de santa obediencia*, appointed Fathers Le Jay, Pollanco and Pelletier as confessors to the Dukes Hercules of Ferrara and Cosimo de Medici, and had placed Fathers Gonzalez and Miron as confessors at the disposal of the King of Portugal? * Hardly! This decree, too, is nothing but a paper to save appearances prudently produced by the Order, to be shown in case of necessity and soothe the minds of the public. The calculated deceit of the strict prohibition is almost proved by the action of the fifth General of the Order, the Neapolitan Claudius Acquaviva.

Not very long after the decree was issued, in 1602, Acquaviva drew up an Ordinance in which he gives precise instructions for confessors of sovereigns, and passes over the previous "strict prohibition" with the truly Jesuitical phrase of: "The greater glory of God."

"If the Society [of Jesus] can no longer escape such an office because, for various reasons, the greater glory of our Lord God seems to require it, then care should be taken as to the choice of suitable persons, and the manner in which they carry out their duties, so that the sovereign should derive benefit, the people be edified, and the Society sustain no injury thereby."†

Then, after apparently strict injunctions (in Notes 4-7) that the father confessor should not engage "in exterior or political affairs," and not let himself be employed as "censor of ministers and courtiers," all this is again made possible in another way in Note 8 in the shape of an exhortation to the sovereign:

"The sovereign should listen with equanimity and patience to whatever his father confessor should think fit to suggest (*sugge-*

* *Cartas de S. Ignacio de Loyola* (Madrid, 1874), I., 326; II., 65; III., 173.

† *Inst. S.J.*, II., 225.

rendum) to him daily according to the voice of his conscience. For as a prominent person and a sovereign is concerned, it is fitting that the priest should be allowed to suggest what he considers good for the greater service of God and the sovereign, and not only with regard to such things as he might know from him [the prince] in the character of penitent, but also with regard to those which he might hear elsewhere (*quae hinc inde audiuntur*), requiring a remedy, for the removal of oppression, the lessening of annoyances frequently arising from the actions of the ministers, contrary to the wish and will of the sovereign, whose conscience may be oppressed by the harm done, and the duty of making provision against it.”*

So the confessor is to suggest [*suggerere*] to the sovereign whatever his conscience may dictate to him [*quidquid dictante sibi conscientia*]. It is obvious that an opening is thus provided for the most pronounced political influence. Thus we see, for instance, that the Jesuit Caussin, Father Confessor to Louis XIII. of France, wrote to General Mutius Vitelleschi :

“If he dissuaded the king from an alliance with the Turks, it would not be interfering with politics ; for the question whether an alliance with the Turks should be permitted was not a political one, but a matter of conscience.”†

A letter from General Caraffa, of May 23rd, 1648, to the Rector of the Jesuit College at Münster, Gottfried Cörler, cunningly points to “conscience” as the road by which the official prohibition regarding interference with politics might be evaded. This confidential letter is all the more interesting because Caraffa refers in it to an encyclical, published by himself, against interference with politics :

“ . . . As regards my encyclical that our people should not meddle with affairs of war or peace, I did not mean thereby to

* *Inst. S.J.*, II., 226.

† *Tuba Magna*, II., 310.

prevent our people in the confessional from directing the consciences of those turning to them with doubts, but only from dealing with such affairs outside the confessional.”*

As the Jesuit House at Münster, to which the letter was addressed, was just then a chief hotbed of political activity, Caraffa's duplicity (for his letter is the essence of duplicity) is of particular significance, and was probably particularly effective.

We have seen already, and shall see more clearly still, what a great part the “conscience” formula, introduced by the Generals Acquaviva and Caraffa, played in the political doings of the Order, how it is applied again and again when Jesuit confessors of sovereigns desire to represent their political influence as unpolitical.

* See Steinberger, p. 199, for Latin text.

CHAPTER XIX

THE CRITICISM CONTINUED: COURT CONFESSORS

ACQUAVIVA, that Machiavelli in Jesuit garb, not satisfied with an equivocal official "Ordinance" destined to be enrolled in the Constitutions of the Order, also issued a secret Instruction for the Confessors of Sovereigns.

This secret Instruction was published by the Benedictine Dudik, himself a strict Catholic, in his *Archiv für Oesterreichische Geschichte** from the manuscripts of the Court Library at Vienna.† It is composed throughout in the form of questions, as Dudik expresses it, "as a Confession Mirror for Sovereigns."

"From the questions," says Dudik, "the purpose at which the Jesuits aimed through their father confessors may be clearly perceived, namely, the supremacy of the Catholic Church, such as a Gregory, an Innocent, or a Boniface aspired to obtain."‡

Here are some questions from the "Instruction":

Whether he [the father confessor] tried skilfully to find out himself, or through trustworthy, zealous, and wise men, how the ministers, magistrates and judges discharged their offices; whether he had discreet and able men at hand through whom, by searching the lives of citizens (*explorans*), he could inquire into (*inquirat*) the source of their income, their expenditure, and if they had entered into forbidden contracts; whether he [the prince] had hampered the Inquisition; whether, when called on to

* Vol. 54, p. 234. † MS. Chart. Sign., 11,821. ‡ Vol. 54, p. 234.

execute its sentences on heretics, he had refused to do so ; whether he had carried on an unrighteous war ; whether he had broken his princely oaths ; whether he had disobeyed the Pope and Prelates of the Church ?*

The Jesuit Order—it should be here noted—is the only one of all the monastic Orders which has official and secret Instructions for the Confessors of Sovereigns. I was, therefore, more than justified in designating the Confession of Sovereigns as an institution of the Order.

Very characteristic and significant for the fundamental attitude of the Order towards the confession of sovereigns is this circumstance :

The Generals Goswin Nickel (a German) and Mutius Vitelleschi issued the following orders in official letters of February 23rd, 1641, and November 28th, 1654, both addressed to the Provincial of the Upper German Province :

“ When sovereigns require a Jesuit’s opinion on any subject, the Jesuit in question is to report the matter to his Superior, who is to lay it before several Jesuits for discussion. The resolution formed after this consultation is supplied to the Jesuit who has been consulted by the sovereign.”†

This Ordinance, which is in the first instance concerned with the confessors of sovereigns, could only have the result doubtless intended by the Generals, that it was just the most important matters (those that required a second opinion) which were not kept secret between

* The publication of the secret Instruction is exceedingly inconvenient to the Jesuit Duhr. He passes over this significant document in a mere footnote, mentioning it casually, and just where he ought to have discussed it he misleads by hushing it up. (*Die Jesuiten an den deutschen Fürstenhöfen des 16 Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg, 1910, p. 6.) In the *Jesuitenfabeln* (4 Ed., p. 100) Duhr also displays the same disingenuousness ; he quotes from Dudik a passage from a letter of General Vitelleschi, in which the Imperial Father Confessor in Vienna, the Jesuit Lamormaini, is referred to Acquaviva’s official *Ordinatio*, but passes over the secret Instruction in silence.

† From the manuscript papers of the Jesuits published by Döllinger-Reusch, from the Archives at Munich. *Moralstreitigkeiten*, I., 650.

sovereign and confessor, but came to the knowledge of the General of the Order, and could thus be utilised by him in his general calculations and measures.

This is clearly expressed in letters by the Jesuit Caussin, Father Confessor of Louis XIII. of France, to General Vitelleschi. Caussin, who appears to have been an ingenuous man, objects to being expected to report to the Superiors of the Order the confidences made to him by the King, and the discussions he held with him.

“I am reproached for not seeking advice of my Superiors on the matters I discuss with the King. . . . But I know from Thomas [Aquinas] that, according to natural, human and divine right, matters of confession are to be kept secret. . . . What law or what constitution of the Society [of Jesus] is there that bids the Father Confessor report to his Superiors on the affairs of his penitents? . . . Is the King’s conscience to be revealed to as many persons as there are Consultors in our Houses?”*

Thus Caussin was of the opinion, and he must surely have known, that the Ordinance of his Superiors contained an invitation to violate the secret of the confessional.

We have already seen that the Order disregards the secrecy of the confessional in the case of its own members. But here the secrecy of the confessional, which according to general theological doctrine every priest is bound to preserve even at risk of death, is set aside on principle by the Jesuit Order for the furtherance of its own political ends. The Jesuit Caussin opposed the demand of his Superiors. Other Jesuit confessors of sovereigns behaved differently. For instance, a great deal has been written in controversy about the betrayal of the confession of the Empress Maria Theresa. But it appears to be an established fact that either a genuine confession or a

* The letter is published *in extenso* in *Liberius Candidus, Tuba Magna*, Edit. 4 (Strassburg, 1760), II., 329 *et seq.*, and in part in Döllinger-Reusch, I., 651.

strictly confidential communication made by the Empress to him, as her spiritual director, was reported by the Jesuit Campmüller to his Superiors in Rome. No contradiction such as, for instance, that made by the Jesuit Duhr* can affect the gist of the matter. It is positively absurd that Duhr, in order to contradict it, refers to his own researches in the Archives at Vienna and Simancas, and states that there he had found nothing about a "betrayal of confession." From what we know of Duhr's researches, we are positively compelled to disbelieve him. But even if nothing were to be found in Vienna and Simancas, what proof could that be in contradiction of the fact ?

The rest of Duhr's counterproofs are just as unconvincing. They may be summed up in the silence preserved on this matter by Arneth, Maria Theresa's biographer, and a statement made by him in answer to a letter from Duhr, that in "his researches in the Archives" he had learnt nothing about the matter. These assertions and purely negative proofs are opposed by positive and permanent testimonies.

Canon Ginzl, of Leitmeritz Cathedral, a strictly orthodox Churchman, reports :

"On this affair, Dr. Jacob Stern, Royal and Imperial Court Chaplain at the time of Maria Theresa, living in retirement as titular provost of Ivanzia at Hetzendorf, near Vienna, who had a very extensive knowledge of current events, told the author (in 1830) as follows: 'The urgent representations made by the Bourbon Courts to Theresa on account of the suppression of the Jesuits had not remained entirely without effect on her. . . . Then one day the Abbot of St. Dorothea (his name I have forgotten) came to Theresa and handed her a paper written by her Father Confessor, the Jesuit Campmüller, containing one of her recent confessions. Its main contents are said to have been her

* *Jesuitenfabeln* (4), pp. 40-68.

scruples as to the recent partition of Poland. Theresa now voted for the suppression of the Society and is supposed to have reported to Ganganelli this violation of the seal of confession, as a reason for not allowing the Jesuits to remain in her dominion.*

These recollections of a Court Chaplain of Maria Theresa, told to Ginzel himself, who, as the latter points out, "had a very extensive knowledge of current events" and was, therefore, still in the enjoyment of his mental faculties, are doubtless of great significance, not lessened by Duhr's derisive remarks about "the old gentleman."

Another remark added by Ginzel still further assists in clearing up the point in question :

"On the other hand, we must note that the scruples which the august lady . . . felt with regard to the partition of Poland were very openly expressed before all her counsellors, and if the Father Confessor wrote down such scruples, he did not violate the seal of confession, inasmuch as they had not been uttered in confession only."†

What the Jesuit Campmüller had reported to Rome about his Imperial penitent need not have been a confession in the strictest sense of the word. But it was a breach of confidence of the meanest kind if Campmüller passed on what the Empress had put before him as her spiritual director, in the shape of questions and doubts, no matter whether she communicated similar questions and doubts to her "counsellors."

Thus Campmüller seems to have acted strictly according to the decree of Mutius Vitelleschi, who did not literally speak of genuine "confessions" either, but of "points requiring another opinion." The partition of Poland may surely have been a point that might cause Maria Theresa to turn to her spiritual director in order to obtain his opinion.

* *Kirchenhistorische Schriften* (Vienna, 1872), 2, 231.

† *Ibid.*

An equally strong proof is furnished by the testimony of the Imperial Russian Professor and General Superintendent of the Lutheran Congregations at St. Petersburg, Dr. Ignatius Fessler. Fessler is one of the most remarkable and sincere personalities of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, whose experiences and adventures are not sufficiently known. In his interesting book, *Reminiscences of a Seventy Years' Pilgrimage*, he says :

“ The Professor at the University of Vienna, whom I venerated most of all, and who loved me like a father, was Josephus Julianus Monsperger, a hale old man of seventy-nine, a Jesuit formerly *tertiæ professionis*, and consequently initiated in the secrets of the Order. The Rector of the Professed House in Vienna had been obliged to go on a journey, and had charged him to clear up the rectory and to have it cleaned. A picture had then attracted his attention ; he had taken it off the wall, in order to look at it in a better light. Meanwhile he had noticed in the place where the picture had been hanging a small closet which appeared to him suspicious ; he noticed and pressed a spring, and the door flew open. Among a mass of papers his glance fell on a case with the superscription : ‘ Confessions of the Great and Powerful.’ He opened it, and found Confessions of the Empress, the Archdukes, Archduchesses, several Ministers and other persons of high rank. . . . So Monsperger frequently informed me.”*

The Jesuit Duhr tries to get the better of this testimony by talking of “ romantic embroidery,” and by “ proving ” that Monsperger had held no position in the Professed House at Vienna, and that the journal of that House did not mention a journey of the Rector’s in the year 1764. Still, he does not dare to attack Fessler’s trustworthiness.

Voltaire also reports in a letter to the Duc de Richelieu, a “ betrayed confession,” and says that the Jesuit

* Fessler, *Rückblicke auf eine siebenjährige Pilgerschaft* (Breslau, 1824), pp. 166-168. In consequence of this discovery, Monsperger left the Order of the Jesuits and became Professor of Oriental Languages at Vienna University.

d'Aubanton, Confessor to Philip V. of Spain, had told the contents of a confession of the King's to the Duke of Orleans, and that the Count Fuentes and the Duke of Villa Hermosa held proofs of this.*

Unfortunately Voltaire does not give these proofs. But the fact corresponds with the sketch of d'Aubanton made on the strength of long acquaintance by Saint-Simon.

We will now turn our attention to the work of individual Jesuit confessors of sovereigns. Here also a few extracts will have to suffice. The Jesuit Maggio, Father Confessor of the Emperor Rudolf II., by means of a memorandum and by verbal representations, sought to induce the Emperor to proceed with the utmost severity against the Protestants. It is obvious that, considering the conditions of the time, shortly before the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, this was strong and decisive interference in politics. The Jesuit Duhr,† who takes good care not to communicate Maggio's documentary memoranda which are at his disposal in the Secret Archives of the Order, does not, of course, see anything touching politics in his fellow Jesuit's action, neither does Maggio himself, who is naïve enough to utter a strong warning against interference in politics when writing to General Borgia in March, 1571.

It is evident that the double face and even double conscience, assumed officially a few years later by the Jesuit confessor of sovereigns, in accordance with General Acquaviva's Instruction, began to manifest itself even then in its main features.‡ Only a few months later this duplicity appears distinctly in a report to Rome of the Jesuit Emerich Forsler of the 21st of May, 1571 :

* *Œuvres*, Edit. Beaumarchais, 6, 79.

† Duhr, *Die Jesuiten an den deutschen Fürstenhöfen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 18.

‡ Cf. Sacchini, S.J., *Hist. Societ. Jesu ad ann. 1571*, nr. 139.

“The relations of our Father Stephan to Archduke Charles [Governor of Graz, son of King Ferdinand] are quite confidential; on the most important matters the Archduke asks and receives his advice, and thinks so highly of him that he wished to admit him to the public Council (*publicum consilium*), when religious matters would be discussed with the Estates of the Realm. This I have forbidden; he is only to help privately as much as possible, in a prudent and discreet manner.”*

Dudik shows† that the Jesuit Lamormaini, the confessor of the Emperor Ferdinand II., was the originator of the Decree of Restitution of March 6th, 1629. Still more interesting is his proof, that the election of Ferdinand II.'s son as king, in August 7th, 1636, at Ratisbon, can be traced back to the Jesuit Lamormaini. The Senate of Hamburg wished to reward the merits of the Jesuit in this indubitably political affair by a present of 1,000 thalers. Lamormaini wisely declined for himself, but induced the Senate to turn over the sum to the Jesuit Heinrich Schachtin, who was secretly at work in Hamburg.

As principal adviser of the Emperor Lamormaini had also a considerable share in Wallenstein's fate. Under the presidency of the Emperor a “secret council” was held on January 24th, 1634, in Prince von Eggenberg's house, when the Duke of Friedland's fate was decided. As the Jesuit Lamormaini could not be present the Emperor sent Bishop Anton Wolfrath to him, in order to inform him of the resolutions and to get his opinion. “The Vienna Bishop,” writes the Emperor to the Jesuit, “will communicate to your Reverence a matter of the greatest importance and that under the strictest seal of conscience or confession.”‡

This is in agreement with Gindely's report about the meeting of the College at Ratisbon, in July–August, 1630, at which Wallenstein's first deposition was discussed:

* Duhr, *Die Jesuiten an den deutschen Fürstenhöfen*, p. 25.

† P. 243 *et seq.*

‡ Dudik, p. 244.

“ It now depended only on the opinion of two persons [for the Electors had already decided against Wallenstein] who had the greatest weight with the Emperor [Ferdinand II.] and whom he considered almost more than Eggenberg, namely the Empress and [the Jesuit] Lamormaini. . . . Lamormaini threw the whole weight of his prestige into the balance against Waldstein.* It cannot be doubted that he did this, not on his own initiative, but by the instructions of the General of the Jesuits, who in his turn was only carrying out the directions of the Pope. The Spanish Cabinet held the opinion that the Confessor alone had clinched the matter and that without him the Emperor would have retained his general. Three years later and, moreover, several months before the murder at Eger, when Lamormaini warned against Waldstein’s plots and requested the Spanish Ambassador at Vienna, the Marquis of Castaneda, to call the Emperor’s attention to the danger threatening him, Philip IV. forbade his ambassador to interfere in any way. ‘Lamormaini,’ says the letter of the Spanish King to Castaneda, ‘is the cause of the present dangerous situation; he advised and brought about the dismissal of the Duke of Mecklenburg [Wallenstein], and if he speaks to you again, you are to tell him that he himself is the cause of all the trouble.’ ” †

A very telling document in proof of the Jesuit Lamormaini’s political activity is the report written with his own hand, on September 18th, 1630, to Ferdinand II. on the proposals which the Elector of Bavaria had made to him (Lamormaini) on his attitude to the Winter-King. “ This matter also concerns conscience and religion ” : these words conclude Lamormaini’s expositions. Besides this the report deals with stationing of troops in Pomerania and Silesia, and filling the posts in the highest law-courts in Speyer and Vienna, which are reproached with dilatoriness. ‡ Even the Catholic historian, Steinberger, who is strongly

* The older and more correct spelling.

† Gindely, *Waldstein während seines ersten Generalats* (Leipzig, 1886), 2, 291 *et seq.* For the letter of the Spanish King Gindely quotes the *Archive of Simancas*, Philip IV. to Castaneda, dated 19th September, 1633.

‡ For wording of the report, see Dudik, p. 337 *et seq.*

in favour of the Jesuits, says of Lamormaini and his relation to politics :

“ At the Imperial Castle at Vienna, the well-known Father William Germain Lamormaini exercised a pretty extensive influence on his Imperial penitent (*filius spiritualis*), Ferdinand II. The Emperor followed the advice and judgment of his Father Confessor, as the sheep follows the shepherd, and in order to safeguard his conscience in every direction he initiated him into everything, even the most insignificant trifles. As regards Father Lamormaini's political views, his position concerning the Mantuan succession and in the discussions preceding the Treaty of Prague, added to his semi-French descent [Lamormaini came from Luxemburg], seem to justify the supposition of the Spanish statesman that he favoured France.”*

It was universally said that Lamormaini had caused the so-called Mantuan War of Succession. A very tortuous letter from Lamormaini, addressed to the King of Spain with the object of diverting the suspicion, failed in its endeavour.†

Forty-one confidential letters from the Emperor to the Jesuits Becanus and Lamormaini, published by Dudik,‡ show in how many directions the confessors were occupied, and within what vast limits matters were considered “ questions of conscience.” Even on the appointment of court-marshals and on lawsuits their opinion was taken. But mostly it is questions of high politics which the Emperor places before them : the state of affairs in Hungary, Bohemia and Silesia, the influence on certain Electors. There are frequent cautions from the Emperor to treat the documents sent for perusal as strictly confidential. For Tilly also the Jesuit received imperial commissions. For the Emperor's brother, Archduke

* *Die Jesuiten und die Friedensfrage in der Zeit vom Prager Frieden bis zum Nürnberger Friedensezekutionshaupttrezess, 1635-1650* (Freiburg, 1906), p. 15 *et seq.*

† Dudik, pp. 245-248.

‡ Pp. 256-278.

Leopold, the Imperial Confessors undertook considerable money transactions, etc., etc.

A truly servile dependence on the Jesuits in private and public affairs is revealed by these letters from the Emperor and the Archduke.

Gindely describes this dependence in detail. In one instance, however, the influence of the Jesuits failed, although it was brought to bear at high pressure. This was creditable to the Emperor and a disgrace to the Jesuit politicians.

“At that time [1635] it might have been possible for the Emperor to prevent France from taking any further part in the German disputes, by purchasing this favour with the surrender of Alsace. If he decided on this sacrifice he would have no need to treat with Saxony or to surrender Lusatia to that Power. In Rome it was desired that the Emperor should satisfy the French claims; Pope Urban VIII. wanted in this way to make France more powerful, and to snatch Lusatia from the hands of the Protestants. At that time Lamormaini received an Instruction from Rome to influence the Emperor in this sense, and to represent to him the recovery and reconversion to Catholicism of Lusatia as a work pleasing to God, for which Alsace might be sacrificed. But, however much Lamormaini might try, this time all his exhortations availed him nothing.”*

To the Emperor Ferdinand the Jesuit's advice was so indispensable that when Lamormaini was ill, he sent the Prince of Eggenberg to him and begged for his opinion. Thus Khevenhiller's *Annals* proclaim the truth in saying that :

“Lamormaini tyrannised over the Emperor and the Princes, and the Emperor was so completely in his power that not the Emperor but the Jesuits reigned supreme.”†

Through Lamormaini's influence, foreign Jesuits were also set to work for the Emperor.

* Gindely, *Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Krieges*, p. 14 et seq.

† II., 595.

In December, 1619, Ferdinand II. sent Count Wratislaw von Fürstenberg to Louis XIII. in Paris in order to induce the King to help. At first all attempts were in vain. Finally he [Count Fürstenberg] succeeded in winning over the Royal Confessor, the Jesuit Arnoux; the latter had probably received directions from Rome to act in Ferdinand's interest; in any case he undertook the task. At Christmas he put it to the King as a duty to assist the Emperor, who was oppressed for the sake of religion . . . In the evening of the same day the Royal Private Secretary repaired to Fürstenberg's house and brought him word that not only the King but also the Ministers had been won over to active support of the Emperor.*

This explains the remark of Gustavus Adolphus: "There are three 'L's' I should like to see hanged: the Jesuit Lamormaini, the Jesuit Laymann, and the Jesuit Laurentius Forer."†

On the part of mediator between Spain and France played by the Jesuit Coton, Father Confessor to Henry IV. of France, Coton's fellow-Jesuit Prat writes:

"Persuadé qu'une alliance entre la France et l'Espagne aurait de grands avantages pour l'Église, et qu'elle imposerait aux puissances hérétiques de l'Europe, il avait toujours eu soin de ménager un rapprochement entre ces deux couronnes, si longtemps ennemies. . . . Le projet du P. Coton . . . abouti enfin . . . au mariage de Louis XIII. avec Anne d'Autriche."‡

In a letter to Louis XIV. Fénelon attacks the Jesuit La Chaise, the all-powerful confessor of the King:

". . . Your Father Confessor is not vicious, but he shuns sterling virtue and only loves worldly and licentious people. He is jealous of his prestige, which you have raised to an unlimited height.

* Gindely, III., 6, quotes an original report of Fürstenberg's to the Emperor dated Dec. 24th, 1619.

† Dudik, p. 248.

‡ *Recherches*, etc. (Lyons, 1876), III., 199, 200.

Never before did a King's Father Confessor alone appoint bishops and decide all questions of conscience. You, Sire, are the only person in France who does not know that he [La Chaise] is ignorant, that his mind is narrow and uncultured. The Jesuits, too, despise him and are indignant at his giving in to the ambitions of his family. You have turned a member of an Order into a Minister of State; he knows neither people nor things, and falls a ready victim to any who flatter him and give him presents."*

Especially interesting are the remarks of Madame de Maintenon, scattered in numerous letters, on this Father Confessor of her Royal lover. They do not throw a particularly favourable light on his character, or that of the Jesuits in general. Yet no one could dispute that Madame de Maintenon had undeniable powers of observation, and an interest in the Jesuits in general and La Chaise in

* Grégoire, *Histoire des Confesseurs* (Paris, 1824), p. 363; Lavallée, *Correspondance générale de Mme. de Maintenon* (Paris, 1866), 4, 45 et seq. As regards Grégoire, the tactics of the Jesuits are very clear. Wherever Grégoire reports something in favour of a Jesuit princely confessor he is quoted in full; if he reports anything unfavourable it is suppressed, or Grégoire is called "Grégoire the undiscerning." Of course, the Jesuit Duhr is particularly great at this double-faced use of Grégoire. For instance (in the *Jesuitenfabeln* (4), p. 69), Duhr quotes a few words of praise by Grégoire on the Jesuit Arnoux, Confessor of Louis XIII. of France, but suppresses the following intervening phrases: "In the year 1621 Father Arnoux was dismissed from his office as confessor to the King. . . . At first he looked and spoke with resignation, but instead of congratulating himself on being exempt from an office which must always be a burden in the eyes of piety, he appeared to take his dismissal as a disgrace. Details told by Gramond prove that the confessor's bitter grief was to be seen in his behaviour, and that he still strove ambitiously to recover his lost position. So hard is it (as a historian says) for monks who have been employed at court to shake off its chains. In order to return to his position, Arnoux engaged in intrigues in which the true spirit of the Society [of Jesus] was revealed, as on their own confession they are like a lion to those who fear them, like a hare to the courageous" (pp. 332-334). Duhr is careful also not to tell his readers the general opinion expressed by Grégoire on Jesuit confessors. "The Jesuit confessor at court was in a sense the Agent of the Order, so as to work in its interest, to slander and ruin those who thwarted or appeared to thwart its ambition. . . . Among the Jesuit confessors of princes some are justly to be praised. But the virtue of the individual does not represent the spirit of the community into whose secrets the confessors were initiated, and who in several countries, especially in France, Spain, and particularly in Portugal, brought the sovereigns under their rule, and thus governed the people for the benefit of their Society." (Grégoire, pp. 336, 426 et seq.)

particular. The letters are addressed to the Archbishop of Paris, and belong to the period of 1695–1700. Here are some specimens :

“ Do not attempt to cure Père La Chaise, or to teach him moderation on the principle that the pious are of no use . . . this principle of the good Father’s [Madame de Maintenon frequently speaks sarcastically of La Chaise as “*bon père*”] is universally known, you may openly discuss it with him. Do not feel in honour bound to tell him that he in particular ought to be the protector of piety, instead of saying that we are all of no use, just because I love good people and he cannot bear them. . . . Father de la Chaise has been to see me . . . he was gay and free in his manner, and his visit was more like an insult than an act of civility. (*Sa visite avait plus l’air d’une insulte que d’une honnêteté.*) The Jesuits make war on us openly on all sides, and those who wish for peace are to be pitied. . . . It is your place to defend the cause of the Church and the Bishop of Meaux [Bossuet], which Father La Chaise attacked in speaking to the King. By the way in which the King spoke to me this evening, I doubt less than ever that you should speak to Father La Chaise about Confessors. . . . I want you to make the Jesuits feel that you have given them up, and that your consideration for them is forced. Perhaps you will spare them, they will grow still more bitter against you . . . although my head is in a sad state to-day, I cannot help relieving my feelings to you about all the mischief that the good Father [La Chaise] has achieved with the King. . . . Father La Chaise wants to set right the harm he has done in the matter of Father Poisson, but he has more talent for evil than for good, and the reason is that his intentions are not honest. He complains greatly to the King of not being included among the [newly to be appointed] bishops. Such speeches remove the impression of kindness ; and I was malicious enough to tell him straight out that he need not be the enemy of the bishops, because he was not of their number. . . . On Sunday I saw Father Bourdaloue [a Jesuit and celebrated preacher in Paris], who expressed to me the sorrow of the Society [of Jesus] at my appearing not to love them, on account of the estrangement between me and Father La Chaise. I answered

that it was not my fault, and that I was ready to meet any advance on their part.”*

I have dwelt so long on Madame de Maintenon and her relations to the Jesuit La Chaise, because the Jesuits try to make the public believe that her unfavourable opinion of him was mainly based on “forgeries” by the Calvinist La Beaumelle. The testimony of the genuine letters of Madame de Maintenon is suppressed by the Jesuits.†

The Jesuit La Chaise was followed by the Jesuit Tellier (or Letellier) in the post of Confessor to Louis XIV. His influence on the King and his policy was so great that even Crétineau-Joly admits that “Letellier dominated (*dominait*) Louis XIV.”‡

Saint-Simon, who was personally acquainted with the Jesuit Tellier, draws a vivid picture of him :

“Till then Father Tellier was quite unknown to the King. He only knew his name, which, with five or six other Jesuit names, was on a list drawn up by Father La Chaise of those who would be suited to succeed him. Tellier had passed through every grade of the Society, having been Professor, Theologian, Rector and Provincial Scriptor. He had been commissioned [during the dispute about the Chinese rites] to defend the creed of Confucius. . . .

* Lavallée, *Correspondance générale de Madame de Maintenon* (Paris, 1866), 4, 52, 89, 151, 154, 161, 179 *et seq.*, 310. The statement about the Jesuit Bourdaloue is also worthy of note. In the pulpit he played the part of the stern penitential preacher who attacks the loose morals of the court; in the boudoir of the former mistress and future wife of Louis XIV. he sued for her favour towards his Order.

† The Jesuit Duhr deals in truly Jesuitical fashion with the doings of his fellow-Jesuit La Chaise (*Jesuitenfabeln* (4), pp. 674–681). The seven pages he devotes to him are filled with timid elusion of the subject, an attempt to discredit sources that are unfavourable to La Chaise. But Duhr evades the real task which he should have attempted, to justify La Chaise's conduct as the confessor of a king who was mastered by his passions. He says: “We cannot here discuss the question whether any reproaches can be brought against this Jesuit and of what nature; our only object is to clear away some of the fabulous deposit (*sic*) which has accumulated about this confessor in such masses that his person has become almost mythical” (p. 674). We should imagine it was just these reproaches which were in question.

‡ Crétineau-Joly, 4, 451.

He was a zealous partisan of Molinism [system of the Jesuit doctrine of grace which derived its name from the Jesuit Molina], and desired to erect the new dogmas of his Order on the ruins of the antagonistic opinions. Educated in such principles and initiated into all the secrets of the Order, because of the genius which the Order discovered in him, he had, ever since entering it, lived only for the realisation of the principles of the Order, believing that for the attainment of this end everything was permissible. Of severe intellect, always on the alert, a foe to all frivolity and social pleasures. . . . All moderation was hateful to him, he only tolerated it under compulsion, or with the prospect of thus more surely attaining his goal. . . . His life was a hard one from inclination and habit. . . . Formed by the principles and policy of the Society of Jesus . . . he was thoroughly false, deceitful and malicious, concealing himself by a thousand folds and windings . . . scoffing at the most formal agreements if it no longer suited him to abide by them, and passionately pursuing those with whom they had been made. He was a terrible man, aiming at revolution both openly and secretly. . . . His outward appearance promised nothing else, and it kept its promises. If met in a forest, he would have inspired terror; his face was sombre and false; his eyes were wicked, penetrating and crooked. That such a man, who had dedicated his body and soul to the Order, who knew no other nourishment than its deepest secrets, and no other God but the Society . . . was in all other respects coarse, ignorant and insolent, knowing neither courtesy nor moderation, is not surprising. He had completed his training in the principles of the Order at Rome, and the Order had been compelled to send him back to France on account of the sensation caused by his book [on the Chinese rites] which had been placed on the Index. When he visited the King in his cabinet for the first time after his introduction, Bloin and Fagon were present. Fagon, leaning on his stick, closely watched his expression and movements. The King asked him whether he were related to the Le Telliers (a family of the old nobility). The Father bowed. 'I, Sire, related to the lords of Le Tellier? Far from it. I am a poor peasant's son, from Normandy, where my father was a farmer.' Fagon, whom nothing escaped, turned to Blois and said, pointing to the Jesuit: 'What a villain!' (*Quel sacre!*). Nor was he mis-

taken in this strange judgment on a confessor. This Tellier had put on the manners and gestures of a man who was afraid of his position, and only accepted it out of obedience to his Order. I have dwelt in such detail on this new confessor, because he was the originator of those amazing storms under which even to this day State and Church, education and doctrine, and so many good people are suffering, and because I have a more immediate and exact knowledge of this terrible personality than anyone else at court.”*

Saint-Simon also tells us with what perseverance Tellier sought his society, because he knew of the great influence which Saint-Simon possessed with the King and the Dukes of Berry and Orleans.† He concludes his account of Tellier with the words :

“ He (Tellier) saw the King an old man and a Dauphin in his first childhood. His task with the King was an easy one . . . for he doubtless remembered the legacy of Father La Chaise, I mean the strange counsel which he gave him. He preferred to leave everything to the Jesuits rather than irritate them and expose himself to the chance of a dagger.”‡

Saint-Simon also gives a character sketch of the Jesuit Bermudez, Confessor at the Court of Madrid, in connection with which we may note that Saint-Simon, during his stay at Madrid as French ambassador, had a good deal of intercourse with Bermudez.

“ Bermudez, a Spaniard to the core, hated France and the French, and was secretly devoted to the House of Austria and connected with the whole Italian cabal.”§

The predecessor of Bermudez in the office of Confessor to the King was his fellow-Jesuit d’Aubanton, who played the same important political part in Spain as his co-Jesuits, Caussin, Coton, La Chaise, Tellier, etc., in France, and

* *Mémoires*, p. 240.

† Pp. 9, 431.

‡ Pp. 240 and 9, 231.

§ Pp. 19, 133.

Becan, Lamormaini, etc., at Vienna. D'Aubanton, formerly Assistant to the General in Rome and, as Saint-Simon asserts, the author of the bull *unigenitus* directed against the Jansenists, which caused so much trouble and disturbance, had succeeded the Jesuit Robinet as the King's Confessor.*

“*Ce changement de confesseur,*” says Saint-Simon, “*fut un grand et long malheur pour les deux couronnes*” (France and Spain).

The importance which d'Aubanton attached to himself and his position as the King's Confessor, and the value set by the Order on the appointment of one of its members, may be gathered from an interesting communication of d'Alembert's.†

D'Aubanton had induced Louis XIV. to arrange that Philip V. of Spain should take a Jesuit confessor, in the first instance d'Aubanton himself. And the regular appointment of a Jesuit as the King's confessor in Madrid was laid down, owing to the influence of the Jesuits, as an essential condition of a good understanding between France and Spain, in a secret article in the Treaty of Peace of 1720.‡

One of the most adroit political agents of his day was the Jesuit Monod, Confessor of the Duchess Christine of Savoy, daughter of Henry IV. of France. Her husband, Victor Amadeo I. of Savoy, often made use of Monod for diplomatic missions. His biographer, Raimond, says of him in the *Biographie universelle* :

“Monod ruled over Paris, Madrid, Rome and Turin. Cardinal Richelieu recognised the danger of Monod, who had combined with his fellow-Jesuit Caussin, the Confessor of Louis XIII., and succeeded in bringing about the banishment of both Jesuits from court.”

* *Mémoires*, 11, 110. † D'Alembert, *Œuvres* (Paris, 1805), 10, 57.

‡ Cf. Döllinger-Reusch, I., 102.

§ Grégoire, *Histoire des Confesseurs*, pp. 193, 194.

Very discreditable was the part played by the confessor of Duke Charles IV. of Lorraine, the Jesuit Cheminet.

“He supported the Duke in his desire for a separation from his wife, to whom he had been married for twelve years, in order to marry a Mademoiselle de Cantecroix. And this though he was also confessor to the Duchess! Rome decided in 1664 against the amorous Duke and the accommodating Jesuit.”*

A marked hostility to Germany characterises the political activity of the Jesuit Vervaux, under Maximilian I. of Bavaria.

Vervaux was Maximilian's confessor and, as Steinberger admits, “may be regarded as the type of an accommodating court theologian.” In the spring of 1645 he was sent, with the cognisance and approval of his Superiors (as is shown by a letter addressed by the Provincial of the Upper German Province, Nicasius Widmanns, to the Head of the Jesuit Professed-House in Paris), by Maximilian to Paris to pave the way for an understanding between France and Bavaria. Vervaux set out on this distinctly political embassy under the *alias* and with the outward appearance of Chevalier Baptiste de Clorans, on March 3rd, 1645. On April 5th and 11th Clorans-Vervaux had interviews with Mazarin which, however, led to no result, and the Chevalier Jesuit returned to Munich on May 22nd, without having accomplished his purpose.†

Two years later Vervaux composed a report for his penitent Maximilian I., in which he once more advocated an alliance with Bavaria and France, on the ground that it was lawful, honourable, and necessary. The document ends with the words :

“If the matter turns out well, the Austrians and

* Grégoire, *Histoire des Confesseurs*, p. 181.

† For details and documentary proofs, see Steinberger, *Die Jesuiten und die Friedensfrage*, pp. 41-75.

Spaniards will show honour to those whom they used to despise, and take up a more suitable attitude."

This clearly shows that it was not with a view to conquering the Protestant Powers that the Jesuit Vervaux desired the alliance between France and Bavaria, and that this was not a question of religious denominationalism, which would have made the opinion of a confessor seem natural. No, this Jesuit was intervening in actual politics; and the Jesuit proposal was even directed against Spain and Austria, Catholic Powers.*

That the princes did not always select Jesuit confessors of their own free will, but were often driven by threats to surrender these influential posts to this powerful Order, is evident from a communication made by Maréchal, physician-in-ordinary to Louis XIV. of France.

Maréchal informed the Duke and Duchess of Saint-Simon that the King had told him the following: The Jesuit La Chaise, for so many years his confessor, had urged upon him (the King) shortly before his death to choose his next confessor also from the Jesuit Order. He was influenced, he said, in making this request only by his desire for the King's interests. He (La Chaise) knew his Order well, and although the many slanders spread abroad about it were untrue, yet he could only repeat that "he knew his Order well, and on that account implored the King to accede to his request; the Society was very widely disseminated and composed of the most various persons, for whom it was not possible always to be responsible; he besought the King not to drive the Society of Jesus to extremities, for it was easy to play him a nasty trick (*un mauvais coup*)."

Saint-Simon adds: "It was the consideration of this power of the Order which induced Henri IV. to favour the Jesuits. . . . Louis was not superior to Henri IV.; he was careful to bear in mind

* Steinberger, *Die Jesuiten und die Friedensfrage*, p. 97 et seq.

the revelations of Father La Chaise, and avoided exposing himself to the revenge of the Society of Jesus by choosing his confessors from outside their ranks. He wished to live and to live in security. He therefore commissioned the Dukes of Chevreuse and Beauvillier to inquire with all due precautions which of the Jesuits he had better take as his confessor.”*

Not infrequently the Order encountered difficulties, in instituting the appointment of princely confessors, from the bishops, who were not always in agreement with the *morale aisée* of the Jesuit directors. But the Jesuits managed skilfully to set aside the difficulties. A particularly striking instance of this occurred in the case of one of the numerous Jesuit confessors of Louis XV. of France, who, doubtless, was in special need of a legitimised *morale aisée*. The Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal de Noailles, refused the jurisdiction of the King to the Jesuit de Lignières, so that Lignières would not have been able to absolve the King.† What action was taken by advice of the Jesuit ?

“ *Le roi se rendit à Saint-Cyr, qui dependoit du diocèse de Chartres, où il fut confessé par le père de Lignières, et, pour soustraire celui-ci à la juridiction du Cardinal de Noailles, on l'envoya à Pontoise, qui étoit alors du diocèse de Rouen. On obtint ensuite un bref du Pape qui permettoit au roi de choisir pour confesseur tel ecclésiastique qu'il voudroit, pourvu qu'il fut approuvé par l'ordinaire, en déclarant que le roi ne devoit être réputé d'aucun diocèse particulier.*”‡

* *Mémoires*, 6, 238 et seq.

† In order that a priest, even if a member of an Order, may hear confessions he must be “approved” by his diocesan bishop and equipped with jurisdiction. The priestly consecration alone (*potestas ordinis*) does not entitle him to hear confessions; to it must be added the *potestas jurisdictionis* of the ecclesiastical authorities.

‡ *Mémoires de la Régence* (La Haye, 1737), 3, 153. Grégoire, p. 119.

If we assume that Jesus Christ did really institute confession, what would He have said to such confession and absolution on the part of His Society ?

And now a word as to the material position of the Jesuits who acted as princely confessors.

The Jesuit confessor of the King of France received an annual salary of 6,854 livres, of which 300 went in the upkeep of a carriage. Whenever the confessor dined at court a banquet of six courses had to be served him.* Louis XIV. had presented to his confessor, the Jesuit La Chaise, a beautiful country-house as a place of retirement. It stood on the spot where is now the celebrated cemetery, which takes its name, Père La Chaise, from the Royal Confessor. The Jesuit d'Aubanton, Royal Confessor at Madrid, drew a salary of 4,000 livres.†

I may conclude this section with a few quotations, partly from Jesuits themselves, partly from other persons, regarding Jesuit politics and the confessors of princes.

A very interesting insight into the views of the Order as to the spiritual direction of princes is afforded by a secret report of the Visitor of the Upper German Province of the year 1596, the Jesuit Paul Hoffäus :

“The present Pope too [Clement VIII.], speaking, as is piously believed, in the words of God, whose Vicar he is on earth, has publicly reproached us with interfering in the affairs of princes and states, and trying in a measure to rule the world according to our views. That is why the last General Congregation [the fifth, 1593-94] has bidden us by the strictest decrees ‡ to keep aloof from such matters. And if we do not at last become wise, frightened by so many evil consequences, it is to be feared that we may some day feel the avenging hand of God, to our far greater injury. True, it is said that our confessors, who are the spiritual counsellors of princes, should be more leniently judged in this respect. Yet they

* *Journal historique de Trevoux* (Verdun, April, 1709), p. 247.

† Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, 16, 205.

‡ Decret. 47, 79; cf. p. 133, 134.

ought to know that it is a question here of a prohibition in the Constitutions and in the decrees of the above-mentioned Congregations, and also consider that the permission is only accorded to them by a dispensation, assuming that both parties receive the dispensation and not one only. But such a dispensation must only be moderately and prudently used, so that no evil consequences may ensue for the Society and, which is of most importance, that greater spiritual benefits, which should be undertaken to the honour of God and the salvation of our neighbour, may not be hindered. Would that the confessors might carefully observe the words of the dispensation, which perhaps refers only to doubtful cases, where it is not sufficiently certain whether the matter touches the conscience but little or not at all, while it is possible that the wish of our General [Acquaviva] is that our people should take no part at all in purely political matters, or only in cases when a prince is in grievous sorrow, or would be greatly distressed or offended if his confessor were to refuse his services in a particular case. Further, as intervention in worldly affairs is so much opposed to our Institute that we cannot but fear that God will refuse His aid to our deliberations on these matters, and our counsel might therefore direct the prince to the wrong road, it seems advisable that the confessors, as far as is possible, should refrain from lightly urging the prince to this or that course without the advice of the Superior of the Order, and that they should rather urge him first to seek advice from his own counsellors before he invites our members to give their advice. Else the prince's counsellors might be justified in imagining that politics were conducted according to the views of the Jesuits, and that they were only consulted *pro forma* without any result, which would be wounding to them and also injurious to us. I do not say this in order to entangle the confessors and lay snares for them, but rather to warn them not to enter too securely and freely into temporal discussions, but with a certain wholesome fear and moderation, and rather avoid such matters, as far as this can be done in seemly fashion and without giving offence."*

* From Reusch, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens: Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (1894), p. 265 *et seq.* Reusch rests his statements on unpublished documents in the State Archives at Munich, to which he had access in the original.

The Jesuit Viller also speaks some plain words, which throw a strong light on the attitude of the Jesuit Order towards the office of princely confessor.

Viller, Father Confessor of Archduke Charles of Styria, was one of the most influential Jesuits of Austria; for many years he filled the most important posts in the Order—those of Rector and Provincial. Because of the great favour he enjoyed at court, he had many envious enemies, who denounced him secretly to the General. He defended himself in several long and outspoken letters. On June 8th, 1598, he wrote to the Jesuit Duras, German Assistant to General Acquaviva :

“ In the early days of our Society we all rejoiced if one of us found favour with a prince, and our efforts were directed towards the end of winning the favour of princes. Now there are some who are angry and envious if any one is in favour and labours with good result. Under the pretence of virtue they show zeal for the discipline of the Society and are filled with envy.”*

In a letter addressed by the Jesuit Francisco Antonio, Confessor to the Empress Maria, wife of Maximilian II., to the General Mercurian, on April 30th, 1576, we read :

“ There is not a bishop, ambassador, or lord who would not desire to have some Jesuits in attendance; the door [to the princely courts] which is closed by the vows after profession, appears in a fashion to be reopened in this way. For there is no lack of those who seek after such posts with princes, and this leads to many abuses. In the first place they grow accustomed to a certain liberty, which is little in harmony with our rules. . . . Finally, there is little spiritual advantage to be gained by it: it leads to ill reports about the Society, as people notice that our members tolerate considerable abuses at the courts or else refuse to see them, only because they desire to enjoy this liberty and honour.”†

* Duhr, p. 45.

† Duhr, who gives an extract from this letter (in *die Jesuiten an den deutschen Fürstenhöfen des 16ten Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg, 1901, p. 16), describes it as a ‘somewhat one-sided exposition.’ Its contents would probably appear even

In a letter to Leschasser, of March 27th, 1612, Paolo Sarpi reports :

“Many as were the intrigues which they [the Jesuits] stirred up against us [*i.e.* Venice, from which territory the Jesuits had been expelled], they cannot be compared with those which they have set on foot in Constantinople. For there they are doing all in their power to stir up the Turks against us.”*

A manuscript report by Leibnitz, of August 28th, 1682, contains this passage :

“*Dans quelques jours nous reprendrons cette matière, où nous verrons combien il est peu à propos que les Ecclesiastiques se mêlent des affaires d’Etat, et principalement les Jésuites, qui sont aujourd’huy si puissans, qu’il leur est forte aisé de pancher la balance du costé, qu’ils croyent le plus a leur bienséance, et ce costé est apparamment celuy de la France, à laquelle il est évident que ces bons pères veuillent sacrifier le trône imperial, en quoy peustestre ils réussiront, si on continue à les consulter et à les croire à la cour de Vienne.*”†

The following is from an Italian manuscript preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris : ‡ “Instruction to princes as to the manner in which the Jesuits rule” :

“As among the reports which the Provincials send in there are also some which deal with the character, inclinations and intentions of the various princes, the General and his Assistants in Rome are placed in a position to survey and judge of the political

more one-sided ; *i.e.* they would throw an even stronger light on the Jesuit pursuit of the office of confessor at princely courts, forbidden by the Constitutions, if Duhr had published the letter in full, and not in an extract, which doubtless was garbled.

* Le Bret, *Magazin* (Frankfort, 1773), 3, 542. “The Magazine for the use of political and ecclesiastical history as well as of ecclesiastical law of Catholic princes in respect of their clergy,” by Johann Friedrich Le Bret (Frankfort and Leipzig, 1773-78), 10 vols., contains a number of valuable and rare documents on the history of the Jesuit Order.

† Onno Klopp, *Die werke von Leibniz* (Hanover, 1866), V. 169 *et seq.*

‡ *Fonds italiens*, No. 986.]

state of the world and to regulate the attitude of the Order in accordance with its own interests. In particular, the confessions, which a great many of the Catholic nobility and many Catholic princes make to the Jesuits, are a means of procuring for the Order a knowledge of important matters, an object for which princes have to pay large sums to ambassadors and spies, but which now only costs the Jesuits the money for postage. In the same manner they also learn the disposition of the subjects and know which of them are well-disposed to the princes and which are not. . . . In Rome the Jesuits constantly swarm around the cardinals, ambassadors and prelates, and inquire about everything that occurs or is about to occur, and try to turn it to their own advantage, so that events of importance often have an entirely different issue from that which the princes desire. The greater part of the business of Christendom passes through their hands. They prevailed on Gregory XIII. to order all legates and nuncios to take Jesuits as their companions and confidants. . . . Jesuits who are taken into the confidence of a prince seek advice immediately of the General about matters of importance and follow his directions.”*

Macaulay sums up his judgment in these words :

“They glided from one Protestant country to another, under innumerable disguises, as gay Cavaliers, as simple rustics, as Puritan preachers.”†

Crétineau-Joly, who writes in the pay of the Order, takes up a peculiar position. He cannot deny the enormous influence of the Jesuit Order on the political conditions of Europe. But he discovers a theory of justification.

“In the intention of Loyola politics were certainly excluded from his institution ; but in the sixteenth century all matters of the court and diplomacy, and even the wars, had a religious basis. . . . The Jesuits were, therefore, compelled to intervene in political and social movements.” ‡

* From Huber, *Geschichte des Jesuitenordens* (Munich, 1873), p. 101 et seq.

† Macaulay's *History*, Chap. VI.

‡ Crétineau-Joly, 2, 175.

And feeling that he has thus cleared the way, he boldly bears testimony to the gigantic political power of the Order.

“Colbert, Louvois, Seignelai, Pontchartrain, and Croissy, the Ministers of Louis XIV., were encompassed by the counsels of Father Antoine Verjus [a Jesuit]; the Marshal of Luxemburg and Villars sought his opinion in affairs of importance; the Count of Crecy, the French ambassador at the German Reichstag, did not wish to be the only one deprived of the illumination of the Jesuits [*lumières*]. He besought Louis XIV. to obtain for him this diplomatic helper (*cet auxiliaire diplomatique*) from the Superiors of the Order, and accordingly Father Verjus was instructed [by his Superiors] to repair to Germany. There the breadth of his intellect and the moderation of his character soon won for him the regard of Catholic and even Protestant princes. Baron von Schwerin, ambassador of the Elector of Brandenburg, Grote, the Hanoverian ambassador, both zealous Lutherans, were among his best friends. . . . The most celebrated parliamentarians [of France] followed the pious counsels of [the Jesuit] Jean Crasset.” *

* *Ibid.*, 4, 468 *et seq.*

CHAPTER XX

SCHOLASTIC YEARS AT WYNANDSRADE, BLYENBECK AND DITTON HALL

I PASSED my time as a scholastic of the Society of Jesus (a name, as I have shown, but little suited to the Jesuit Order) in the colleges at Wynandsrade, Blyenbeck (in Holland), and at Ditton Hall, in England. I will deal shortly with this period of seven years, 1880–87.

Notwithstanding the variety of times and places, there is nothing but uniformity to record about the external part of the life. I was surrounded everywhere by the same daily routine and customs. Life in the Jesuit Order, especially during the training (*i.e.* the scholastic period), goes on like absolutely regular and even clockwork. To the scholastic the days from four in the morning to nine at night are identical—religious exercises, studies, recreation ; recreation, studies and religious exercises always follow each other at exactly the same intervals.

I do not wish to find fault with this ; rather the contrary. Uniformity and regularity are desirable during the training of members of every profession, if they are to be qualified for prominent positions. Still no other calling, not even that of a soldier, is as regular and uneventful as that of the Jesuits. In all other professions some time and space are available for individual activity and for freedom, since no other calling aims at destroying the personality of the individual. But the Jesuit Order is determined to transform the whole man into the whole

Jesuit; hence the suppression of all freedom, even in external matters. Even recreation, which would seem to be necessarily connected with liberty and individuality, is used for compulsion and restraint. For the Superior arranges exactly with whom every one is to associate either during the two daily recreation hours after dinner and supper, or the two weekly walks. The scholastics are not allowed any freedom in choosing their companions. Here also the system of *turmae* prevails. They are also strictly forbidden to abstain from recreation, although real recreation might frequently be found in doing so.

This inflexible uniformity of the external life, which knows hardly any exception, and which divides the scholastic's year 365 times into mathematically equal parts and particles, is a means, gentle yet irresistible, of killing personal individuality. The polishing and planing of the personality which is set up in the novitiate with intensive force, transforming human beings into easily and noiselessly rolling balls, is also active in the scholasticate. For, since the balls are living, it is possible that angles may grow out again. Anything of the kind must be prevented. Hence the perpetual motion of the evenly working machine of exterior Jesuit life.

Another result of this system which is advantageous to the Order must be mentioned. The continual occupation under constant and strict supervision, the absolute lack of really free time in which individuality may realise and assert itself, essentially restrict free thought. There is no time for pondering over doubts and difficulties which the life of the Order may suggest. Consequently opposition to the Jesuit system cannot develop. Minutely regulated activity overrides obscurity, doubt and opposition.

The studies which I had to pursue also belong to the exterior life of this period. They were the Humanities and Rhetoric at Wynandsrade (1880-81), Philosophy at

Blyenbeck (1881-83), and Theology at Ditton Hall (1883-87). I shall deal with them separately.

My inner life within this rigid frame was stirring enough. In spite of everything, I had not become a "ball" during my novitiate. I had retained my individuality; it had maintained its ground against all the levelling discipline. But, just because of its strength, it exposed me to the severest pain, though in the end it led to the joy of freedom after long and hard years of struggle.

My Rector at Wynandsrade was the Jesuit Hermann Nix, the same who played so ugly a part behind the scenes in the Hartmann-Ebenhöch trial.

In reality, it is not the duty of a Jesuit Rector to be the regular spiritual guide of his subordinates; the spiritual father (who at Wynandsrade was the Jesuit Eberschweiler) was there for that purpose, but Nix took upon himself this function, at least so far as we scholastics—and especially I myself—were concerned.

I laid bare my soul to him and unreservedly submitted myself to his guidance. And it is due to the Jesuit Nix that I did not even then leave the Order, but rather pursued the thorny path with greater firmness. Again and again, by day and by night—for the struggle continued even at night, with unflinching constancy and untiring patience—this I willingly grant—he strove to bring my self-asserting ego under the yoke of a delusive belief in Church and Order. Again and again he pointed out the great and shining goal—the glory of God—when I wished to forsake the holy calling, and from my own religious idealism he forged the chains to fetter me to the Jesuit idol. How I hate him, this typical Jesuit—warm-hearted and cold, idealistic and prosaic, gentle and harsh, pious and godless, conscientious and utterly unscrupulous, passionate and coldly calculating. He, who was neither a Master of the Novices nor even a spiritual Father, fastened the burden of the

Fourteen Years a Jesuit

Jesuit life so firmly upon me that the knot held for fourteen years. Nevertheless, I must thank him on two scores.

All the energy latent within me was awakened and guided by him to definite action. To his teaching I owe the skill and strength, which I have been obliged to draw upon so frequently up to the present day, to overcome apparently insurmountable difficulties. And—most important of all—should I have been capable of fighting against Ultramontane Rome and Jesuitism with thorough knowledge, and thereby performing a work of enlightenment for mankind, if I had left the Order at Wynandsrade after a novitiate of two years? Never! I should again have become what I was previously, and what millions are to-day—a Catholic who devoutly, although perhaps not without inner difficulties, jogs along on the appointed path. Above all, this book, which throws light and truth on the Jesuit Order, would have remained unwritten had it not been for the Jesuit Nix. Consequently I thank him, notwithstanding my hatred.

When I passed in July, 1880, from the novitiate at Exaeten into the scholasticate at Wynandsrade, there was indeed considerable uneasiness within me, but on the whole I stood with firm feet on the trodden path of the Order. This was soon, almost suddenly, changed at Wynandsrade.

A profound change took place on November 13th, 1880, almost in one night, with the taking of the vow. It was not that I objected to the wording of the vow. Far from it! I wished to be poor, chaste and obedient. But the uneasy feeling which had already frequently troubled me, that the Jesuit Order was not what it appeared to be, and that there were dark abysses under my feet, took possession of me with a power previously unknown. Two forces now began a hard conflict within me.

The Ultramontane Jesuit point of view which had

been fostered in me by inheritance and training gave its verdict, which was powerfully strengthened by family tradition and religious beliefs, in favour of the Order. Nature rose in opposition to it. I wanted to believe in the goodness of the Jesuit Order, and to maintain undisturbed the ideal picture formed of it from the first years of my childhood, but I could not. The voices sounding from Church and family, belief and tradition, raised no living echo in my innermost soul. Doubt and oppression lived there because they were natural. Such tormenting conditions arose for soul and body that words may not even suggest them. The life of the spirit and the nervous system suffered severely. Not that I became confused in thought or neurasthenic. But, in spite of clearness of thought, strength of will and outward peace, there arose in me an agonising tumult which caused every chord of my soul and every fibre of my body to tremble. For weeks—for months, indeed—I did not sleep. My bed became a rack of indescribable misery. The hours from nine at night to four or five in the morning, in which I was defencelessly exposed to the inner conflict without possibility of outer diversion—for I was strictly forbidden to seek relief by getting up and occupying myself with other things—were hours of torture in the worst sense of the word. And then the long day lasted from four in the morning to nine at night, and all the time I was obliged to fulfil my duties under constraint. Nobody must notice anything of my inner suffering; I had to be equable, even cheerful. The cries and the bitter weeping of my tortured soul had to be suppressed. Certainly I found some help in the prescribed occupations. But of what kind were they? I, a man of twenty-eight, having passed my matriculation and law examinations and done some practical legal work, sat on the form with boys of eighteen, did Latin and Greek exercises, wrote compositions, and

Fourteen Years a Jesuit

learnt grammatical rules and poems like a pupil of the second class.

And this was not all, not even the worst.

Along with my doubts about the Order arose doubts in connection with my religion and my Church. That which years before had vaguely troubled me, and years later was the real cause of my leaving the Order, then appeared for the first time in clear form.

For if my belief in certain dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church, and thus in the Church itself, had not given way previously, I should never have left the Jesuit Order, but should have sought and found strength, through belief in the Church and the support of her judgment that the Order was good, to sacrifice my judgment and my desires, and by trampling my individuality under foot, have followed in the path of the Order to the end. But when the rock of the Church crumbled under my feet, naturally the Jesuit erection founded on it also collapsed.

I have mentioned in the first part of this book the difficulties and terror which the dogma of the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament had caused me even in childhood, and how, later, my belief in the doctrine of the Church regarding the Virgin Mary and her adoration also received a rude shock. These two dark clouds again appeared on my religious horizon at Wynandsrade simultaneously with the doubts about the Order.

Only those who know from personal and practical experience the intimate connection of these particular doctrines concerning Christ and the Virgin Mary with Catholic feeling, and the manner in which they form the pivot of the Catholic faith, can estimate the awfulness for a Catholic heart when they begin to totter and fall. It is no exaggeration to say that the sun seems to be extinguished when these religious stars begin to fade.

I shall deal with the difficulties concerning the sacrament of the altar when speaking of my stay at the Ditton Hall Theological College, because they are closely connected with formal theology, but I will say at once what is necessary about the Virgin Mary and her adoration. For, although the Virgin Mary and her adoration are also connected with dogma, and are consequently also conceptions of formal theology, scholarly theology has abandoned them more completely than other religious doctrines. They have really passed over into the popular consciousness, into everyday Catholic sentiment, so to speak.

In the Catholic Church the adoration of the Virgin has assumed forms which not only directly and manifestly contradict the position occupied by Mary in the Scriptures, but have also become so unlovely in themselves and so unreligious that their continuance—indeed, their continually increasing grotesque developments—can only be explained by the general suppression of intellect and judgment which broods like darkness over the high and low Ultramontane Catholic world.

Now this adoration of the Virgin and the work of its further development lie in the peculiar domain of the Jesuit Order. In the course of time it has led to a fearful development of a pseudo-religious and pseudo-mystical nature. And even to the present day the Jesuit literature dealing with the Virgin is a collection of the most extravagant doctrines and assertions, and, above all, of the wildest devotional practices and miraculous stories. I have already, in previous chapters, cited examples of the ascetic practices of the Marian Congregations in honour of the Virgin.

The following dates from the time when the Order was in its prime, shortly before its suppression :

In the middle of the eighteenth century the Jesuits held a service at Munich in honour of the Virgin Mary's

Fourteen Years a Jesuit

comb. A poem and a portion from a sermon regarding the Virgin's hair will illustrate the service :—

*Gott der alle Härlein zählet,
Hat ihm diese auserwählet,
Mir seynd diese wenig Härlein
Werther drum als alle Perlein.*

*Absolons goldgelbe Locken,
Schätz ich mehr nicht, als die Flocken,
Er selbst gilt bei mir sehr weing.
Ist ja nur ein Eichelkönig.*

*Doch Maria deine Locken,
Mich zu deiner Lieb anlocken,
Schönste Jungfrau, deine Strehnen
Pfleg ich allzeit anzuflehnen.*

*Wie im Hohenlied zu lesen,
Seynd der Brauthaar Pfeil gewesen,
Ich befehl mich deinen Haaren,
Die dem Gespons so angenehm waren.*

*Steh uns bei in allen Gefahren,
Deck uns zu mit deinen Haaren,
Führe uns an deinen Locken
In die Stadt, wo alle frohlocken.*

From the sermon : “A janizary, living in Constantinople, had such thick hair that no bullet was able to injure him. The hair of our dear Lady resembles this janizary's hair. Come, therefore, dear Christian, if thou wilt be bullet-proof, here into the Hair Chapel of our dear Lady. Hide behind the miraculous hair of the Mother of God and the bullets of thine enemies will not harm thee. Thou wilt

stand in the middle of the storm of bullets, as though encased in a woollen bag, if thou art a servant of Mary's hair, for Mary's hair shields her janizaries."*

The Jesuit Pemble published a booklet of the Virgin Mary, "*Pietas quotidiana erga S. D. Matrem Mariam*," in which, amongst other things, he recommends the following devotional exercises in her honour :

"We should say at all hours : 'Holy Mary, make us gentle and chaste' ; scourge ourselves or box our ears and offer the blows to God through Mary's hands ; always carry a picture of the Mother of God on our breast ; write or grave Mary's holy name on the breast with our fingers, if not with a knife ; kiss Mary's name whenever it occurs in reading ; cover ourselves over modestly at night so that Mary's chaste eyes may not be offended ; lie between Christ's wounds and Mary's breast and draw thence as much grace as possible ; desire rather to be out of the world or in hell if Mary had not lived ; keep our eyes so in check as not even to see a bare calf or toe on lying down or getting up ; beat the breast eleven times—eleven thousand would be more devout—possibly with a stone in the hand, in remembrance of the eleven thousand virgins, worshippers of the Virgin Mary, who followed in the train of St. Ursula [which eleven thousand virgins are still honoured in Cologne] ; hang a rope round the neck and recognise ourselves as vassals of the blessed Virgin ; eat no apples, because Mary remained free from the sin of eating an apple [in Paradise] ; pray to Mary that she may give us a pleasant dream of herself." †

Such "religious" aberrations, which are even now expressed in hundreds and thousands of "pious" Jesuit monstrosities, had always been difficult for me to digest, notwithstanding my Catholic belief in the Virgin Mary. In

* From the collected works of A. v. Bucher, I., 87, 88.

† *Ibid.*, I., 144 *et seq.*

the Jesuit Order this food was set before me again in various shapes.

The Jesuit Hermann Nix had a special reverence for the Virgin Mary. He frequently said that this was derived from his patron saint, the blessed Hermann Joseph, a monk of Cologne, who lived in the Middle Ages, and had become distinguished through a specially intimate relation with Mary. Wynandsrade was extremely rich in pictures and statues of Mary, sickly sweet productions of no artistic value. Our thoughts and senses were directed to Mary in every possible way. Orations were made in her honour, poems had also to be composed, even by such as, for example myself, had no trace of a poetic gift. This superfluity of cant regarding the Virgin re-awakened my old contradictory spirit. The pictures of distorted and turbulent piety which I had observed at such places of pilgrimage as Kevelaer, Lourdes, Einsiedeln, again arose before me. They all appeared to me impious and unwholesome. But since the Jesuit Order—indeed, the Church herself—defended these things, I appeared to myself wrong-headed and wicked on account of my contrary feelings, and severe conflicts ensued.

What attitude did my spiritual guide, the Jesuit Nix, take towards these inward conflicts? I have already said that he helped me over these difficulties. But how?

Firstly, the ancient and simple pacifying method, which has been resurrected and developed by the Jesuits, was employed with masterly skill by this man, who was ready for any emergency: "All these things are temptations of the devil; he grudges you your happiness and the certainty of Heaven, which he himself has lost."

Consequently Satan was conjured up. Difficulties and misgivings concerning Faith and the Jesuit Order, which originate in the creed and organisation of the Order, do not exist and may not exist. The wickedness of our

own nature and the promptings of a personal devil are the sole sources of all religious revolt. I repeat what I have already said: What do not the Roman Church and its Orders owe to the devil, that great ultramontane sheep-dog? The keeping alive of the belief in the Prince of Darkness is literally a vital matter for ultramontane Rome. Hence the enormous, yearly increasing, ultramontane Catholic devil-literature, with all its absurd superstitions.

Naturally the fear of the devil also took effect in my case, the more so as Nix deepened it by all kinds of hints and tales of his own activity and that of other Jesuits in succouring souls obviously attacked by the evil one.

Nix, who was so clever in religious and psychological matters, combined two other influences with the infernal one: the appeal to my idealistic nature, which was made by indicating the glory of God, and the goading on of ascetic pride under the disguise of religion, which ensued through dwelling on the thought that only those chosen for high and great purposes are exposed to such attacks: the gold of holiness must be extracted in the crucible of suffering.

In my state of mind at that time no more was required. I issued so triumphantly (really, so overcome) from the battle that my nature, like a well-trained dog, obeyed for years. A single effort of the will sufficed to quell my strongest resistance. I marched forward over a field strewn with the corpses of natural feelings and judgments.

Nix must have informed the General of the Order of my victory, for towards the end of my stay at Wynandsrade I received a letter from the General, old Father Beckx, in which he expressed himself as greatly pleased with my "progress in virtue."

The year at Wynandsrade was given over to ascetic

practices owing to the struggle just described. I could not do enough in the way of self-conquest, denial of personal inclinations and humiliations.

A lay brother suffered from consumption, combined with a tormenting cough, and he had not the strength to expectorate the mucus. I asked permission to be with him a good deal, and frequently removed with my finger the clogging mucous masses from the patient's mouth and pharyngeal cavity. The school routine, with its tasks, etc., was an abomination to me. But no real pupil of the second or first class carried out his schoolboy tasks more zealously than I, although I was twenty-eight years old. I begged frequently for permission to perform kitchen-service, which was particularly exhausting because it shortened considerably the already scanty recreation time. The ancestral seat of my family, Hoensbroech Castle, is situated quite close to Wynandsrade. Strangely enough, I had never been there. I had an ardent desire to see the fine structure, the cradle of my race. I intentionally avoided going even into its vicinity during our walks until the Jesuit Nix, having heard of this, commanded me to go there. A sacrifice of my life which I attempted at Wynandsrade also deserves to be mentioned. The Jesuit asceticism (in common with the general ultramontane asceticism) recognises and commends the sacrificing of the individual's life for that of another in peril when it is more precious than his own; *i.e.* God, "the Lord of life and death," is begged to take the offered life and permit the other to continue. The conditions for this heroic act are that the sacrifice takes place with the spiritual guide's permission, and that the victim is then in a condition of grace, *i.e.* not burdened with grievous sins. Now, during my stay at Wynandsrade, a literary light of the German province, the Jesuit Kreiten, was seriously and, as it was said, hopelessly ill. My fearful spiritual troubles caused

me to think of death as a deliverance. I consequently begged the Jesuit Nix for permission to offer myself as a sacrifice for the patient, as I had learnt during the novitiate period might be done. I received the necessary permission and an injunction to offer my life to God at the next Benediction (an evening service at which the monstrance with the consecrated host is exposed). Words cannot express the ardour with which I offered myself, and the earnestness with which I begged God, Who was present (as I believed) in the host, to take my poor life, spare me superhuman struggles, and permit me (as I thought) to enter into the certainty of eternal life. But I am still alive. I will return to this event when discussing my present relation to belief in God and His providence.

I underwent bodily discipline also ; I scourged myself and, with the permission of my spiritual guide, Nix, wore a penitential girdle more often during my time at Wynandsrade than at any other period of my Jesuit life, although my body endured enough mortification owing to the continual sleeplessness arising from inner struggles.

The most severe discipline I underwent was due to the prohibition to give any outward hint of my inner suffering. Letters to my mother and others had to speak of happiness and contentment with my calling, whilst the feeling of despair inwardly tormented me. During visits which I received a few times, owing to the nearness of some relations—my mother also visited me there—I had to hide the tumult of my soul and its torment under a cheerful aspect and calm manner. When such an attitude seemed to me insincere, Nix's stereotyped reply was, "All that you are experiencing of despair and disgust is not due to yourself. The sensations are due to the devil. Your better self recognises its happiness and rejoices in it." Even to-day I shudder with horror when

Fourteen Years a Jesuit

I think of the "happiness" and the "joy" which I then felt.

On account of its ascetic and religious aspect, I must here briefly touch on an event, the already-mentioned pilgrimage to the relics at Aix-la-Chapelle, which occurred during my stay at Wynandsrade.

I passed a dreadful night before the day on which the pilgrimage was made; my body and soul were almost in a state of collapse. I supplicated the Jesuit Nix to allow me to remain at home. "No, certainly not; the relics will help you." I knelt, stood, and sat for hours with the other scholastics in the burning sun amongst thousands of pilgrims gazing, with prayer and song, up at the gallery of the Cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle, where the relics were shown by turns—Christ's swaddling clothes, a vest belonging to the Virgin Mary, etc. Verily "out of the depths" in the fear and distress of my soul have I cried to the Master and His saints. I shed tears of the bitterest misery in face of the relics. Fool that I was! My remedies did not lie in the legendary rags, called the sacred relics of Aix. My remedy would have lain in the determination to free myself from the yoke which inherited and cultivated superstition had placed upon me. But how could I make such a resolution at that time when my understanding was still in bondage? The Jesuit Nix praised me after my return; the pilgrimage would draw down God's most bountiful blessing upon me!

I am not carrying on any religious controversy in this book. But for that very reason I propose to write a word about the irreligion of the system of pilgrimages and relics. Such disorder and deception should be whipped with lashes and scorpions out of every society calling itself Christian. What Rome teaches her believers in this respect is no better than what draws the Tibetans to their Dalai-Lama and Tashi-Lama. Loretto, Rome, Trèves,

Aix-la-Chapelle, Lourdes, etc., with their relics and miraculous pictures, are on the same level of human aberration and religious degradation as Lhasa, Taschi-Lumpo, and the Buddhist temples of the Indo-Chinese.

Christ once said, "But the hour cometh when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth. God is a spirit: and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth." When will this time come which was foretold two thousand years ago?

The Jesuit Nix gave the annual eight days' Exercises just before I and the remaining scholastics of my year left Wynandsrade. An instruction connected with them may be mentioned, which strongly exposes the arrogant and egotistical Moloch spirit of the Order.

Nix wished to show what thankfulness and, consequently, what self-sacrifice we owed the Order. It fed, clothed, supported and taught us. It invested us with respect, threw open to us the doors of the highest circles of society, for a Jesuit was held in honour everywhere; in short, we owed what we were and, still more, what we should be to the Order; consequently it was our duty, etc. The theory seemed to me very disputable. For, apart from the fact that I—the consideration was not inspired by pride—should have been respected in the world without the Jesuit Order, it occurred to me that, in return for the nourishment, clothing and lodging which the Order gave us, I and the others sacrificed our body and soul, indeed our whole being—will, understanding and feelings—unreservedly, and that what the Order gave us was amply counterbalanced by this sacrifice. I expressed my thoughts to Nix, and received the answer, "Dear brother, you forget one thing: God, Who has called you and the others for all eternity to the Jesuit Order, has only given you body and soul, understanding and will, that you may employ these gifts in the service of the

Fourteen Years a Jesuit

Order. Through God's predestination, your body and soul are, therefore, not so much your property as that of the Order." My mind was satisfied with this answer. This is a striking proof of my spiritual narrow-mindedness at that time.

In the summer of 1881 I went to Blyenbeck, which my father had placed at the disposal of the Jesuit Order after its banishment from Germany. I was to study philosophy there for two years.

It was with a strange sensation that I crossed the threshold and court of the ancient castle where in my childhood and youth I had stayed so frequently, and whence I had gone for happy rides and taken part in many delightful hunting parties. I was to live there no longer as the son of the house, in the best rooms, but as a brother of the Society of Jesus, one amongst thirty or forty, high up under the roof, exposed to summer heat and winter cold, as at Exaeten, and with five, six, and even more to share rooms which, even through their outer decorations, stucco ceilings and baroque chimney-pieces, reminded me of other things than the life of the Order and of a scholastic.

I did not find it easy to accustom myself to so completely altered a situation and to live as a member of the Order, who had renounced the world, in the same place where I had previously ruled as the son of the house and given myself up to pleasure. Every walk in the vicinity, which abounded in woods and heaths, was full of memories for me: here I had amused myself with my brothers and sisters on horse and foot, had played "robbers and police" with them; there I had shot foxes, here snipe, there rabbits, and here roebuck. It required considerable determination to banish the pictures which arose and to let bygones be bygones. But this was done. And I can also testify to the fact that, in the face of these difficult relations, I consistently and resolutely showed the earnest desire,

combined with self-sacrifice to follow the ideal which I still perceived in the life of the Order and the Society of Jesus. At Blyenbeck my Superior, the Jesuit Miller, also informed me that he had told the General, in the secret "second catalogue," "that I had made good progress in virtue and was a *homo spiritualis*, a man aiming at spirituality."

During the second year of my stay at Blyenbeck I had to make the *abdicatio bonorum*, renunciation of property.

According to the statutes of the Order,* the renunciation of property should really be made during the second year of the novitiate, and only custom, at least in the German Province of the Order, had made it usual for this act to be performed in the fourth year.

I renounced my fortune for religious poverty with complete resignation. Fortunately, only resignation of the right of enjoying and disposing of property is connected with this first act of renunciation; complete renunciation of property is only connected with the taking of the last vows. I was consequently able, after leaving the Order, to receive back at least a portion of my property from my eldest brother, in whose possession it had remained.

I also took my first step on the way to the priesthood at Blyenbeck, as I received, from an Indian bishop staying there on a visit, with the remaining scholastics of my year, the so-called four minor ordinations (*ordines minores*). Since the "minores" are only a first step to the sacrament of priestly consecration, and impose no obligations on the consecrated person, I can pass over the consecration ceremony. I did not even receive the outer sign of the four ordinations, the tonsure on the back of the head, for I had already had a natural tonsure there for years.

* Exam. gen., IV., 2; Constit. III., 1, § 7, 25.

Fourteen Years a Jesuit

I finished my philosophical studies at Blyenbeck in July, 1883, and was sent to Ditton Hall, in England, to study scholastic theology for four years.

Wynandsrade and Ditton Hall, the beginning and end of my scholastic period, were of decisive importance for my inner life. At Wynandsrade false asceticism succeeded in strengthening me in my wavering religious views; at Ditton Hall the old difficulties, increased by new ones, arose with greater violence. I there fought the dreadful fight which inflicted lasting wounds (in the Jesuit ultramontane sense) on my soul. Through these the heart-blood of my inherited and acquired Catholic life gradually flowed until there was no longer any left, and I had to search out the way to new life.

I have only unhappy recollections of Ditton Hall. It was internally and externally a hell to me.

The ugly house is situated in a hideous neighbourhood, surrounded by large chemical factories (Widnes, St. Helens, etc.), which destroy all vegetation for miles around with their poisonous fumes. In summer and winter the dead trees stretch out their withered branches like ghosts into the murky air which, black and dirty through smoke and thick vapour, is but rarely illuminated and warmed by the sun. When the west wind was blowing from the factories (as was usually the case), the house was filled with an unwholesome odour mingled with soot. On our walks we saw hardly anything but factory squalor, and the paths we trod were black with slag and coal. By way of comfort for the prevailing depression and repulsiveness, we were informed that infectious diseases and harmful bacilli and bacteria could not get a hold there. Headaches and throat troubles occurred frequently, however. I suffered from almost chronic hoarseness.

The outer hell might have been endurable. But the inner one!

In the first place, I must recall my Superior at that time, for he made the hell as hot as possible for me.

A change of Rectors occurred a few weeks after my arrival at Ditton Hall. The former Rector, the Jesuit Hövel, was chosen as assistant to the General of the Order in 1883 at the General Congregation sitting at Rome, and the Jesuit Wiedemann took his place as Rector of Ditton Hall. Gossiping, mean, revengeful, suspicious, vain, crafty and thoroughly false, he had every characteristic which enables a Head to render life miserable to his subordinates. The antipathy was mutual; but whilst I endeavoured honestly to recognise and respect in this person, repugnant to me from the very bottom of my soul, the "Superior placed over me by God," he gave free rein to his aversion. One must know the absolute dependence of the Jesuit subordinates upon the Jesuit Superior to estimate what a jealous Superior, furnished in addition with all the idiosyncrasies just mentioned, means to his subordinates—what it means, for example, to be obliged to make a Statement of Conscience to such a man. I met with nothing but disparaging words of contempt from this Jesuit when I conscientiously opened my soul to him, and spoke of the waters of affliction and despair which had crept up and threatened to engulf my reason and my will, and when I laid bare the almost indescribable pain within me. I was conscious of his mistrust everywhere. I had always pursued my studies with indefatigable application, and continued to do so at Ditton Hall. Wiedemann accused me of idleness, and tried to make others share his opinion of me. I hate the Jesuit Nix; the Jesuit Wiedemann does not deserve as much. With his miserable paltriness and hollowness, he deserves contempt. I do not believe, indeed, that my course of development would have been retarded lastingly through any influence whatever, and that any-

thing would have prevented me from standing where I stand to-day; but if a better man than the Jesuit Wiedemann had had the guidance of my soul during the four years of my theological training, the severance effected later from the Order and Church would perhaps have taken place more quietly and with less bitterness.

In spite of his aversion to myself, the Jesuit Wiedemann exploited me and my worldly connections when Jesuit interests came into question.

One of my fellow-scholastics, Brother Cecil Longridge, had been an English artillery officer in India before he entered the Order. He retained a liking for artillery problems, such as the science of projectiles, and, in spite of dogmatics and moral theology, he was particularly interested in the construction of a new cannon on the wire system. Wiedemann sent for me one day and charged me to write to my cousin, General von Loë, who was then the General in command of the 8th Army Corps at Coblenz, send him Brother Longridge's constructional drawings, and beg him to have them tested by experts. Perhaps, Wiedemann said, there might be something in the idea, which would be very advantageous to the Order. I was to write the letter quite on my own initiative, so that there should be no suspicion that the Order as such had any interest in the invention of the cannon. Some months later I received a friendly answer from Walter Loë saying that he had had the matter looked into, but it did not seem to be practical. Possibly further details regarding the Jesuit cannon are to be found in the records of the office of the commanding General at Coblenz. Unless I am mistaken, the cannon was then offered to the English War Office with the same negative results.

My theology course brought the priesthood within appreciable distance, and with my theological studies came the duty of allowing myself to be submerged in the

dogmas of the Church. Then, on a sudden, there gaped beneath my feet the abyss, into the sinister darkness of which my eyes had already glanced fugitively, though kept back hitherto from closer observation by my well-disciplined will.

The essence of the Roman Catholic priesthood, its mystically religious climax, lies in the power of transforming bread and wine into the body and blood of Jesus Christ. Through this power the priest is the originator of "the true, actual, and real presence of Christ in the altar sacrament."

The belief in the lasting presence of Christ in the consecrated host preserved in the tabernacles of Catholic churches is one of the most potent sources of Catholic piety; millions derive from it daily vital energy and strength in bodily and spiritual troubles. And, indeed, for the individual who believes that he may have intercourse and conversation with the all-good and all-powerful God as with a friend present in the body, the sorrow of life loses much of its weight. It is not, however, this belief—which rests like a transfiguring gleam over the life of the Catholic Christian, and can give no why or wherefore concerning the presence of Christ in the host, but takes the presence for granted without making difficulties—of which I speak here. The dogma which terrified me was that which sought a foundation in theological scholarship for the belief in the real presence of Christ.

The dogmatic teaching of the Church, which is, however, unknown in its details to the mass of believers, is as follows :—

1. After the priest's words, which he pronounces in the name and, as it were, the person of Christ over bread and wine (generally only during Mass), "This is My body" and "This is the cup of My blood," the nature and substance of bread and wine disappear, and the

Fourteen Years a Jesuit

nature and substance of Christ's flesh and blood take their place (transubstantiation). The "accidents" of the bread and wine (form, colour, smell, taste, and weight) remain, however, so that the human senses can perceive no change. The senses only perceive bread and wine as before, although in reality there is no more bread and wine present.

2. The entire body of Christ (skin, hair, nails, bones, all the limbs and also the genitals) is present in the consecrated host, and consequently (*per concomitantiam*) also the blood; and the whole amount of Christ's blood is present in the consecrated wine, and consequently (*per concomitantiam*) also the whole body of Christ.

3. The whole body and all the blood of Christ are not only in the entire host and the whole amount of wine, but also in each separate part of the bread and wine, so that when consecrated bread and consecrated wine are divided into thousands of particles and small drops, the whole body and all the blood of Christ are present in every particle and every little drop, and that without fresh words of consecration, but only through the physical process of division.

4. Mastication of Christ's body in the mouth of the receiver is consequently also impossible, because a fresh body of Christ occurs simultaneously at every division, whether it occurs through the teeth or by other means.

5. Although a natural decomposition of the consecrated bread and the consecrated wine is impossible, since the substances of bread and wine are no longer present, the consecrated host and consecrated wine are nevertheless also subject, like other food, to the natural laws of decomposition, so that, in the recipient's stomach, for example, the decomposition of the swallowed host and the swallowed wine takes place in exactly the same manner. The substance of the flesh and blood of Christ

disappears at the commencement of the decomposition and the substances of bread and wine again take its place.

6. Consecrated bread and consecrated wine have the same action as ordinary bread and wine, although the substances of bread and wine are no longer present, so that we may satisfy our hunger with consecrated bread, *i.e.* with Christ's flesh, and become intoxicated with consecrated wine, *i.e.* with Christ's blood, as with other bread and wine.

7. The priest retains the power of consecration permanently, and it cannot be alienated from him. No sin, not even apostasy, can take it away, so that I still retain this miraculous power. In addition, the priest is not fettered by time and place in exercising his extraordinary power; it is also at his command when desired outside Mass. Every priest can consequently transform all the supply of bread in every baker's shop, and all the supply of wine in every wine-store, into Christ's flesh and blood, provided that the bread-shops and wine-stores contain natural bread and natural wine, and that the words of consecration be spoken in or immediately outside the shop or store, consequently not at any considerable distance from either.

This miraculous sacerdotal power is also illustrated by "facts." I will only relate two stories, which were current during my theological term of study. During the French Revolution a priest apostasised, but was beheaded in spite of this. In his rage, and with blasphemous design, he changed the bread of all the bakers' shops which he passed in the Parisian streets on his way to the scaffold into the body of Christ. A priest addicted to wine, who could not forgo his early morning drink, transformed an entire cask in his wine-cellar into the blood of Christ, so as to be able to drink out of it before Mass without breaking

Fourteen Years a Jesuit

the strict rule not to partake of anything before Mass. For the consecrated wine, owing to the fact that it is no longer wine but Christ's blood, does not belong to the things which may not be taken before Mass or Communion.

This is the essential purport of the dogma of the "real presence of Christ in the altar sacrament." "This is an hard saying; who can hear it?" has seemed to me to apply to this doctrine ever since I came to know it.

I need not dwell on the seven points named above to make it clear why fear—indeed, horror—seized me as to their contents, and that finally unbelief supplanted fear and horror. Is this supposed to be the meaning of that sweet memorial feast, which Christ instituted at the last meal He took with His disciples? Was that breaking of bread and proffering of the wine cup supposed to have such a brutal meaning?

The nearer the day approached on which I was to be equipped with this priestly power, the more violent became my opposition and the more dreadful my spiritual anguish. When the Bishop of Liverpool really consecrated me and twelve fellow-scholastics to the priesthood in July, 1886, in the Ditton Hall church, scepticism had already seized the best part of my soul, and I allowed the ceremonies of the consecration to be enacted over me whilst in a condition impossible to describe. In vain I told the trouble of my soul to my spiritual guide. It was always the same: "It is the devil who is tempting you; you must disregard all this."

How I suffered when, a few days after my ordination, I read my first Mass in the old castle of my ancestors, Blyenbeck, whither my superiors had sent me, before the whole of my family (mother, brothers, sisters, and other relations)! I had even hastened to old Father Oswald, who happened to be at Blyenbeck, and whom I then

trusted, on the previous evening and in the morning just before the commencement of Mass, and described my anguish of conscience with bitter tears—truly tragic tears. He also could only lay the blame on the devil. So, in reality, I approached the altar driven by the “devil,” and “transformed” bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ.

For six whole years I bore the burden of this priesthood with continually increasing anguish. Nevertheless, I tried to carry out even the hardest duties of a priest connected with the dogma of Christ's real presence. I will only give one very striking example.

According to the doctrine of the Church, it is the duty of the priest to swallow the consecrated host when he observes that it is getting decomposed—possibly owing to dampness in the tabernacles, or for other reasons—if he is not positive that it is already quite decomposed, and consequently that Christ is no longer present in it. When I was hearing confessions before reading Mass one morning in a parish where I was assisting in the priestly duties, as I so often did, a woman confessed she had not swallowed the host on receiving the Communion just before, because the thought of also swallowing Christ's genitals had been too dreadful; she had spat the host into her prayer-book; it was still there. After I had tried in vain to persuade her to swallow it, it seemed to me that I could do nothing else but swallow the expectorated host myself. I told the half-distracted woman to leave the prayer-book with the host behind when she went from the confessional. I then took the host, saturated as it was with saliva, and pressed into a pulpy mass, from the prayer-book and swallowed it, together with that which I consecrated at the Mass I read directly after.

This incident also illustrates the troubles caused amongst believers when the pious but vague belief in the

presence of Christ in the host begins to be supplanted by a knowledge of dogma.

Two other fundamental doctrines of the Roman Catholic belief troubled me during my theological course—the doctrine of the Holy Trinity and the doctrine of original sin.

The doctrine of the Trinity is an absurdity tinged with Buddhism and Hellenism, and the dogma of original sin caused by the fall of Adam and Eve is also an absurdity combined with anthropomorphic and crude conceptions.

It was a long time before I attained to such recognition. But once I had done so, it became, and is still, incomprehensible to me why every clear and religiously disposed person does not discard both these doctrines.*

It is outside the scope of this book to go into these “thoroughly Christian” dogmas and expose their absurdity. It is sufficient for me to affirm that the doctrines of the Trinity and original sin became the outlets through which I passed from ultramontane Jesuit night and bondage to light and liberty.

There is still one peculiarity of the scholasticate in particular, and of the whole Jesuit existence in general, to be mentioned.

The Jesuit scholastic is kept in complete ignorance regarding the history and mission of his Order. He does not know, and must not know, that great abuses have occurred within the Jesuit Order. He only hears praise and glorification; only light, and no shade, is shown

* I have been obliged to write this word of renunciation of Catholic dogma so as to explain the breaking down of my belief. I do not intend to discuss religious polemics. On the contrary, it is necessary that I should explain that I condemn wrangling of the kind when it occurs in an unlovely and wounding form, as it does only too frequently. Every religion and every Christian belief has cause to utter a *mea maxima culpa* in face of reason and humanity, owing to the wilderness of absurdities surrounding their dogmas and customs; the Catholic religion is by no means the only culprit in this respect.

him. He lives in complete ignorance of facts. He has entered with the firm belief in the supermundane character of the Order and in the almost divine nature of its foundation; and this delusion is kept alive in him. We may excuse the fact that attacks by adversaries are not given him to read, although such concealment does not point to honourable dealing and confidence. But even admonishing and warning voices from within the Order itself, which we have found and shall still find making themselves audible at every period, must not reach his ear. He hears only the bombastic, vainglorious, official stories of the Order, which are stories but not history. I am positive that even the suppression of the Order by Clement XIV. would be concealed if it were possible. As it is impossible, it is put down as an aberration on the Pope's part.

I can give a striking example from my own experience of wilful exclusion of historical truth in regard to the Suppression:—

Once, when performing the duty of reader in the refectory, the Rector, the Jesuit Miller, gave me the third volume of Döllinger's *Beiträge* just published, in which the *Memoirs* of the Jesuit Cordara were contained, with the observation that the *Memoirs* were to be read at dinner, and I was consequently to study them, *i.e.* familiarise myself with the contents. Scarcely half an hour later, before I had found time to glance at the book, I was called to the Provincial's Socius, the Jesuit Kurte, who informed me, by order of the Provincial, that Cordara's *Memoirs* were not to be read, and I was to return Döllinger's book to the Rector. The Rector received me with visible embarrassment, murmured something about a "mistake" having occurred, and took back the ill-omened book. Cordara had, as we know, written with great love for his Order, but can-

didly on the causes of its suppression. We scholastics must remain in ignorance of the frank recognition of abuses by such a prominent Jesuit as Cordara.

The same thing happens with Jesuits as with most ultramontane Catholics. As they hear nothing of the infamous actions and grave offences against religious, political, social and intellectual life of the Papal system,* so in like manner the Jesuits do not hear of the great faults and deficiencies of their Order. And as hundreds, indeed thousands, of books and writings radiate the undimmed glory of "godliness" over and around the Papacy, so do innumerable Jesuits spread the same glory around their Order. Fawning flattery, as far removed from truth as the poles from one another, forms the daily food of Loyola's disciples.

So long as the Jesuit looks upon this artificial light as the real light of history, he considers himself wicked and corrupt if he doubts the excellence of his Order, and he applies to himself pitilessly and effectually the theory of the temptation of the devil, which has become incorporated into his body and blood, as soon as his own reason and natural understanding raise their voices. It is generally only an accident that opens his eyes a little and lets him see facts in their true light. I must speak later of the accidents which tore the veil from my own eyes.

At the present time it seems incomprehensible to me that I could have lived for years in such implicit faith. At that time implicit faith and blind and naïve belief constituted the very air which I and my fellow-scholastics breathed.

One of the worst of the many crimes committed by the Order against its members is that it not only conceals the truth regarding its own history, but deceives them with "historical" untruths.

* Cf. my work, *Das Papsttum*, etc.

CHAPTER XXI

THE SCHOLASTIC STUDIES

THE scholasticate, as its name indicates, is the young Jesuit's period of study, divided under the headings of the Humanities, Philosophy, and Philology.

All studies are based on the official *Ratio atque Institutio studiorum Societatis Jesu*.*

One criticism of this Scheme of Study has already been given in Chapters IV. and V. There I showed how backward and unmindful of the requirements of the times are the school instruction and education of the Jesuit Order, based on a Scheme of Study which has continued unaltered from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century (1832). I have also shown that the "improvements" introduced in 1832 cannot be described as a real advance or suitable adaptation to the requirements of modern times. How can a Scheme of Study dating from 1599, which still holds good in 1910, and was for the first time after two hundred and thirty-three years subjected to a few additional and trivial alterations, pretend to the very slightest value?

We must not, however, forget that its value is by no means to be appraised according to its effect on the outside world or in the sphere of knowledge. The Jesuit Order has only one criterion for its institutions: the interests of the Order. This "gauge" is also the foundation of the Scheme of Study, and, judged by this, its value

* *Inst. S.J.* (Romæ, 1870), II. 469-549.

is inestimable. For in its Scheme of Study the Jesuit Order possesses a powerful implement with which to guard its members from enlightenment, and contrives that it shall reach them only in such measure as is necessary and useful for the purposes of the Order.

I.—THE HUMANISTIC STUDIES

My personal experiences in the college at Wynandsrade and at the Jesuit educational institution at Feldkirch show the methods adopted in the humanistic studies of the Order, and how the pupils are allowed, after an absolutely inadequate training, to be appointed at their institutions to teach the young pupils entrusted to the care of the Order. Attention was also called to the important fact characterising the "humanism" of the Jesuits, that the Order does not of its own initiative give a thorough professional training in scholarship to the pupils intended to teach humanistic subjects, but only when compelled by external circumstances (*i.e.* the imperative decree of the State that teachers shall have undergone a professional training in philology and passed examinations in it) to comply with this most primary requirement of humanistic training. This demand became a matter of life or death to the Order. They made a virtue of necessity, swallowed the hateful command under compulsion, and sent their scholastics to university lectures on philology. But for State interference the Order would have continued to adhere to its own "philological" methods.

I have also dwelt briefly on the fruits of Jesuit scholarship, but it still remains to answer the general question: What has the Jesuit Order accomplished in scholarship since its beginning? The result is an absolute blank, and only the untruthful Jesuit boastfulness could speak of "achievements," and even brag of them. Is it, indeed,

an achievement if here and there a Jesuit succeeds in writing a serviceable book on philology, if a Greek or Latin classic is edited by a Jesuit with not unserviceable annotations ?

The Jesuit Order has existed for nearly four hundred years ; for nearly four hundred years it has frequently had excellent human material to mould by its curriculum, which lays special stress on the humanities. What, then, is the result of this four hundred years' activity ? The list of those Jesuits and their works worthy of mention in the history of scholarship would not fill more than half an octavo page. No great men, no pioneers, no reformers are to be found among them ; they are but average scholars, such as may be met with by the hundred at universities and colleges, with this difference only, that universities and colleges produce many eminent as well as average scholars.

Involuntarily the Jesuits emphasise this discreditable fact by their ceaseless boasting, if at any time or place any Jesuit does achieve something in the domain of scholarship. The Jesuit Balde with his Latin Odes, the Jesuit Fox with his Commentary on Demosthenes' *de Corona*, and a few others, are the stock pieces continually produced from the "philological" Jesuit storehouses which have been four hundred years in filling. Does not this throw a strong light on the miserable poverty of these storehouses ?

The primary cause of the whole worthlessness of Jesuit scholarship is revealed by the fact that the Constitutions of the Order expressly define humanistic studies as mere auxiliaries to theology, not as independent pursuits : "Because theoretical and practical theology requires a knowledge of the Humanities, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, the requisite number of competent professors in these subjects are to be appointed." *

* Const. IV., 12, 2.

These few remarks, with the criticisms in Part I., will suffice to place in their true light the methods and results of the philological studies of the Jesuit Order.

But "Rhetoric" too is included among the humanistic studies of the Jesuits. This name is given to the highest of the classes for the humanistic training of the scholastics. On this I must make a few comments, not because theoretical and practical training in eloquence offers any peculiar features, since it corresponds to that principal branch of Jesuit activity, its preaching labours, but because in the "Rhetoric" class classics too are read, and the attitude of the Order towards the vernacular classics there finds expression. That is why I must once more discuss this point, so characteristic of the Jesuit spirit and of its influence on its young pupils. In consequence of its international character the Jesuit Order holds aloof from all national literature. This fact is quite obvious from the wording of the *Ratio* and from all Jesuit writings on education. But the aversion of "German" Jesuits to German classics is especially keen, and amounts to blind hatred, displayed in brutal fashion.

In illustration I quote the utterances of two "German" Jesuits, both of whom, though for different reasons, enjoy considerable reputation in German Catholic circles, and who exercise a profound influence on those many millions.

The Jesuit Baron Ludwig von Hammerstein, one of the most prolific and widely read popular authors of Catholic Germany, says, in his work *Das Preussische Schulmonopol mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Gymnasien* :—

"In modern schools, as has been said before, enthusiasm is naturally centred on the German classics and on the intellectual sphere in which they move. Goethe claims the first place among them. And what is the ideal that is held up to the youth of

Germany in Goethe? Goethe himself shows it us in the description which he gives of himself and his doings in the character of Faust:

*Ich bin nur durch die Welt gerannt,
Ein jed' Gelüst ergriff ich bei den Haaren;
Was nicht genügte liess ich fahren,
Was mir entwischte liess ich ziehen.**

“So this is Goethe! How he ‘seized every pleasure’ may be seen by the catalogue of his wanton loves, which he pursued as a boy, as a youth, after his marriage, and as an old man of over eighty years, with married and unmarried women, choosing his victims among factory girls, barmaids, actresses, pastors’ daughters, noble spinsters, etc. In this sense he wrote in his *Zahme Xenien*:

*Ich wünsche mir eine hübsche Frau,
Die nicht alles nähme gar zu genau,
Doch aber zugleich am besten verstände,
Wie ich mich selbst am besten befände.*

“Such is Goethe! Such is the ideal brought before our school-boys nowadays. . . . The best known only of his love adventures supply a whole catalogue. Gretchen, Friederike, Lotte, Charlotte von Stein, Corona Schröter, Christiane Vulpius, Minna Herzlieb, etc. Such, then, is Goethe, the man who occupies the post of honour among the heroes of our literature, this the hero whom the Minister of Public Instruction, von Gossler, holds up to the reverent admiration of the young, this the poet whose most valuable poems ‘it should be a national duty for every man of culture to retain in his memory as an imperishable treasure,’ a duty which lies on the schools to accomplish. This is the man whom Dr. Falk, Minister of Public Instruction, recommends, not only as a model of language and style, but as a teacher of ‘true Christian, national and humane education.’ This, then, is the man who is to inspire the hearts of the young Prussian scholars with enthusiasm. No wonder, then, that unbelief and immorality prevail at those schools. Of course, nothing is further from my mind than to depreciate the excellence of some of Goethe’s poems. On the contrary, I prize this excellence; but I maintain that what is beautiful and fascinating in Goethe

* *Faust*, II., Act V.

makes him more dangerous and pernicious as an ideal for youth. No one will drink poison offered in a basin filled with dish-water or soap-suds, but poison in a beaker of wine of Cyprus or Muscatel is dangerous, and all the more so if the wine is offered by a competent judge as an ideal potion, the partaking of which is supposed to be the 'national duty of every person of culture.' This is the case with Goethe, the principal ideal of the modern school.

"I will also devote a few short remarks to his colleagues Schiller and Lessing. Schiller is at any rate a less unsuitable ideal to set before the young than Goethe; still, I cannot regard even him as suitable. His *Räuber* and his *Fiesco* will, to say the least, not instil conservative principles into the youthful mind, nor yet *Tell*, with its glorification of tyrannicide. It is well known that Schiller also passed through a phase of laxity in regard to the seventh commandment. Youth will hardly be fired with enthusiasm for Christianity and pure morals by hearing Schiller exclaim in his *Götter Griechenlands* :—

*Da ihr noch die schöne Welt regieret,
An der Freude leichtem Gängelband,
Selige Geschlechter noch geführet,
Schöne Wesen aus dem Fabelland!
Ach, da euer Wonnedienst noch glänzte,
Wie ganz anders, anders war es da!* etc.

"This, indeed, sounds rather more alluring than the precepts of the Cross and the Crucified. . . . Thus Schiller viewed the Christian moral law and Christian monotheism! Those who are versed in German literature know well enough that such utterances are not isolated. Certainly Schiller could strike other chords in the human heart, but he is on that account no less dangerous an ideal to set before the young. The man who won their hearts by the 'Song of the Bell,' or 'Wallenstein,' will seduce them all too easily from the paths of faith and Christian morality by his *Räuber*, *Kabale und Liebe*, *Götter Griechenlands*, and such like.

"With regard to Lessing, I observe that *Emilia Galotti*, with its atmosphere of libertinage, and *Minna von Barnhelm*, with its love dalliance, are more suited for the training of novel-heroes,

blasé worldlings and idlers, than serious and high-principled youths. Nor is Lessing's passion for gambling exactly a qualification for an ideal. . . . How utterly opposed to such ideals appear those of the old school! Whilst Lessing hungers after gold to gratify his gambling propensity, a St. Francis of Assisi elects extreme poverty. Whilst Lessing endeavours by his writings to undermine Christianity, a St. Francis Xavier, by his apostolic preaching, wins whole kingdoms for Christ and Christian morality. Whilst Goethe welds his life into a chain of excesses, a St. Benedict throws himself among thorns, to overcome the temptations of the flesh by self-inflicted suffering. Which of these two ideals was chosen with truer pedagogic discrimination, that of the ancient schools of the Church, or that of the modern secularising schools of the State? Schiller and Goethe are valuable supporters of Lessing in his active attempts to undermine all Christianity, all faith. Schiller says: 'What religion I follow? Not one of those that you name. And why none? From love of religion.*' Schiller thus renounces all existing objective religions, Christianity in particular, of whatever denomination. Before he had reached the age of thirty, he was completely estranged from Christianity, and had familiarised himself with the pantheistic doctrines of the Jew, Baruch Spinoza. Religion furnished him with neither results nor convictions concerning supersensual matters, and even in relation to morality he held it to be a mere substitute for general virtue, and valued it in proportion to its effect and not for its intrinsic worth. . . . And Goethe? Goethe is anything we please as occasion arises—or, rather, as his epicurean humour suggests—*i.e.* he is really devoid of all religious convictions whatever. If any special obloquy is to be heaped on Catholicism, Schiller can supply it with his *Don Carlos*, his *History of the Thirty Years' War*. So too Lessing, who in his *Nathan*, in the famous dialogue between the Patriarch and the Templar, sets a flattering portrait of the Catholic priesthood and Catholic morality before the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish pupils of a German gymnasium.

"Thus Goethe, Schiller and Lessing are the three most brilliant stars in the modern German classical firmament—stars held up

* "Welche Religion ich bekenne? Keine von allen,
Die du mir nennst. Und warum keine? Aus Religion!"

to the grateful veneration of the pupils. The heroes of the second class mostly resemble them."*

To the same category as the Jesuit Hammerstein belongs the Jesuit Baumgartner. Baumgartner, a Swiss, is considered the great literary authority of the Order: poet, essayist, critic, especially appointed by the Order to carry on classical research. If the Jesuit Hammerstein is a popular writer who shouts his tirades against the German classics into the ears of the masses, the Jesuit Baumgartner (according to the Jesuits and German Catholics) is the "æstheticising, subtle critic who lays before the reader the clarified results of his researches in his monographs on Lessing, Schiller, and Goethe." Thus his opinion on the classics marks with special significance the attitude of the Jesuit Order towards the heroes of our literature.

I quote specimens of Baumgartner's criticisms from two of his works, *Goethe und Schiller*. *Weimars Glanzperiode*, and *Der Alte von Weimar*. Both appeared as so-called "supplementary pamphlets" to the Jesuit periodical, *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*. Thus the Jesuit Order, which publishes the periodical, has identified itself closely with these writings:—

" . . . To whomsoever the Odes on Laura may have been addressed, whether to the widow of Captain Vischer, in whose house Schiller lived, or to some other similar muse, such poetry, combined with other circumstances, presupposes a fairly wild and dissolute life. In Mannheim, Schiller drifted into the immoral life of the actors there, so that subsequently the experiences of stage life in Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* were no novelty to him, but rather came home to him as personal reminiscences. At the same time he fell in love with Margaretha, daughter of the bookseller Schwan, and entered into such passionate relations with Charlotte von Kalb that finally he even urged her to a divorce. In Bauerbach he

* *Das Preussische Schulmonopol*, pp. 56–59, 73–81.

wooded with foolish passion another Charlotte, the daughter of his benefactress, von Wolzogen; in Dresden a Fräulein Arnim captivated him. In Weimar he openly renewed his *liaison* with Frau von Kalb, whilst simultaneously he thought of marrying a daughter of Wieland, and his double love for the sisters Lengenfeld was not exactly straightforward, until at last he won Lotte for his wife. Certainly this was a sufficient number of adventures for a space of ten years.

“One of these attachments Schiller himself later called ‘a wretched passion,’ and thereby stigmatised the character of his youth as a succession of errors. Not much weight is to be given to the virtuous tirades in his early dramas when, while still a student at the Karlsschule, he repeatedly extolled the Duke’s mistress, Franziska von Hohenheim, in the most extravagant manner, as the ‘ideal of virtue,’ though the young man knew who that Franziska was. Whilst young Goethe was inclined towards softness and effeminacy, young Schiller appears wilder, more passionate and impetuous. Still, he did not squander so much time in endless sentimental correspondence with women, and never lavished such boundless thoughts and energy on the female sex as the spoilt darling of Frau Aja. . . . No more than Goethe, did Schiller possess any deep religious and philosophical culture. . . . He had never thoroughly studied the philosophy of Aristotle and Plato, not to mention that of the Middle Ages, of Descartes, Bacon, or Leibnitz. The religious impressions and the pious faith of his childhood were almost entirely lost in the whirl of his stage life. He was a freethinker. The Catholic Church was yet more of an unknown country to him than Spinoza. His literary store of ideas dated no further back than the shallow literature of the illuminati of those days: the periodicals, novels, plays of a literature which was still entirely under the influence of Rousseau, Voltaire, Diderot and the rest of the ‘philosophers.’ Schiller certainly studied history in an eclectic spirit, just as he happened to require matter for his dramatic projects or for essays on other subjects. At Bauerbach he had to make the best of the books which the librarian, his brother-in-law, Reinhold, procured for him; in Mannheim his theatrical worries entirely absorbed his necessary leisure. Not until he was in Dresden and Leipzig did his studies somewhat gain in breadth and depth.

Then he began to read Kant seriously, and investigated more detailed works on the Thirty Years' War and the revolt of the Netherlands. But even there his studies were not those of a scholar, calmly investigating truth, but rather of a literary hack, who rummages about for spicy historical matter in order to fill his 'review' and earn his fee."*

"However much Goethe's real merits demand acknowledgment, they must not be exaggerated, as is only too often done. His brilliant intellectual gifts, his physical strength and his length of life, his favourable surroundings—all these were gifts not of his own bestowal. He had for years allowed them practically or almost entirely to lie fallow, or else squandered them on unimportant matters. The establishment and moulding of modern classical literature is not his work. The arduous, difficult pioneering was accomplished by others, in the first instance by Klopstock and his disciples, Wieland, Lessing and Herder. Goethe himself received his most fruitful and momentous impulses from Herder. Even talents of a lower order, like Lavater and Merck, influenced him powerfully: Lenz, Klingler, and the other poets of the *Storm and Stress* gave him considerable impetus. Wieland and Knebel had a stimulating influence on his work up to the last. When, absorbed in Court and State affairs at Weimar, he had almost entirely devoted himself to the writing of prose, it was Schiller who recalled him to the realm of poetry, and to a great extent he owes his second prime to this stimulating intercourse.

"In reality Goethe produced but few really classical prose works; these are the four novels: *Werther's Leiden*, *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre*, *Die Wahlverwandschaften* and *Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre*. . . .

"Even if a torso, a fragment, may betray the hand of a master, yet the full productive power, the genius and industry of the artist, can only be manifested in the perfected, finished masterpiece. In the case of Calderon and Shakespeare, it is not necessary to collect fragments: their rounded and perfected works of art occupy many volumes. Not so with Goethe. With him the small and fragmentary occupies as much space, at times even more, as the great and important.

* *Goethe und Schiller. Weimars Glanzperiode*, pp. 36-38.

“Nor are *Stella* and *Clavigo* works of genius: *Egmont* is a historical tragedy swamped by a love story; *Götz*, in spite of the far-reaching influence which it exercised on the history of literature, is an unsuccessful imitation of Shakespeare. Even the three versions of the latter show the intrinsic weakness of the tragedy. *Mahomet* and *Tancred* are Voltaire's property, not Goethe's. During the eighty-two years of his life, despite his great genius, Goethe produced only three genuine, superb, intellectually great, artistically perfect dramatic works: *Iphigenie*, *Tasso*, *Faust*.

“Of the longer epics, one only is perfect: *Hermann und Dorothea*. *Reinecke Fuchs* is a mere compilation; *Achilleis* a feeble fragment. There still remain the elegies, epigrams and aphorisms, the *Westöstlicher Divan*, the ballads and lyrics. Of these last more than a third are occasional poems, far more than a third love poems. The *Divan* again is more than half love poetry. If on the one hand we set aside the didactic poems, on the other hand the erotic, not much remains: God, the World, the Fatherland, Art, History—in fact, all that is ideal—receive but scant treatment. ; : : The prevailing fundamental principle of this poet, with all his brilliant gifts, is not inspiration emanating from above, nor aspiring thither; not the Christian ideal, but the mighty Eros of pagan antiquity, a love of life, a lust for enjoyment, that takes no thought of God and eternity; a sensual love, portrayed in its full vernal magic and youthful charm, as well as in the gloomy storm, the dreary disillusionment it leaves in the human heart after a brief delight.

“There can hardly be a doubt about this in respect to Goethe's lyrical work. Apart from a small fraction, it is one continuous love song, chanting the bliss and rose of love in all its phases, in every harmony and melody, key and modulation. The elegies carry the theme to the boundary-line, where realism ceases to be attractive; his diary and the *Walpurgisnacht* go far beyond. The four novels deal with the same theme in a wider frame. Ardent love yearnings, joys, woes—‘the atmosphere of a woman's man,’ to quote Fr. Vischer—pervades the whole with sultry oppressiveness. *Faust* is heavily charged with the same atmosphere, for it is on Gretchen and Helen only that all Faust's thoughts and desires are concentrated. Tasso is a love dreamer like Faust and Werther.

Even *Hermann und Dorothea* is not exempt from that erotic atmosphere: In Goethe's hands, *Götz* finally becomes a drama of adultery, *Egmont* a love tragedy; Achilles himself is a love-sick enthusiast. In the *Grosskophia* seduction, and in *Stella* bigamy, are presented in detail; in *Pandora* the foolish ecstasy of an old man in love is extolled. In his youthful carnival's jests the poet's passion finds vent in coarse ribaldry, in his musical plays it undulates gracefully in charming duets, in his Marienbad elegy and at the end of *Faust* it even endeavours yearningly to dally its way into heaven. . . . If he happens to be reading Rousseau, he raves about nature; if it is Voltaire, of civilisation; if he reads Spinoza, he obtains an intuition of God which enables him to see in each separate existence the universal whole; if he hears of Leibnitz, he sees Monads everywhere; and if it is Aristotle, the Monads become Entelechies. But nowhere do we meet with a clear, matter-of-fact definition of Nature, knowledge and God, intuitive apprehension of God and the real meaning of Monads and Entelechies. Goethe made just as much fun of Kant's Categorical Imperative as of Fichte's Ego and Non-Ego; and Schelling's little book on the Kabirs was more interesting to him than his natural philosophy. He was no more a consistent follower of Spinoza than of Schelling or Hegel. He abhorred not only all philosophical idealism, but any system whatever. . . . His poetry, seen in the light reflected upon it by his life, appears a mere glorifying of the most commonplace material existence, petty vanity, foolish stage adventures and love affairs, egotistic self-admiration and sensual love of enjoyment; it shows no comprehension of the life of nations, of the sublimity of divine revelation and of the Church, no trace of fear or love of God, such as inspired the minstrels of the Middle Ages. This egotistical demigod no longer stands before us alone, but surrounded by a whole swarm of adoring followers, who have long ago rent asunder all the diplomatic cobwebs of mystery in which the old man draped himself, who deify his sensual love songs as the highest and truest poetry, his realism as the loftiest outlook on life, his paganism as purified 'Christianity,' his unpardonable moral aberrations as ideals of life, who recommend the very essence of his errors as the highest development of our national culture to be studied and copied by all.

“ . . . Surely the danger to religion and morals lurking therein needs no further exposition. Goethe's poetry and life speak for themselves. Even if conscientious teachers expound but a very limited selection of his works, this offers but slight protection, as his works are in universal circulation, are obtainable everywhere in cheap classical and popular editions, in elegant drawing-room volumes elaborately bound, in the most splendid *éditions de luxe*. His songs are sung, his dramas acted, his heroes and heroines, he himself and the whole galaxy of his loves are to be met with in every shop-window. It is not necessary to learn a new or an old language in order to understand his poems. His ideas and ideals seldom go beyond the comprehension of the most commonplace public, and should this be the case, there are numerous commentaries at hand which enlarge upon his love affairs under pretence of philological erudition. Invested with the authority of the greatest classical poet, and regarded as the benefactor and glory of the nation, he makes his way into all circles; with his bewitching charm, like the Pied Piper of Hamelin, he draws all hearts to him, especially those of women and youth. He never preaches unbelief and immorality as boldly, as audaciously as Voltaire, Wieland or the modern French realists, but always veiled, gently, insinuatingly, alluringly, in an apparently innocent form, always with an admixture of what is good and true, what is partly good, partly true. He undermines the faith and morality of the young without their realising the seduction. If the venom of his pagan principles is not to penetrate further and further, it is indeed time that all those who have any influence on the education of the young should take this danger seriously to heart, and unite their forces to check it.

“ Above all, it is evident that the reading and study of Goethe must again be restricted in accordance with the principles of truly Christian pedagogics, which lays more stress on religious and moral training than on beauty of form, style and language. The school cannot and must not take part in the modern hero-worship of Goethe, if it is to retain its Christianity. It must, on the contrary, rectify the erroneous ideas which are necessarily engendered by that cult. All precautions, all anthologies, all expurgated school-editions are of no avail if the author of *Iphigenie*, etc., is over-

whelmed with praise from a misunderstood patriotism or æsthetic over-estimation; if instead of a better authority Eckermann's *Gespräche* and lines from Goethe are everlastingly quoted, even for the most commonplace occasions; if all æsthetic and all poetic theory is to be based on Goethe; if he is continually compared with Dante, Shakespeare, Calderon, and the young are solemnly given to understand that as a poet he has left all the former poets far behind him; that 'our Goethe' is the greatest poet, the man of most universal knowledge, the zenith of all civilisation. And yet Goethe did not know enough scholastic theology and philosophy for the mere comprehension of Dante's *Divine Comedy*; he has not written a single tragedy which as a stage play can stand comparison with the masterpieces of Shakespeare and Calderon. . . . Instead of incessant eulogy, let us tell the young plainly how low Goethe stands as a man, how hollow and superficial was his outlook on life, how immoral and pernicious were his principles, how small his importance as a naturalist or art critic. Let us tell the young how, after thirty years of foolish wanderings, he turned to Aristotle's *Poetics*, and as a man of fifty, to the greatest benefit of his poetic development, at last studied those rules on art which have for centuries constituted the basis of Poetics at all Catholic educational establishments. Let us lay before the young the restless, fragmentary labours of young Goethe, the enormous harm done to him by the frittering away of his energies. Let us show them the weaknesses and defects of Goethe's poetry, as contrasted with that of the ancients, of Shakespeare and Calderon. There is hardly a quotation from Goethe that could not be replaced by one from the ancient classics or from the best Catholic writers.*

"Why always Goethe, Goethe—nothing but Goethe? After all, what does it profit the Seven Sacraments if this Privy Councillor of Weimar, consort of a dance-loving Christiane Vulpius, considered them beautiful, without believing in them?

"What avail his sketches of the Flight into Egypt if they only serve to introduce our youth into the unclean society of Wilhelm Meister? What good sayings has he ever uttered about the ancients, about the Bible, about religion, art, literature and life that cannot

* Probably from the *Poets of the Society of Jesus*. See Chapter V.

be found more correctly, purely, very often better and more beautifully stated by Catholic thinkers, poets, artists and writers? Why do we refuse credence to the most conscientious Catholic scholars and scientific inquirers till Goethe and Eekermann have given their blessing? . . . The Church has never proceeded against works of polite literature with that severity which she is wont to exercise against strictly theological and philosophical works of erroneous and hurtful tendency. Goethe's works have never been placed expressly and distinctly on the Roman Index. They were left to its general regulations, as the Popes of the Renaissance once left the works of Boccaccio, Valla, Beccadelli and Poggio, to the conscience of the individual. This, however, does not amount to a free passport for Goethe's works. Apart from numerous passages which sin grievously against the requirements of Christian discipline and morals, they are thoroughly leavened with the most dangerous errors by which our modern times are affected, and which the Vatican Council has expressly repudiated in its binding decrees. That rationalism, pantheism and religious indifference in which all Goethe's poetry has its roots, and which is clearly enough displayed in his prose writings, has been eternally branded by the Church herself. But few of his works are untouched, or nearly so, by these errors, though they appear but rarely in outspoken form; the great majority of his writings are steeped in them in a most attractive and alluring fashion, and are thus fully calculated to trivialise and obscure religious ideas, and to weaken and undermine Christian faith. The clear vision, faith and steadfastness of every individual will modify this influence in very different ways. . . . It will be a great gain for real Christian education when we revert from an almost idolatrous cult of the great poet to a sober, sensible and just appreciation of his life and works, when we know him as he actually was, and do not esteem him beyond his deserts."

" . . . Youths and men will no longer accept a Werther, a Wilhelm Meister, a Faust as types of the true German spirit, but as the poetical forms of a morally decadent period. They will then compare the spurious universality of Goethe with the real universality of Catholic learning, and will be easily convinced that an Angelo Secchi [a Jesuit] understood more of the property of light and of the unity of natural forces, a Raphael Garruci and a de Rossi

more of Christian art, a Reichsperger and Pugin more of the laws of Gothic architecture, a Jannsen* more of German character, history and national spirit, and a Peter Cornelius and Eduard von Steinle more about Raphael and Italian painting, a Joseph von Görres more about Mysticism† and German folklore, a Friedrich von Schlegel more about universal literature, a Lorinser more about Calderon, a Cardinal Wiseman more about Shakespeare than Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Heinrich Meyer, Wilhelm Riemer, Peter Eckermann and all the rest, together with the comet-like tail of philologists and critics.

“When this glittering Goethe meteor is no longer considered a universal lodestar of real world-philosophy, wisdom and knowledge, we shall once more be able to recognise and show honour to other constellations in the firmament of German literature.”‡

It is hard to know whether to marvel most at the inferior understanding revealed in these Jesuit appreciations of Lessing, Schiller, and Goethe, or at the hatred which casts forth poison against great minds because they illumine humanity with their light, and thus remove it from Jesuit influence.

Whenever we open Baumgartner's bulky Goethe-monograph, the same passion for disparagement, the same calumniating malice, are manifested. I quote a few examples:—

“It is most characteristic of Goethe that in this play [Shakespeare's *King John*] he was but little interested in its great political, ecclesiastic and patriotic motives, nor in the passionate and powerful male characters, nor in the pathetic characters of Queen Eleanor and Constance, but especially in the two affecting scenes with Prince Arthur; not in the light of a harmless, unfortunate prince, as conceived by Shakespeare, but as a girl in boy's clothes—Christiane Neumann. ‘The whole play now hung upon her. She

* The notorious Ultramontane fabricator of history.

† Görres wrote a half-crazy book on Mysticism. Cf. my work, *Das Papsttum in seiner sozialkulturellen Wirksamkeit*, I. 235-245.

‡ *Der Alte von Weimar*, pp. 271-278, 281-284.

acted well. But when Hubert approached with the tongs to put out the prince's eyes, she did not show enough terror. On this, the manager, Goethe, tore the tongs from Hubert's hands, rushed at Christiane, and made such terrible eyes at her that she fainted. Now, Goethe himself was frightened, knelt down before her, and when she recovered consciousness gave her a kiss.' This is the chief scene during nearly forty years of stage management described in a glorified light in all books on Goethe, even in histories of literature. It is a striking proof of the profound contrast between the virile and universal genius of a true dramatist like William Shakespeare and the lyrical adorer of maidens, Wolfgang Goethe, who was more interested in the caress than in King John and all the Kings of England, Ireland and Scotland put together."

Of Goethe's attitude towards the French Revolution, the Jesuit says:—

"And Goethe? Goethe felt embarrassed. As a true disciple of Rousseau and Voltaire, as a decided non-Christian and pagan, he could not in common consistency but approve of the thorough and complete abolition of the old order of things, the guillotining of kings, the old nobility, the priests, the abolition of honour and the other remnants of the Seven Sacraments, the secularisation of the whole of life, with a view to the speedy occupation of Europe with Greek republics, with the greatest possible number of gods, *hetaerae*, philosophers and poets, painters, sculptors, intellectual enjoyment and artistic delights. This was his religion and the view he took of life. But, as an ordinary Frankfort citizen, he wanted at the same time to eat and sleep in peace; as a Weimar Privy Councillor he desired an increase rather than a decrease of salary; as the friend of a Duke, he preferred seeing him crowned to seeing him decapitated. The French Republic was not organised on the model of Periclean Athens, but according to the uncomfortable military rule of Roman agitators, triumvirs and tyrannicides. Not poems, but proscription lists, were issued. Olympic games were not held, but heads were cut off. The freethinkers in Paris were not content with taking an unwedded Vulpus into their houses, and having her little boys christened by a gentleman who

scarcely believed in Christ himself, simply to throw dust in people's eyes; they preferred to guillotine people who objected to such things, to pocket their money, and to remodel the world. That would not do at Weimar. All violence was odious to the Privy Councillor. Who would read his *Tasso*, if there were no more duchesses and Court ladies? Who would shed tears over his *Werther*, if the world became so callous and unfeeling?"

Even Goethe's affecting lines to Schiller's memory serve Baumgartner to asperse the object of his hatred:—

"The contrast which Schiller offered to the prevailing tendency in Weimar was certainly indicated in a subsequent verse, but it was amiably neutralised by the reflection: 'He was ours'—it was a cunning stroke of policy. For thus Schiller was for ever bound to the triumphal car of his former rival."*

I must, however, say a word in defence of the Jesuit Baumgartner against himself, *i.e.* his publications in disparagement of Goethe and the other classics. These ugly judgments are not altogether his innermost convictions. Baumgartner's undeniable poetical talent had led him to a considerably higher estimate of the "Old Man of Weimar," and he had put this conception into writing, but was compelled to publish a different version, the one prescribed by the censorship of the Order.

In 1887, after the conclusion of my theological studies at Ditton Hall, I was transferred, in the capacity of scriptor, to Exaeten, where the editorial staff of the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach* was quartered at the time. The Jesuit Joseph Föh was editor-in-chief and also Vice-Rector of the whole establishment. Föh told me one day that, according to the censor's verdict, Baumgartner had concluded his monograph on Goethe with a too favourable general estimate; that the manuscript had been returned to him (Baumgartner was at the time at the

* *Goethe und Schiller*, pp. 82-83, 118-119.

college of Blyenbeck) with the intimation that the criticism on Goethe must be considerably altered in an unfavourable direction. I asked, in surprise, "But will Baumgartner do it?" Föh answered, "Of course he will." And he did.*

This occurrence shows two things: the hatred of the Jesuits for Goethe and the power of Jesuit censorship and Jesuit obedience. Not in vain do the Constitutions of the Order prescribe blind obedience.

* I know Baumgartner well. I was with him at Exaeten for a long time. He is the typical example of the transformation Jesuit training can effect in a man of real ability. When quite young, on leaving the Jesuit College of Feldkirch, he entered the novitiate of the Order. He would have distinguished himself, had he been able to develop freely in accordance with his individuality. But the Jesuit machine trimmed him, castrated him in mind, will and disposition. Thus his mental powers were broken, and worse: he became a zealot, a man who directed his rancour against all that is beautiful and true in nature and humanity, while inwardly yearning after it, in spite of his invectives. Poor fellow!

CHAPTER XXII

THE PHILOSOPHICAL AND THEOLOGICAL STUDIES OF THE SCHOLASTICATE

PHILOSOPHY and theology, rightly understood, are separate, independent branches of knowledge (*Wissenschaften*). But philosophy, in the Jesuit sense, is altogether dependent on theology, is even its "handmaid" and "servant": "The professors of philosophy [says the eighth canon of the third General Congregation] are to teach philosophy in such a manner that it becomes the handmaid and servant of true scholastic theology, which is commended to us by our Constitutions: '*Ut verae theologiae scholasticae, quam nobis commendant Constitutiones, ancillari et subservire faciant.*'"* Therefore I shall treat in the same section of Jesuit philosophy and theology.

First, a few words as to the outward form of these studies.

The philosophy course generally lasts for three years, though there are some exceptions. Every year there is an examination of half an hour, and at the end of the third year a final examination of an hour's duration on the whole of philosophy. Only those who "surpass mediocrity" in this examination (*mediocritatem superaverint*) enter on the four years' course of "scholastic theology" known as the "Major Dogma." Those who do not pass the final examination must content themselves with the three years' course, known as the "Minor Dogma." Every

* *Inst. S.J., I., 477.*

year of theological study also ends with an examination. The examination of the fourth year (*examen rigorosum*) lasts two hours. This examination decides whether those who possess "virtue surpassing mediocrity" are afterwards to take the degree of "professed" or only that of "spiritual coadjutor." If the candidate is to become a "professed" the examination must show that he has attained "that degree of thorough philosophical and theological knowledge which will qualify him to teach both subjects satisfactorily."*

All examinations are oral; they are conducted by four examiners under the presidency of the Rector or the Provincial, who must swear to fulfil their duty conscientiously and to disclose their verdict only to the General of the Order and the Provincial,† for entrance into the books designated for the purpose.

If anyone possesses "conspicuous gifts for ruling or preaching" (*illustria gubernandi concionandive talenta*) the "insufficient knowledge" (*doctrina impar*) shown in the examination may be overlooked. This decision is exclusively in the hands of the General of the Order. Also "excellent knowledge of classical and Indian languages" may, if the General consider it advisable, atone for the deficiencies in philosophy and theological knowledge.‡

In the philosophy year, logic and ontology (the science of being) are studied. The second year's course includes natural philosophy (*i.e.* a medley of miscellaneous matter belonging to the domain of natural science, decked out with philosophy and styled cosmology, including miracles with their criteria), and psychology (simplicity, spirituality, immortality of the soul, its connection with the

* Rules 17 and 19 for the Provincial.

† Rule 19, 12 for the Provincial; Congreg. 12, Decret. 22.

‡ Rule 19, 10 for the Provincial; Congreg. 6, Decret. 15.

body, its difference from the animal soul). The third year's course comprises ethics (natural morality) and natural theology (theodicy). In the last two years there are also a few lessons on chemistry, physics, botany, and astronomy. Instruction and achievement in these branches of science hardly correspond to the work done in the middle and higher forms of a gymnasium. When I studied philosophy at Blyenbeck, "lectures" delivered by the Jesuit Epping on astronomy were anything rather than scientific. We laughed a good deal, slept not a little (the lessons were early in the afternoon), and profited accordingly.

In the case of theological studies the system is not quite so hard and fast. The two professors of theology—generally there are no more—arrange among themselves, with the permission of the Principal and the Prefect of Studies, how the theological subject matter shall be distributed over four or, as the case may be, three years.

Together with the scholastic—*i.e.* speculative—theology a two-years' course on moral theology (*casus conscientiae*) is given. This is an extremely important—I might almost say all-important—branch of Jesuit study, by which the young Jesuit is trained for practical life, and especially for his work in the confessional.

The pupils receive the summary of the lectures in the form of hectographed "codices." No notes are taken during lectures. Neither are text-books used except for moral theology, where the *Theologia moralis* of the Jesuit Lehmkuhl is the text-book in use.

What has been imparted in the lectures is elaborated and impressed upon the mind by regular disputations. Great importance is attached to these. The ordinary disputation, of one hour's duration, held several times a week, is called a "Circle" (*Circulus*). Every Saturday a more important debate, "*Sabbatina*"—short for *disputatio sabbatina*—is held. The "*disputationes men-*

struae," held five or six times a year, are attended with special solemnities. The Rector of the House appears at the head of the other Fathers, and so does the Provincial, if he happens to be in residence. Whereas in the "Circle" and "Sabbatina" the defenders and opposers are chosen in advance, and only a few theses (mostly those gone through immediately before) are selected for debate, in the "Menstruae" the proposers are only nominated by the Prefect of Studies at the outset of the debate (everyone is expected to be prepared), and the theses to be defended extend over a wider field.

The form of all disputations is the same. The defender announces the thesis, defines the *status questionis*—i.e. explains what the thesis asserts and what it does not assert—and states the arguments for its correctness in syllogistic form. In theological theses the proofs are generally of three kinds. 1. From the Holy Scriptures (*ex s. scriptura*). 2. From reason (*ex ratione*). 3. From pronouncements of the Fathers of the Church (*ex s. s. Patribus*). Thesis, *status questionis*, and arguments are committed to memory as literally as possible from the "Codices." When the defender has concluded his final argument, the opposer attacks the thesis. And now begins a verbal dispute in strictly scholastic-syllogistic form between defender and opposer, until the defender either succeeds in solving the difficulties or breaks down in the attempt. If he fails, he is, as the scholastic slang has it, "in the sack" (*in sacco*), and the professor presiding at the disputation intervenes to save the threatened thesis. At the "Menstruae" the invited Fathers also take part in the debate.

Sometimes, though rarely, "public performances" (*actus publici*) are organised, i.e. one person supports a number of theological and philosophical theses against opposers from among the secular clergy or the priests of

the Order. No such ceremony took place during my period of study.

Some, whom the Order wishes to train more fully for some special service, pass through a *biennium* in theology, philosophy, or one of the kindred branches of knowledge (Exegesis, Church Law, Church History), after the four years' course.

In all lectures and disputations the use of Latin is compulsory.

And now as to the spirit of the studies.

As regards philosophy, let me first refer to what I have already quoted from the Constitutions of the Order, from the Scheme of Studies, and from decrees of the General Congregation as to the fundamental standpoint adopted by the Jesuit Order in philosophy. Unswerving adherence to the peripatetic system of Aristotle (who died 322 B.C.)—again solemnly declared in 1883!—with partial application of this system even to questions of natural science, and a re-endorsement of resolutions passed by the General Congregations of the Order in the eighteenth century (1706 and 1751) in favour of the Aristotelian system.

The argument for this adherence to Aristotle is very characteristic :

“That philosophy must be followed because it is more useful to theology.”*

From this Aristotelian standpoint, it is self-evident that the whole of modern philosophy must be sorely neglected. Minds like Descartes, Leibnitz, Spinoza, Kant, Hegel, Fichte, Schelling, Schopenhauer, E. von Hartmann, etc., are disposed of by inadequate theses. A few syllogisms, and a Kant, a Descartes, etc., fall to the ground.

Here once again I keenly regret that when I left the Order I left behind all my manuscript notes. From the “Codices” of my period of Jesuit study a clear and

* Congreg. 23 of the year 1883; Decret. 15.

instructive description might have been given of the treatment allotted to the study of modern philosophy by the "modern" Jesuit.

The works of modern philosophers were not placed in our hands. The few details concerning them in our "Codices" represented for us the sum total of their publications. The reference libraries at our disposal contained exclusively the works of Jesuit writers. It is the same here as with the piety and asceticism of the Order: Jesuits, Jesuits, Jesuits, and nothing but Jesuits!

I feel ashamed and indignant when I remember that when I was thirty years old I used to be content with the ill-concocted dilution which the Order served up to me as the quintessence of the labours of these great thinkers. Kant especially was treated with a superficiality that surpassed everything. I only made this great man's acquaintance when I was staying in Berlin in 1888, on a mission for the Jesuit Order. There, free from police supervision, I plunged deeply into the study of his works. He became my chief liberator, who enlarged my innermost thoughts, and opened a new and unknown horizon to my ideas. How I apologised to him for having thought so poorly of him when I was a Jesuit-Scholastic! But the fault was not mine!

Peter Beckx, General of the Order, in his official letter of July 15th, 1854, to Count Leo Thun, Austrian Minister of Public Instruction, draws a picture, both pertinent and vested with supreme authority, of the Jesuit attitude towards any development of philosophy later than that of the ancients or the Middle Ages:

"How can we place reliance in philosophy as it has shown itself in our days, how can we with any confidence expect to gain from it knowledge and a basis for truth, when its four great schools, which under Kant, Fichte, Schelling and Hegel by turns subjugated the whole of Germany, finally melted away into pure (*sic*) atheism,

and were abandoned one after the other, and at the same time—to say nothing of religious and political degeneration—have left behind them a state of doubt, uncertainty and almost universal confusion, in which men continue their contention, but without appearing to understand one another's meaning?

“What has caused this state of things? Simply this: The ground which was wrested from true philosophy by the aforementioned four schools has not been recovered, and men, either not understanding the real cause of the evil or not wishing to admit it, seek it ever along fresh paths, thus falling from one error into another. The truly Catholic Universities were always agreed and clear as to the basis of philosophy [the Aristotelian system].”*

And twenty years later the Jesuit Ebner characterises in an official controversial treatise against Joh. Kelle, Professor at the University of Prague, the whole of modern philosophy by the scornful words:

“Futile vagaries, confused ideas, foolish arrogance and charlatanism clothed in boastful, empty phrases in a repulsive, unintelligible jargon; systems as hostile to sound sense as to God and Christianity, all of which really tend towards materialism and pantheism, and which perhaps have recently reached their climax and, it is to be hoped, their conclusion, in the absurdities and blasphemies of that monstrous abortion, the ‘Philosophy of the Unconscious’” (*Philosophie des Unbewussten*).†

The following facts, too, speak for themselves: Piccolomini, General of the Order, issued a decree in 1661, for “the higher studies,” which to this day is found unaltered in the official edition of the Constitutions of the Order. In it is stated:

“The Prefect of Studies is to see to it that the Aristotelian definitions of origins, causes, nature, the motion, and the *continuum*, the infinite, are accurately explained, and that natural philosophy

* *Monatsblatt für Kathol. Unterrichts- u. Erziehungs-wesen*. 12 Jahrg. Münster. P. 294.

† *Beleuchtung der Schrift des Herrn Dr. Johann Kelle: Die Jesuitengymnasien in Oesterreich*. Linz, 1874. Pp. 595–596.

is thoroughly discussed according to the Aristotelian arrangement: In Aristotle's *de Caelo*, the nature, properties and influence of the heavens on the sublunary bodies, are not to be omitted. In the first book on generation, the Aristotelian doctrine on generation and corruption is to be thoroughly studied."

To an inquiry sent by the Province of the Upper Rhine, Gonzalez, General of the Order, under threats of a heavy penalty, pronounced against the introduction of "new philosophical ideas" into the schools of the Order.*

His successor, Tamburini, prohibited thirty propositions from the works of Descartes and Leibnitz.† Up to the year 1832 Aristotle was the text-book used for the entire three years' course in philosophy.‡

What spirit, then, prevails in theology? That of the medieval scholastics, in particular the spirit of Thomas Aquinas, prince of scholastics, who died in 1274.

The Second Rule for the Teacher in Theology, as stated in the *Ratio Studiorum*, is:

"In Scholastic Theology our people are to follow strictly (*omnino sequantur*) the teaching of St. Thomas; they are to regard him as their own teacher (*eumque ut doctorem proprium habeant*), and do their utmost to inspire the students with enthusiasm for his teaching."

This order, dating from the year 1599, is even surpassed by the 15th Decree, issued in 1883, by the twenty-third General Congregation of the Order:

"Our most holy master, Leo XIII., having a few years ago commanded through an encyclical *Aeterni Patris* how the studies of Christian schools under the guidance of the Angelic Doctor [*Doctor Angelicus* is the official designation of Thomas Aquinas] are to be brought back to the wisdom of ancient times, the Society of Jesus, for the first time since the issue of the encyclical assembled at a General Congregation, considers it advisable to give an

* *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 9, 122.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*, 16, 464.

unequivocal token of its filial obedience and consent by a public and solemn declaration. In the conviction, therefore, that it could do nothing more agreeable or more conducive to the fulfilment of the wishes of his Holiness than to establish anew what has long ago been confirmed to the same effect by our ancestors, the Congregation decides by the motion of the Very Venerable General that: what was ordered by our holy Father Ignatius in his Constitutions (IV., 14, n. 1), and by the fifth General Congregation in the 41st and 56th Decrees, is to remain in full force—namely, our people are to regard St. Thomas in all respects as their own teacher and are to be bound in duty (*teneantur*) to follow him in Scholastic Theology.”*

One point here is specially noteworthy:

Whilst the *Ratio* of the year 1599, in the same rule† which sets up Thomas Aquinas as a prominent authority, makes this reservation: “It is not to be understood from this that we may never deviate from him in any single point”; the decree of the Congregation of the year 1883 drops this reservation, and changes the more lenient expression of the *Ratio* into a binding law:

“They [the Jesuits] are to be bound to follow him [Thomas Aquinas] in Scholastic Theology”: *eumque in scholastica theologia sequi teneantur*.

One word about the encyclical on which the decree of the Congregation is based. It is that of August 4th, 1879, in which Leo XIII. commands the revival of philosophy and theology in the spirit of the Scholastic School, and designates Thomas Aquinas as the leader they are to follow:

“Among scholastic teachers, Thomas Aquinas, prince and master of all, is by far the greatest. . . . There is no department of philosophy which he has not treated with perspicuity and thoroughness. . . . He was successful both in overcoming all

* *Monum. Germ. paed.* 2, 118.

† Rule 2 for the Professor of Theology.

errors in the past, and in providing victorious weapons against all errors that may arise in ages to come."

After quoting the eulogies of Thomas Aquinas by earlier Popes, he continues thus :

" A crowning glory which no other Catholic theologian shares with him was conferred on him, when the Fathers of the Council of Trent, in the very hall where they were assembled, commanded that, together with the Holy Scriptures and Papal decrees, the *Summa* [St. Thomas's principal work, entitled *Summa theologica*] should be laid on the altar, so that counsel, proofs and solutions might be drawn therefrom. . . . Civil society also would gain much in peace and security if a healthier doctrine, more in harmony with the orthodox faith as set forth in the works of St. Thomas Aquinas, were taught at their academies and schools. We earnestly exhort you all, reverend brethren, for the promotion of all knowledge, to reintroduce the golden wisdom of St. Thomas, and to propagate it as far as possible. . . . "

This declaration, as we have seen, gave the Jesuits a pretext for promulgating anew, in more stringent form, the old decree of the Order concerning the preservation of St. Thomas's spirit in philosophy and theology. But there is yet more ! Papal encyclicals and decrees of the Congregations of the Order are identical ; they have one and the same origin—the Society of Jesus. For the " German " Jesuit, Joseph Kleutgen, is the author of the encyclical *Aeterni Patris*. This I was told by the Jesuit Meschler when he was Provincial of the German Province. This is a significant proof, not only of the fact that Jesuit theology is firmly rooted in the *Summa* of the Monk of the Middle Ages, but also of the unobtrusive but mighty power which the Jesuit Order exercises on the Papacy. It writes to all the " Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic world who live in grace and unison with the Apostolic Chair " [invariable heading of all Papal Encyclicals] ; it points out the path to be

followed by Catholic theological studies in all countries ; thus the Order is the greatest obstacle to modern evolution of Catholic thought. And doubtless the encyclical concerning the revival of philosophy and theology according to the principles and precepts of Thomas Aquinas is not the only one signed by the Pope which was composed by the Society of Jesus.

If I blame the Order for their rigid adherence to Aristotelian philosophy and Thomistic theology* I would in no way underrate the great intellects of Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas.

Both are conspicuously eminent—the heathen Greek even more than the Christian Monk—among the intellectual heroes of all ages. Both were creative geniuses, who stimulated and deepened the human mind. And however narrow was the field for which Aquinas worked, he was an Ultramontane Catholic in the narrowest sense.† In this field he has dug shafts and piled up heights which, considered from the standpoint of metaphysical-ultramontane speculation, are admirable. But we are not

* In order to guard against quibbling, I observe that the expression "Thomistic" is not used here in the sense of "Thomism," but as the definition of a form of theology which, like the Jesuit theology, acknowledges Thomas Aquinas as its leader and chief teacher. By "Thomism" is understood the interpretation put upon the words of Thomas Aquinas by his commentators (Cajetan, Soto, Melchior Canus, etc.). To "Thomism" in its narrowest sense, i.e. the "Doctrine of Grace," attributed to Thomas by his interpreters, the Jesuits have opposed Molinism (so called after the Jesuit Molina), which also refers its "Conception of Grace" to Thomas Aquinas. Both doctrines are unworthy of an ideal conception of God.

† The ignorance prevailing even in highly cultured non-Catholic circles with regard to Thomas Aquinas as a narrow, Ultramontane theologian is shown by a speech of the well-known Dr. Friedrich Naumann at the Protestant Congress at Bremen in September, 1909. Naumann, speaking on liberalism in religion and politics, represented Thomas Aquinas as a theologian of liberal opinions, whom, however, the Roman Church of to-day, with diplomatic cunning, honoured as her own, and thus kept up the appearance of large-mindedness, while the Protestant Church repudiated many evangelical liberal theologians with hurtful shortsightedness. From this estimate of Thomas (I heard it myself) it seems to be impossible that Dr. Naumann can ever have looked into a single one of the Dominican's works.

concerned with the individual greatness of the Stagirite and Aquinas, but with the circumstance that an organisation with pretensions to intellectual and scholarly vitality, the Jesuit Order, continues to draw its supplies of knowledge and learning from sources which flowed hundreds, nay thousands, of years ago, and that by this retrograde direction of mind it shows itself hostile to progress and uncompromisingly refuses to tread new paths.

Certainly the Order has one good excuse: it is ultramontane, therefore progress in knowledge is impossible for it, as for the whole ultramontanised Catholic Church of which it forms a part. But, if *est ut est aut non est* explains and excuses everything from the Jesuit's point of view, the world which is neither Jesuit nor Ultramontane cannot accept this excuse in passing an objective judgment on the Order; it is compelled to say: Your principles are indeed necessary to yourself and your own existence, but in themselves they are retrograde and contain the negation of living scholarship.

I have already pointed out the great importance attached by the Order in its theological and philosophical school work to the scholastic-syllogistic method. And rightly! For this form is more than a form, it is the outward and visible sign of the spirit prevailing in Jesuit studies.

The 13th Rule for the Teacher of Philosophy in the *Ratio*, even the "new" one of 1832, runs thus:

"At the very outset of their studies in logic, the young people [scholastics] must be trained to feel that nothing is more disgraceful in the disputations than any deviation from the syllogistic form, and the teacher must insist with special force on the strict observance of the laws of the disputation and the prescribed alternation of attack and defence."

From the *Manual on Logic for the Use of Schools*,* by

* *Logica in usum Scholarum* (Freiburg, 1893), p. 96.

the Jesuit Frick, I quote a specimen of a disputation, in Latin however, for this sort of thing cannot be translated without almost destroying its effect. First, the "*Defendens*" proposes the thesis, stating the arguments in favour :

Defendens : "*Scepticismus universalis, ut doctrina repugnat. Probatur : 1. ex ipsa assertione scepticismi ; 2. ex principio contradictionis.*

The "*Defendens*" having explained the arguments, the "*Objiciens*" begins his work :

Objiciens : "*Scepticismus universalis, ut doctrina non repugnat. Probatur : Qui saepe fallitur, nullam fidem meretur. Atqui ratio saepe fallitur. Ergo nullam fidem meretur.*"

The "*Defendens*" repeats the Syllogism of the "*Objiciens*," and follows it up with his "distinctions," and thus the disputation is set going :

Qui saepe fallitur nullam fidem meretur : distingo majorem : qui fallitur per se : concedo majorem ; qui fallitur per accidens : subdistinguo majorem : non meretur fidem, nisi quando error ille accidentalis excludatur : concedo majorem : quando exclusus est : nego majorem.

Atqui : ratio saepe fallitur : contradistinguo minorem : ratio fallitur per se et in evidentibus : nego minorem : per accidens et in non evidentibus : transeat minor.

Ergo : nullam fidem meretur : distingo consequens : non meretur fidem in evidentibus : nego consequens ; in non evidentibus : subdistinguo consequens : nisi constet de ratiocinii legitimitate : transeat consequens : si constet : nego consequens.

Objiciens : "*Atqui ratio fallitur per se : ergo nulla distinctio.*"

The "*Defendens*" repeats the *subsumptio* of the "*Objiciens*" :

Defendens : "*Atqui ratio fallitur per se : nego minorem subsumptam.*"

Objiciens : “ *Probo minorem susceptam : ratio humana essentialiter est fallibilis ; atqui quod rationi essentielle est, illi per se et semper convenit ; ergo ratio est per se et semper fallibilis.*”

After again repeating the words of the “ *Objiciens*,” the “ *Defendens* ” continues :

“ *Ratio humana essentialiter est fallibilis : distinguo majorem : ex essentia rationis est, ut possit falli per accidens, sel ex defectu evidentiae alicujus objecti, concedo majorem ; ex essentia rationis est, ut possit etiam falli per se, i.e. sub conditione requisita evidentiae : nego majorem ; atqui quod rationi essenziale est, illi per se et semper convenit : concedo minorem ; ergo ratio est per se et semper fallibilis : distinguo consequens : per se et semper convenit rationi ut actu errare possit : nego consequens ; per se et semper convenit rationi, ut sit talis, quae per accidens errare possit : concedo consequens.*”

The syllogistic-formalistic characteristics of the disputation, conspicuous in the terms *atqui, distinguo, subdistinguo, transeat, concedo* and the like, I have marked by different type. If we realise that this formalism holds sway in the Jesuit schools evening after evening, year after year, we shall understand how these mechanical ossified forms gradually produce a similar rigidity of the intellect. The apparent gain in clearness and certainty from the numerous short distinctions is acquired at the cost of a deeper and more living comprehension of the questions debated. With the aid of three, four, or even five or six “ *distinctions*,” the number does not matter, a Jesuit pupil is ready at a moment’s notice to dispose of the most difficult problems. In order not to seem unjust, I have purposely given an instance of a disputation in which the distinctions and the syllogistic form really lead to a clear and correct result, which could, however, have been attained just as quickly and clearly without the scholastic paraphernalia, *i.e.* the inconsistency of absolute scepticism.

But if we now imagine this method applied to dark and abstruse questions of philosophy and theology, in which scholasticism abounds, the result, instead of enlarging our comprehension, is mere wordy warfare and dreary verbosity. The combatant who disposes of the best equipped arsenal of distinctions—and in this respect the wealth of scholasticism is amazing—comes off victorious; he “resolves” the difficulties, and “defends” the thesis. But neither the solution nor the defence advances our comprehension by a single hair. *Formaliter, materialiter, essentialiter, accidentaliter, potentialiter, actualiter, abstracte, concrete, entitative, terminative, reduplicative, simpliciter, absolute, relative, virtualiter, secundum quid*: these are but a few of the literally endless terms on the disputation list, which professors and students have at their disposal, and on the skilful choice of which depend a successful solution and defence. Such expressions as *potentialiter nego, actualiter concedo, entitative transeat, terminative concedo, virtualiter subdistinguo*, or other similar distinctions, suffice to solve every problem of theoretical knowledge of theology in heaven and earth, and to refute all the works of Spinoza, Kant, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, and the rest.

This barrenness and lack of progressive spirit which have characterised scholasticism from its first origin to the present day are due not so much to the rigidity of ecclesiastical dogma—since the dogmas that have been defined during the last thousand years might be counted on the fingers of one hand—as in the rigid, formalistic, syllogistic treatment which ecclesiastical philosophy and theology have received in the scholastic schools. In this form, hermetically sealed and reeking with the musty smell of centuries, the first conditions of life—air and light—are lacking.

Is it not a remarkable circumstance, alone sufficing to condemn this formalism, that all further development in

philosophical and theological thought was and is accomplished outside the syllogistic form? Within this brazen tower of scholasticism revolve, mechanically set in motion by syllogisms, the ancient, petrified distinctions on the pointed axis of a *concedo, transeat, nego, subdistinguo*. The stream of life flows past this structure.

Perhaps we might apply the words of Mephistopheles to the scholastic syllogistic disputations :

“ For just when the ideas are lacking
A word may prove most opportune.”*

Then there is another point: the use of the Latin language for all lectures and disputations.

However much and rightly we may value the strictly logical structure of the Latin language, and however justly we may find in it a suitable aid for scholarly international intercourse, still it cannot be doubted that the exclusive use of Latin for philosophical and theological speculation must have the effect of hindering and benumbing the spirit of research. Free, living and fructifying thought is only possible in the mother tongue, *i.e.* in a form that is most easily and naturally handled, and the same applies to the expression of the thought. Those who use a dead language to express their innermost and deepest cognition, must at once renounce the possibility of any true and complete development. They castrate it at birth. The free development of cognition requires a living pliant form capable of development. Scholastic philosophy and theology make use of a dead language because they themselves are dead, *i.e.* incapable of development, because they abide motionless by the standpoint of hundreds, even thousands, of years ago (I refer to Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas); and they abide by it because, among other reasons, they make use of a dead language. It

* Goethe. *Faust*, I.

is impossible to express philosophical and theological life in Latin. To translate Kant or Fichte, Schleiermacher or Biedermann, to say nothing of the moderns, into Latin is a contradiction in terms. Only where nothing can be added or taken from the doctrine, only where the stream of time has not forced the Middle Ages aside, is Latin a suitable mode of expression, as is the case in the language of inscriptions on monumental tombstones.

Besides these fundamental limitations to philosophical and theological research and systematic checks on the mobility of the intellect, the Jesuit Order has a considerable number of Special Regulations, all with the same aim: to fetter intellectual freedom, and cultivate exactly the same knowledge in all members of the Order. The production of "silently revolving and smoothly rounded balls" is also the main aim of Jesuit scholarship.

The most important of the regulations are these:

"In accordance with the teaching of the Apostle, we should be of one mind, and, so far as is possible, also use the same utterance. Differences of doctrine are not to be allowed either in word, in public pleadings, or in written works. . . . Yes, even difference of opinion in practical matters, which is apt to prove the mother of discord and foe to the union of will, is to be avoided, as far as possible. But union and mutual conformity are to be most sedulously cultivated, and nothing opposed to these must be tolerated."*

"Without consulting the Superiors no new questions (in philosophy) are to be proposed, nor yet any opinion which is not at any rate based on some good authority; nor should anything be defended which is contrary to the traditional philosophical principles and the general opinion of the schools. Those who are disposed to innovation or to free thought must be removed from the teaching office without hesitation."†

"Since novelty or difference of opinion may not only hinder the very aim which the Society has set before itself to the greater

* Summ. Const. n. 42. Const. III., 1, 18.

† Cong. 5. Decret. 51. *Inst. S.J.*, I., 253.

glory of God, but also cause the very existence of the Society to totter, it is necessary to check by definite legislation in all possible ways intellectual licence (*licentiam ingeniorum*) in the introduction and pursuit of such opinions.”*

“Even in the case of opinions about which Catholic Doctors (Professors) are not agreed among themselves [where there is freedom of opinion] care must be taken that there should be conformity [lack of freedom] in the Society itself.”†

“No one should teach anything which is not in conformity with the spirit of the Church and tradition, or which could in any way lessen the faith and zeal of true piety. . . . No one should defend an opinion which the majority of the learned judge to be contrary to the accepted doctrines of the philosophers or theologians or the general opinion of the schools. . . . In the case of questions which have already been treated by others, no one should follow new opinions, nor yet should new questions be introduced concerning matters in any way connected with religion or of any great importance, without first taking counsel with the Prefect of Studies or the Superiors. Care should be taken that the philosophy professors take to heart the directions in the eighth canon of the third General Congregation.‡ For the attainment of this end it will be of great assistance if by means of careful selection only those are admitted to teach philosophy and theology . . . whose obedience and submissiveness are evident, and that all who are not so disposed . . . be removed from the teaching office and utilised in other occupations.”§

“Since it is not infrequently doubtful whether or not any doctrine is new [and therefore must not be taught], and whether anything differs from the usual school interpretation, which might lead to difficulties between the Prefect of Studies [who has the chief direction of the studies] and the Professors, this rule is laid down : If the Prefect of Studies opposes a doctrine . . . the Professor must follow the view of the Prefect and may neither teach nor defend the doctrine in question, until the Superiors, to whom the matter must be submitted, have given their decision. If the

* Rule 54 for the Provincial: *Inst. S.J.*, I., 43.

† Const. III., 1. Declar. O. *Inst. S.J.*, I., 43.

‡ P. 246.

§ Instruction of General Acquaviva: *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 4, 12 et seq.

Professor abides by his opinion the Rector should secretly take the opinion of three or four learned fathers ; if these, or the majority, decide that the Prefect is in the right, the Rector is to see to it that the Professor submits absolutely (*omnino*), and similarly in the opposite case. But that no suspicion may rest on the decision of the fathers, only such fathers are to be chosen for this purpose who are in no way addicted to new doctrine, and who are equally well disposed to the Prefect and the Professor. If the Rector has no such fathers at his disposition, he should apply to the Provincial Superior, so that he may in the manner described ask counsel of some such fathers. If even this is of no avail, and if the differences of opinion [in a matter of scholarship !] cannot be reconciled, it rests with the Superior to punish those who are at fault in the matter.”*

Finally, the panacea for preventing any individuality in scholarship, any step on a new path, is the strict and comprehensive literary censorship at the disposal of the Order.

“ The eleventh General Congregation in its 18th decree already laid down the severest penalties (deprivation of office, forfeiture of the right to vote and stand for election) for those who published books without permission. Under the heading of ‘ books ’ are included pamphlets, single sheets and anything (*quidquid*) which attains publicity in print.”†

For works on dogma four censors are requisite ; for exegesis, church history and philosophy, three ; for all other books, pamphlets, or articles, two. Not only the text, but also the preface and title of a work must be submitted to the censor. Besides the general censors in Rome, special censors are appointed for every Province ; they are to realise to the full the great importance of their office.‡

Finally, General Peter Beckx, on May 11th, 1862, issued a comprehensive Instruction, which presents the present theory and practice of the Jesuit literary censor-

* Ordinance as to the Higher Studies : *Inst. S.J.*, II., 557.

† *Inst. S.J.*, I., 350 ; *cf.* Const. VII., 4, 11.

‡ *Regulae Revisorum* gen. reg., 1, 2, 15. *Inst. S.J.*, II., 71 *et seq.*

ship, without, however, modifying the above-quoted rules. The most important points in this *Ordinatio* are :

1. Every one who desires to publish anything must first submit it to the Provincial that he may judge whether its publication would be advantageous.
2. The Provincial is to report to the General about it.
3. If the Provincial approves it he is to hand it on to the censors.
4. The censors are to be appointed by the Provincial ; they are to be anonymous to the author of the work and he to them.
5. The censors must carefully observe the rules of the Roman general revisionists.
6. Books on the Constitution of the Society of Jesus, its rights and privileges, as well as those which the General may reserve for his own censorship, may only be published after being approved by special censors appointed by the General.
7. If the censors are unanimous in their opinion that a work may be published, "because in their opinion it surpasses mediocrity appreciably in its own particular kind" (*quod mediocritatem in suo genere non mediocriter superare censeant*), the Provincial must at once give his consent to the publication. If the censors fail to agree, the Provincial is to refer the matter to the General.
8. The censors are to report their decisions to the General and Provincial.
9. The censors should note anything which, in their opinion, should be altered, and should emphasise what in their opinion are essential and what unessential alterations.
10. The comments of the censors may be communicated to the author (without giving their names).
11. Anything which any member of the Society of Jesus writes, whether anonymously or under his own name, whether a thesis, preface, letter or dedicatory epistle, title, superscription, must be submitted to the censorship.
12. Similarly with articles in newspapers or periodicals.
13. If a grievous calumny is circulated against the Society of Jesus the local Superior may, if the Provincial cannot be consulted,

give permission for its refutation, but this must first be read through by two suitable fathers. 14. The Provincial may entrust to the Local Superiors the examination of the announcements, etc., published by schools. 15. New editions and also translations must be submitted to the censorship. 16. No publishing contract may be concluded until the whole work has been submitted to the censor.*

Nearly all books published by Jesuits bear the *imprimatur* of the Order in the form of a special permit signed by the Provincial. For special reasons this may be omitted. The wording of the Jesuit *imprimatur*, at any rate in the German Province, is invariable, e.g. :

“ Since the work with the title *Biology and Theory of Evolution*, third edition, composed by Erich Wasmann, Priest of the Society of Jesus, has been examined by some revisers of the same Society, commissioned for the purpose, who approved its publication, we accordingly give our permission that, provided it seem good to the persons concerned, it should be printed. For purposes of authentication this document, signed by us and provided with our official seal, may serve. Exaeten, July 29th, 1906. Father Karl Schäffer, S.J., President of the German Province of the Order.”

My reason for reproducing the *imprimatur* of this particular work is that it is not theological but scientific, and that its author, the Jesuit Erich Wasmann, on the strength of this work claims a place in the ranks of scientists who pursue free research. But the very first page of his book shows plainly the extent of his “free” research ; it is the censors and the Provincial of the Order, *i.e.* theologians, who have to decide whether the biological investigations are to be published or not.

As with this book so with all others, no matter whether they treat of history, art, mathematics, astronomy, botany, zoology, physics, or any other subject. Before they can appear, the red or blue pencil of the theological censor

* *Inst. S.J.*, II., 253 *et seq.*

does its work, and the Provincial, who usually knows next to nothing of secular learning, decides whether the manuscript is to be published or not. Indeed, my own Provincial Superiors, the Jesuits Hövel, Meschler, Lohmann, Ratgeb, had only received the philosophical and theological training of the Order.

In answer to the objection that the Society is bound to act thus in order to maintain its internal solidarity, since liberty of thought and teaching would be centrifugal forces tending to its destruction, I say: True, but unity and uniformity in thought and teaching brought about by law and the threat of punishment combined with a strict censorship, are the grave of all true striving after knowledge, and admit of no free, continuous development of human cognition. Where learning is made to serve purposes which lie outside its scope, its exercise cannot produce true knowledge. But in the Jesuit Order everything is made to subserve the ends of the Order, above all the learning which, regarded from without, seems to be cultivated with such zeal. And one of the chief ends is the strengthening of its own inner life, the extension of its power, the deepening of its influence over men, and eventually the strengthening of the Roman Church, with all its claims to temporal and political dominion. But crudely biased learning is not learning at all, even if (as I must show later) individual achievements of individual Jesuits may and do have scholarly value. But these are exceptions to the rule; their scholarship is good, not because, but in spite of their being Jesuits; they are but accidents in the domain of learning.

But the Order knows no mercy when the scholarly achievements of members do not fit into its own framework of learning. Then the censorship and punishment do their worst.

In the years 1890 and 1891 I was myself book-censor

(*censor librorum*) for the German Province, a position which may testify to my reputation for learning in the Order. I am therefore exactly informed of the methods of Jesuit censorship. When the interest of the Order is opposed, not the smallest regard is paid to personal freedom, nor to the established results of scientific investigation or individual ability. The censorship deletes and the author submits; the punitive authority punishes and the culprit remains dumb.

In the last year of my theological studies one of my fellow-scholastics, a man of superior gifts, who was specially interested in natural science, the Jesuit Breitung, wrote an article for the Jesuit organ, *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* (published at Innsbruck) about the Deluge. Breitung maintained the ethnographic universality of the flood, *i.e.* that all persons then in the world perished except Noah and his family, but in accordance with the results of geological and palæontological research, he abandoned its geographic universality, *i.e.* he admitted that not the whole earth but only the whole of the inhabited earth was flooded. The article had passed the Provincial censorship, but found no favour at Rome with the head censor of the Order; it was a "new doctrine subversive of the Scriptures." (Galileo's teaching was also "new and subversive of the Scriptures.") The General Anderledy issued a decree which condemned the theory of the geographical limitation of the Deluge. When Breitung had ended his studies he was not allowed to devote himself to natural science, as had been universally expected on account of his special gifts and preliminary studies, but was appointed teacher in the lowest classes in the College of Ordrupshøj, in Denmark. There he was "harmless." What scientific work he now carries on I do not know.

A few years later the Belgian Jesuit Hahn, Professor of Natural Science at the College at Arlon, had published

a book on the Spanish Saint Teresa a Jesu, and had come to the conclusion that some remarkable phenomena in the life of this nun, which had hitherto been regarded as miraculous and tokens of divine grace, were of a hysterical character. His book had actually been "crowned" by a Spanish Catholic academy. But Rome here again thought differently. The book was censored, and the Order removed its author from his scientific professorship.

One of the most celebrated theologians of the Order at the present day is the Jesuit Domenico Palmieri. He too came into conflict with the censorship in his theological researches—I forget what was the point in question, certainly not one which was established dogmatically, *i.e.* "infallibly" by the highest ecclesiastical teaching authority—and in consequence he had to resign his chair.

And now a word as to my own studies which were crowned with success. All my examinations in philosophy and theology were passed satisfactorily, even the last *examen rigorosum* of two hours' duration. In theory we were not supposed to know anything about the results of examinations, but usually something leaks out, and besides, the Provincial Superior, Jacob Ratgeb, informed me that I had passed the last examination, accordingly all the previous ones also, "very well," and that I was *in via ad Professionem*, on the road to the grade of professed. I had therefore "attained that degree of philosophical and theological culture which suffices for teaching both subjects satisfactorily."

I allude to my scholarly qualification within the Order because, very soon after I left it, doubts on the subject were publicly strewn about, originating in Ultramontane Jesuit sources, which, of course, found the readiest credence. For what tales are not told and believed of an "apostate" ? The *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, doubtless inspired by Jesuits, even went so far as to hint at insanity. *Ecrasez l'infame !*

CHAPTER XXIII

THE ATTITUDE OF THE ORDER TO LEARNING

THIS attitude has really been sufficiently characterised in the previous section. But as the Jesuit Order makes special claims to learning, and as even in the non-Ultramontane world this view is widely spread, a further consideration of the subject from other, more general points of view seems justified.

Of course the principles which the Roman Church sets up in regard to its conception of knowledge and freedom of research are also the principles of the Jesuit Order.

These principles are expressed in innumerable official Papal utterances, of which I shall only quote a few of the more modern ones.

1. Provincial Council of Cologne (tit. 1, c. 6) (especially confirmed by the Pope). 2. A letter of Pius IX. to the Archbishop of Munich of December 21st, 1863. 3. Syllabus of Pius IX., of December 8th, 1864. 4. Vatican Council of the year 1870. 5. Constitution of Leo XIII., *Officiorum ac munerum* of January 25th, 1897. 6. *Motu proprio* of Pius X. of December 18th, 1903. 7. Syllabus of Pius X. (against Modernism) of September 8th, 1907.*

All these manifestoes are included, so far as their contents are concerned, in the "infallible" pronouncement of the Vatican Council :

* For the wording, see my book, *Die Katholisch-theologischen Fakultäten im Organismus der preussischen Staatsuniversitäten* (Leipzig, Breitkopf u. Härtel), pp. 22-38.

“If anyone asserts that human knowledge should develop so freely that its assertions, even when they are opposed to revealed doctrine, are to be regarded as true and cannot be condemned by the Church, he shall be excommunicated.”*

These Roman principles as to learning find their practical application in the Index, the rules of which were remodelled in 1900 by Leo XIII. and suspended as a Damocles' sword over the whole output of Catholic learning.

To this must be added Rome's final right of decision in so-called dogmatic facts (*facta dogmatica*) and dogmatic texts (*textus dogmatici*), by which vast domains of historical knowledge are withdrawn from free research.†

But even the silent recognition of the bondage of all knowledge assumed by the authoritative Roman doctrine did not suffice the Jesuit Order. It therefore declared, in the 12th decree of the 23rd General Congregation of 1883 :

“Since in such a mass of errors, which steal in everywhere and in our own day have frequently been condemned by the Roman See, it is to be feared that some of our own members, too, may be attacked by this plague, the General Congregation declares that our Society is to abide by the doctrine contained in the encyclical *Quanta cura* of December 8th, 1864, of Pius IX., and reject, as it always has rejected, all errors rejected by the Syllabus of this same Pope. But since some Provinces [of the Order] have demanded the particular condemnation of so-called Liberal Catholicism, the General Congregation gladly accedes to this request, and earnestly entreats the Venerable Father General to have a care that this plague is by all means averted from our Society.”‡

Thus the Order solemnly gave its consent to the destruction, initiated by Rome, of teaching and learning. Thus from its very inception Modernism (under the name

* Sess. 3, c. 4, *de fid. et. rat. can.* 2.

† Cf. my work *Die Katholisch-theologischen Fakultäten im Organismus der preussischen Staatsuniversitäten*, pp. 39-46.

‡ *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 2, 117.

of Liberal Catholicism) was outlawed, and how this sentence of outlawry was carried out has been seen in our own day by the tragic fate of the Jesuits Tyrrell and Bartoli.

The attitude of the Order to learning furnishes the contents of a book, published at Innsbruck with the *imprimatur* of the Order and the ecclesiastical authorities by the Jesuit Dr. Josef Donat, Royal and Imperial Professor at the University of Innsbruck, in the year 1910, *Die Freiheit der Wissenschaft, ein Gang durch das moderne Geistesleben*. There is nothing of any novelty in the book, nor is it singular of its kind, but it contains the old opposition to free research, the old submission to the Roman censorship in the newest forms :

“Those who acknowledge the Christian [*i.e.* Catholic] conception of the world, cannot accept this freedom of thought and knowledge [just characterised as freedom from the Syllabus and Index]. Here [in opposition to the Church] is the true reason why thousands, in whom Kant’s autonomy in thought has become the veritable sinew of their intellectual life, will not hear of any guidance by revelation and the Church. They can no longer endure the idea of letting their reason unhesitatingly accept the truth from an external authority [the Papacy]. . . . It is not knowledge which the Church attacks, but error ; not truth, but the emancipation of the human intellect from submission to the authority of God, which comes forward under the disguise of scientific truth. . . . If it is an infallible dogma, which is opposed [to a scientific result], the believer soon finds the conflict springing from his investigations at an end. For he knows then the value of his hypothesis, that it is no true progress, but error. . . . Thus the philosophical errors of the present day are almost invariably opposed to infallible dogmas, for the most part fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion. These are the title deeds, on the strength of which revelation and the Church impress on the investigator the duty not to set his own opinions in opposition to religious doctrines, because no opposition can continue between faith and reason. . . . If the Catholic investigator finds his scientific opinion in opposition

to a not infallible declaration [e.g. the decision of a Roman Cardinals' Congregation, as in the case of Galileo] he will maintain an impartial attitude and once more test his views in the sight of God. If he is compelled to admit calmly to himself that his views are not so convincing as to hold their own in face of so high an authority, directed by the Holy Spirit, he will humbly renounce the natural satisfaction at being allowed to retain his opinion, remembering that true wisdom is convinced of the fallibility of human reason and is ready and willing to accept instruction from a God-directed authority. . . . Everything that is good and profitable in modern knowledge remains untouched by the Syllabus ; it only attacks what is anti-Christian in our time and our leading ideas. It is not the freedom of knowledge which is condemned, but that liberal freedom which shakes off the yoke of belief. The ecclesiastical book-legislation [the Index] consists mainly of two factors : firstly, the preventive censorship ; certain books must be subjected to examination before publication : secondly, the prohibition of books that have already appeared. . . . Catholic scholars who have any knowledge of the supernatural mission of their Church will surrender themselves with humble confidence to its direction [in matters of knowledge]. . . . Those who are convinced that even in our generation the Christian faith is the noblest inheritance handed down from the past, and one which it is essential to maintain, will raise no objection if the Church does not withdraw even before men like Kant, Spinoza, Schopenhauer, Strauss [in the application of the power of the Index]. . . . Ranke's *History of the Popes* has been placed on the Index, because it disparages the constitution and doctrines of the Catholic Church, not because it speaks the truth about the Popes.*

This exposition is prefaced by the Jesuit author, in unconscious irony and absolute failure to grasp its meaning, by Goethe's saying—and after all, why should not Goethe be quoted on behalf of Syllabus and Index ?—

* Donat. *Die Freiheit der Wissenschaft, ein Gang durch das moderne Geistesleben* (Innsbruck), pp. 63, 88 et seq., 123, 128 et seq., 193, 207, 209, 213. In this last passage, then, the Church claims dominion even over history.

Fourteen Years a Jesuit

*“Vergebens werden ungebundene Geister
Nach der Vollendung reiner Höhe streben :
Wer Grosses will, muss sich zusammenraffen,
In der Beschränkung zeigt sich erst der Meister
Und das Gesetz erst kann uns Freiheit geben.”**

A pendant to the teaching of the Austrian Jesuit is supplied by the German Jesuit Hilgers, who in an extensive work, 638 pages, large octavo, published in 1904, on *The Index of Forbidden Books*, sets forth the necessity and utility of this Roman censorship and its supervision of learning, especially in our own day. On the compelling power of the Index, Hilgers writes :

“By the republication of the Index in the year 1900 the Church has not only opportunely adapted its legislation to the needs of the age, but also, in the consciousness of its right and duty, proclaimed it to the whole world, and impressed it afresh on Catholics of every nation. All Catholics of all lands will feel in conscience bound faithfully to observe these laws, as the tenor of this constitution distinctly requires, and a further decree of the Congregation of the Index still more expressly commands. . . . The justification and utility of the preventive censorship is to be sought in the divine teaching and pastoral office of the Church, like that of the prohibitive censorship. This ecclesiastical measure manifests itself not only as the love of a mother for the faithful, but also as paternal precaution in face of authors and writers, who are by it prevented from sowing tares. . . . It is forbidden under the severest penalties even to offer dynamite for sale. Is it excessive severity if the laws of the Church admonish booksellers that all forbidden books may only be offered for sale after seeking the easily granted ecclesiastical permission, and may only be sold to those persons of whom the sellers may reasonably assume that they demand them for a lawful purpose? . . . We may, therefore, surely assert that men of learning such as professors of theology and history [philologists have already been mentioned] are as much

* From one of Goethe's sonnets.

bound as others to seek a dispensation from the prohibition of books from the ecclesiastical authority.”*

As already shown there is nothing either new or remarkable in the utterances of these two Jesuits. On the contrary, it would be new and remarkable if Jesuits did not speak thus, for these are the views demanded by the Ultramontane clerical point of view. But no further proof is needed to show that they are incompatible with free research; and it was for this reason that I quoted the utterances of Donat and Hilgers.

But is not all this in opposition to the great activity the Jesuit Order actually displays in the domain of knowledge? There is no other Order of the Roman Church which effects so much in the sphere of learning, and many Jesuits have achieved notable success in various subjects. Jesuit theory may therefore be directed against knowledge, but Jesuit practice is on her side.

The answer to this objection brings out in even sharper light the innate constitutional ignorance of the Order.

Where among the innumerable Jesuit writers (the Jesuit *Sommervogel* fills several quarto volumes with their names and works) is one to be found who in that domain of knowledge, which more than any other is the test of free, creative thought, philosophy, has produced a single new idea or even opened out a single fresh vista? In spite of whole libraries of folio volumes on philosophy written by Jesuits, we find here a vacuum, which speaks more eloquently than any arguments. No Jesuit has ever gone beyond scholasticism and Thomas Aquinas. The bulky works of a Suarez, Sanchez, Becanus, Molina, de Lugo and, to mention the most recent, a Tongiorgi, Palmieri, Liberatore, Kleutgen, Pesch, Frick, Lehmen, are nothing but endless repetitions and variations on the philosophical

* Hilgers, *Index der verbotenen Bücher* (Freiburg), pp. 25, 42, 43, 51.

ideas of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which in their turn are the outcome of Aristotelean thought. Whether the Jesuit work on philosophy has appeared at Rome or Madrid, Paris or Lisbon, in Germany, Belgium, or England, whether it dates from the sixteenth, nineteenth, or twentieth century, the contents, in spite of all differences of form and language, are everywhere the same. This sterility, this complete lack of creative intellectual power, is enforced with iron necessity, by the position which the Order in its Constitutions assigns to philosophy. As we have already seen, it is the handmaid, the servant of theology; and Jesuit-Ultramontane theology is essentially stationary and incapable of development. For how should or could the handmaid rise above the mistress; how could she go along a road of her own, when she is bound by blind obedience and innumerable directions to the girdle of her employer? I repeat: For the learning of an organisation its attitude to philosophy (if it is at all concerned with it) is the test, since it is the branch of knowledge which depends most on the original activity of the intellect. Tried by this test, Jesuit learning does not approve itself true metal, at any rate not of its own prospecting. It is "ancient" wisdom (as the twenty-third General Congregation expressed it), in the best case in a new dress, usually without even this.

For theology matters are even simpler. It goes along "fixed highroads" towards goals unchangeably set up at the beginning. Here certainly neither freedom nor learning is to be found.

The same may be said of all branches of knowledge, which, either actually or by the fiat of Rome, "are connected with philosophy and theology": ethics, sociology, economics. There too we may see books of enormous size but the smallest actual achievement. There too the Jesuit revolves in a circle, the centre of which is the

authority, and its circumference the thought of past ages. True, he understands how to draw modern circumstances and things into this circle, above all by wide reading and a genius for quotation to give his works an appearance of scholarly research and genuine learning (and here the German Jesuits Cathrein and the brothers Tilmann and Heinrich Pesch have been particularly successful), but closer examination shows that the "modern" writers on ethics, economics and sociology move along in ancient grooves and have only given a modern equipment to the vehicle of their learning.

Now for the other branches of learning and the liberal arts. There is none which the Jesuit Order has not approached, and there are several which it has helped to advance. They are at work in astronomy, mathematics, geology, palæontology, Assyriology, zoology, botany, biology, physics, optics, acoustics, chemistry, philology, literature, history, language, art in all its forms, archæology, and a twentieth-century Jesuit, Balthasar Wilhelm, S.J., has even written on aeronautics.* On many of these domains they move with apparent freedom, examine and bring to light new results, and thus work apparently in a scholarly manner.

The cause of this apparent intellectual freedom lies, in the first place, in the subjects themselves, which are for the most part (e.g. astronomy, mathematics, botany, art, archæology, optics, acoustics, physics, chemistry) not at all or not so much dependent on philosophy and theology; the "ancient wisdom," to which everything must be referred back, hardly exists here, and accordingly a Jesuit is comparatively free in his researches and able to bring to light new and good results. Even in the domain of secular and ecclesiastical history Jesuit principles leave some scope for detailed research. And therefore here

* *Die Anfänge der Luftschiffahrt.*

too we meet with conspicuous Jesuit achievements. I recall a large number of smaller biographies, articles in learned reviews, and above all great collective works, e.g. *The Acta Sanctorum*, the Collection of Councils by the Jesuit Labbe, the *Collectio Lacensis*, etc. But in estimating the scholarly value of such achievements, we must never forget (1) that they are all writings with a special aim, and have not originated in independent, unprejudiced research, but with the object of serving the Church and the Order and defending "Catholic truth"; and (2) that every one of them, single articles as well as folio volumes, must pass the censorship of the Order before it can be published.

There is a very general opinion, widely spread but incorrect, that the Jesuit Order has achieved great things in the domain of knowledge. If we realise how long the Order has existed and the many thousand members it has had in the course of centuries, drawn from the best classes of the population and, therefore, with natural abilities, and the privacy in which they work, and compare the result achieved in these conditions, so propitious for learning and study, they appear but meagre, in spite of some signal achievements.

The Order has never at any time been a real promoter of learning, still less has it helped to open up new paths. The very opposite is the case; for, taken as a whole, it has always served as a drag on the advancement of knowledge. On this point the testimony of history coincides with that of scholars. Thus Kink, the historian of the University of Vienna, who is anything but anti-Jesuit, admits :

"Another mistake they made in their methods of instruction was their dependence on scholasticism, to which they gave the reins more and more. . . . In the professorial chairs this was particularly remarkable; especially after the Society had gained

undisputed hegemony over the other orders and the secular clergy, the comfortable security of exclusive possession and the removal of all control, if only from psychological reasons, were an inducement to effeminacy and a hindrance to further advance, when the impulse from without was lacking. And as they had admitted scholasticism into their midst, the abuses, which are as it were inborn in this method, made way, at first imperceptibly, then gradually more clearly and markedly. Among these was an unfaithful dialectic, which delighted in setting up and opposing abstruse theories and with dogmatic stubbornness rejected every simple reconciliation, and sometimes appealing to the party spirit of the whole community, adhered to the pronouncement once made, or even in some cases by skilful tacking sought to avoid submission to the higher authority. . . . At last they were even reproached with relaxation in their system of ethics and conduct of discipline; so that authoritative voices were raised, which though not hostile in principle asserted that, so far as their educational work was concerned, they had not been able to resist degeneracy.”*

In a memorial of November 5th, 1757, to the Empress Maria Theresa, van Swieten says :

“Facts have shown that the studies at the University [of Vienna] were in an unsatisfactory condition, since the Society had been incorporated with it. . . . It is consequently clear that it has not attained the goal which the two Emperors [Ferdinand I. and II.] had set before them. On the contrary, all the Universities which came under Jesuit rule have fallen into decay. Graz, Olmütz, Tyrnau are striking instances. It would certainly have been far better if the University had never been united with the Jesuit Order.”†

Maria Theresa herself had no very high opinion of Jesuit learning. When the Court Commission of Studies, in 1775, proposed to her the foundation of an Academy of

* Kink, *Geschichte der kaiserlichen Universität Wien* (Vienna, 1854), I., 414–420.

† *Ibid.*, I., 490.

Science, suggesting that a beginning should be made with three Jesuit teachers, Hell for Astronomy, Scharfer for Physics, Mako for Mathematics, along with Professor Jacquin, she said :

“ I could not make up my mind to begin an *académie des sciences* with three ex-Jesuits and a professor of Chemistry, however excellent. We should make ourselves ridiculous in the eyes of the world. . . . I do not consider the Abbé Hell strong enough ; and it would repay neither the time nor the trouble to found something even worse than the existing academies.”*

A vivid picture of the inferior scholarship of the Jesuit Order at the University of Freiburg i. Br. is afforded by Schreiber. He quotes from the records subjects chosen for disputation by the Jesuits in the course of a good many years :

On September 17th, 1621 : How was it possible for the head of Symmachus, unjustly put to death by him, to appear to the Arian King Theodoric in the head of a boiled fish ? Through what power or grace was Boethius able to carry, in his hands and actually speaking, to the nearest church the head which the King had struck off ? What was the nature of those cauldrons into which this Theodoric was cast after his death by Pope John and Symmachus ? and how was their heat maintained ? On April 26th, 1623 : Was the corpse of the Emperor Julian thrown out of the earth by natural forces ? On June 12th, 1623, thirty-six magistrands disputed on the questions : Whether there was a place of descent to Hades, and where it was situated ? Whether the worms that gnaw the bodies of the damned can live in fire through natural power ? Whether it was probable that springs were heated and metals melted by hell fire ? On September 7th, 1629 : Whether this was a probable deduction : He devotes no

* From the Archives of the Royal Imperial Commission on Studies, quoted by Kink, I., 510.

care to his clothes, therefore he is a genius. On July 23rd, 1658: Who was the Promotor who conferred the degree of magister on the Virgin Mary? Is the cloak with which Mary covers those whom she protects the mantle of philosophy? Was the lightning which consumed the wheel on which St. Catherine was to be torn a natural phenomenon? On July 13th, 1711: Is the philosopher or the poet in greater danger of lying? On January 29th, 1729: Does the divining-rod discover treasure by natural means? Does the ointment of arms (*unguentum armarium*) heal the wounds of the absent by natural sympathy? Why does the blood of a murdered man boil when the murderer approaches him? On August 17th, 1743: Were the conditions of the present day foreseen by Aristotle and proclaimed by the comet of the previous year? *

However much allowance we may make for the taste of the age and the "red tape" which enwrapped all learning, we cannot but condemn the bad taste and ignorance of such disputation themes. While the Jesuits were regaling themselves and their pupils with such fare, the rest of the world, in which Kepler, Galileo, Newton, Leibnitz, Descartes, etc., were living and working, had long ago left behind these monstrous absurdities. Even some of the students revolted against such "knowledge"; for the minutes report that on July 4th, 1743, Frehner, an aspirant for the doctorate, "threw St. Barbara with her questions at the feet of his examiner [the Jesuit Ebner], with an expression of contempt." †

A personal experience may serve to show the spirit that prevails even in the most learned circles of the Jesuit Order. Once, at Exaeten, during the mid-day recreation, we were discussing the story of the Creation. I expressed the opinion that geology and palæontology clearly proved

* *Geschichte der Albert Ludwigs Universität zu Freiburg* (Freiburg, 1868), 2, 421 et seq.

† Schreiber, 2, 425.

that the world with its flora and fauna had taken not a few days, but periods of considerable length, to come into being. I was indignantly contradicted by the Jesuit Lehmkuhl, the moral-theological celebrity of the Order; in his view the strata, petrifications, etc., were no disproof of the six days' creation, for God could have introduced all these, without their having had any previous existence, into the interior of the earth. And when I asked whether he would also include coprolites among the works of God's creation he gave a decided affirmative. Moreover, he denounced me to the Rector for "liberal opinions."

There is one peculiarity of Jesuit learning as to which I desire to say a few words. Knowledge without objective truth (if, indeed, there be such a thing) and without subjective truthfulness is impossible. The investigator must reproduce as he finds them the results of his investigations which he recognises as true, whether they prove agreeable to him or the opposite. If he alters or adapts them to fit in with definite aims or his own religious or political attitude, he is guilty of falsification.

But Jesuit knowledge, in every domain where the interests of the Order and the Roman Church are concerned, is an unscrupulous and skilful falsification. A weighty accusation, but in view of the facts completely justified.

In proof I will bring forward only one instance, which, in view of its importance, may count as a test case—the work of the German Jesuit Duhr. This single instance will suffice, because Duhr is the officially appointed historiographer of the German Province. The archives of the Order are at his disposal, and his numerous historical works on the Order have been approved by its censorship. His work may therefore be regarded not as that of an individual but of the Order, representing the history of the Order as written and circulated by the Order itself.

Again and again, both in this book and in my work

on the Papacy,* have I convicted Duhr of untruthfulness and falsification.

The Munich historian, Sigmund Riezler, deals very severely with Duhr, again and again convicting him of misrepresentation and untruthfulness.†

The *Jesuitenfabeln*, so frequently quoted in this book, supply particularly abundant material for estimating Duhr's love of truth. I will give a few instances :—

In order to disprove the genuineness of the *Monita Secreta*, Duhr ‡ emphasises the opposition between Chap. IV. of the *Monita*, on the political activity of Jesuits and the official Instruction of General Acquaviva to the confessors of princes, which apparently prohibits political activity. Duhr does not mention that besides this "official Instruction" there is also a secret one, which contains very different directions. This silence is the more significant as Duhr refers to Dudik for Acquaviva's official Instruction, while it is just Dudik who made public the secret Instructions.

Duhr has a special preference for quoting the Austrian historian Gindely; but he suppresses everything unfavourable that Gindely says of the Jesuits. A particularly striking instance is the false impression created by this means as to Gindely's opinion of the position and influence of the Jesuit Lamormaini in his character of confessor to the Emperor Ferdinand II. By means of a long quotation from Gindely, Duhr "proves" the beneficent and purely religious character of Lamormaini's influence on the Emperor. But he omits Gindely's verdict on Lamormaini's share in the first deposition of Wallenstein, as also Dudik's revelation from sources in the archives as to Lamormaini's decisive influence on his second deposition.§

* *Das Papsttum in seiner sozial-kulturellen Wirkksamkeit.*

† *Historische Zeitschrift.* New Series. Vol. 48, pp. 245-256.

‡ *Jesuitenfabeln*, p. 100.

§ *Ibid.*, 845 et seq.

In dealing with the Gunpowder Plot, planned with the complicity of the Jesuits, Duhr does not even mention Jardine's standard work, *A Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot*. Probably because, as shown in a previous chapter, Jardine quotes from the records much that is unfavourable to the Jesuit Garnet, Provincial of the English Province.*

In the chapter "Ignatius Loyola founded the Jesuit Order for the extirpation of Protestantism," Duhr adduces all manner of proofs to show that the Jesuit Order was not founded against Protestantism, but omits the very significant passage from the bull of Pope Urban VIII. (1623), which decrees the canonisation of Ignatius Loyola. This omission is the more noteworthy, since a bull of canonisation is one of the most important Papal documents. But that is the very reason for omitting it. This sort of thing must be kept from Duhr's circle of readers.†

In order to set the charitable disposition of the Jesuit Order in as favourable a light as possible, Duhr falsifies the original text of an ordinance for the professed house at Vienna in 1635. While the words of the Ordinance ‡ are "concerning the remains of the food to be distributed at the door of the professed-house of the Society of Jesus at Vienna to poor students" (*de reliquis ciborum*, etc.), Duhr gives as a literal quotation in quotation marks: "Concerning the distribution of food, etc." The word "remains" would have weakened the impression of benevolence.§

* *Jesuitenfabeln*, 1-33.

† *Ibid.*, 295.

‡ *Mon. Germ. paed.*, 16-245.

§ Duhr, 380. Falsifications of the text are a very common Jesuit means of embellishment. The English Jesuit Foley was commissioned by the Order to publish eight large volumes of Records, which furnish a collection of documents concerning the Jesuits in England. The Catholic historian, Taunton, says of this work in the preface to his *History of the Jesuits in England*, p. viii.: "Foley's value consists almost as much in his omissions as in his admissions. And I am bound to remark that I have found him at a critical point quietly leaving out, without any signs of omission, an essential part of a document which was adverse

This anthology, incomplete as it is, illustrative of the love of truth evinced in the writings of Duhr, will be most suitably concluded by a quotation from Duhr himself :

“ Falsification remains falsification, and is always reprehensible, even when it is intended to attain or sanctify the most sacred ends.”*

“ If we find an author untrustworthy in one particular, we are bound in the first instance to regard as correspondingly untrustworthy all his statements that fall under this heading.”†

The Jesuit Duhr is a type. As is he, so are they all. No dependence is to be placed on works or documents published by Jesuits. The Jesuit axiom, “ The end sanctifies the means,” is the first principle of Jesuit authorship. The end, the [defence of the Order and its glorification, sanctifies every falsification.

to his case.” And Taunton supplies the proof for his weighty accusation on p. 313, where he gives in full the account of the conversation between the Jesuit Oldcorne, imprisoned in the Tower on a charge of high treason, and Garnet, restoring Garnet’s admission of avowal of treason “ quietly omitted by Foley, who, though professing to quote Gerard, gives no signs of omission.”

* *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge* (Freiburg, 1907), Preface, p. v.

† *Jesuitenfabeln*. 4th ed., p. 785.

CHAPTER XXIV

JESUIT MORALITY

ARE we really justified in speaking of " Jesuit morality " ? Is not that to which we apply the term the very same as the official morality of the Ultramontane Roman Catholic Church ? Both questions may be answered in the affirmative, and it is this very affirmation of two seemingly contradictory statements that accentuates most markedly the reality, danger and power of the conception designated as Jesuit morality.

There is no other domain in which Jesuitism has succeeded so completely in forcing its domination on Catholicism as that of Moral Theology. The development which the practice of the confessional, *i.e.* the domination of the private and public life of Catholics by means of the confessional, has attained since the end of the sixteenth century within the Church of Rome—and it is the practice of the confessional which is concealed under the term Moral Theology—has been mainly brought about by the moral theologians of the Jesuit Order. The present-day Catholic morality is penetrated throughout with Jesuit morality.

This important fact is most strikingly expressed by the circumstance that the greatest authority on Moral Theology in the Romish Church, Alfonso Maria di Liguori (died 1787), whom Gregory XVI. canonised in 1839, and Pius IX., in 1871, honoured with the rank and dignity of a doctor of the Church, was merely the commentator

of the moral theologians of the Jesuit Order, especially the two most influential, Busenbaum and Lacroix.*

“Liguori’s teaching,” says the official historian of the Order, Crétineau-Joly, “is identical with the teaching of the theologians of the Society [of Jesus]. . . . His canonisation was, therefore, the justification of the casuists of the Society, and especially of Busenbaum.”† And the Jesuit Montezon triumphantly asserts: “The teaching of the Jesuits was solemnly declared by the Church to be secured against all censure by the verdict passed on the moral theology of Liguori at his beatification. For even if the Jesuits were not expressly named in the proceedings the verdict is directly concerned with their theology, which the venerable Bishop [Liguori] had adopted as his own. . . . *Nihil censura dignum* (Nothing deserving of censure or offending against faith and morals is to be found in the moral-theology of Liguori), thus says the decree [of the Congregation of Rites, of May 14, 1803], and afterwards another Roman tribunal [the holy *poenitentiarie* of July 5, 1831] declared that every confessor might without further examination abide by all the decisions of Liguori. That is a complete and solemn apology for Jesuit doctrine.”‡

Thus it appears that the assertion constantly repeated and put forward as a screen, that there is no such thing as Jesuit morality, and that the morality of the Order is that of the Catholic Church, is but apparently true. The real truth is that the morality of the Jesuit Order has become the morality of the Catholic Church.

Just as Ultramontanism for a clear thousand years (since the days of Gregory VII.) has dominated Cathol-

* For further details about Liguori and his dependence on Jesuit morality, see my book *Das Papsttum*, etc., II., pp. 70-157.

† Crétineau-Joly, 6, 231.

‡ Sainte-Beuve, *Port Royal*, I., 526: Döllinger-Reusch, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, I., 356.

icism in the domains of dogma, ecclesiastical polity and general culture, so Jesuitism, which is Ultramontanism raised to a higher power, has for four centuries dominated the morality of Catholicism.

A specially convincing proof of this domination has been afforded by a declaration, made by the professors of the priestly seminary at Mayence in the year 1868, in favour of the moral theology of the Jesuit Gury, which says :

“ We will only record the circumstance that this text-book is in use at numerous educational establishments in Germany, Italy, France, Belgium, England and North America.”*

How this domination began, gained a firm footing and maintained it to the present day, cannot be set forth here. At any rate it exists, and the stages on its triumphal progress are the moral theological works of the Jesuits (quoted in alphabetical, not chronological, order) : Amicus, Azor, Ballerini, Burghaber, Busenbaum, Cardenas, Castrapalao, Coninck, Escobar, Filliuci, Gobat, Gury, Haunold, Hurtado, Lacroix, Laymann, Lehmkuhl, Lessius, Lugo, Mazotta, Moya, Palmieri, Reuter, Sabetti, Sanchez, Scaramelli, Schmalzgrueber, Stoz, Tamburini, Valentia, Vasquez, Vogler, Voit, Zaccaria, and many others.

I must content myself with extracts from works on Jesuit morality. For a more detailed account, especially as regards Probabilism, Casuistry and Confession, I must refer my readers to the second volume of my book on the Papacy. The quotations are, of course, selected with a view to a characterisation of the Jesuit Order, *i.e.* I shall set forth those moral-theological dogmas of the Order which will assist the recognition of its fundamental conceptions of morals and ethics, and in order as far as possible

* *Darmstädter Allgemein. Kirchenzeitung* (1868), No. 41.

to comprise everything in one chapter, I use the words *Morals* and *Ethics* in their widest acceptation.

I intend here to give no extracts or disquisitions relating to the seventh commandment and marriage. This unpleasant subject, so rendered by Jesuit moral theology, has been treated in detail in the work above quoted.*

Love and marriage, the most glorious sources of human happiness and human perfection, have been overspread with slime and filth by the spiritual direction and moral theology of the Jesuits. The natural human and, on that account, noble sexual life has been degraded by their moral theological examinations, and because this was and is done under the shelter of Christianity, Christianity too was degraded. A man who by his own confession was versed in sexual perversion, Ludovico Sergardi, afterwards Roman Cardinal and the friend of Alexander VII., bears testimony thus :

“Moral theology has attained to such a pitch that it is necessary to warn uncorrupted youths against having anything to do with it, lest they entangle themselves in shameful snares and become victims of unchastity. For what abominations do not the moral theologians set before the public! Among all the brothels of the Suburra, there is none which might not be called chaste compared with the contents of these books. I myself, who was a leader of immoral youths and often desecrated my years by unchastity, confess that on reading Sanchez [one of the leading moral theologians of the Jesuit Order, whose chief work on Marriage is to this day a classic in the Order] I found myself blushing on more than one occasion, and that his writings have taught me more abominations than I could have learnt from the most brazen of prostitutes. Ovid, the past-master in the Art of Love, Horace the daring, and Tibullus the libertine, if compared with Sanchez, seem fitted to preside over an educational establishment for young ladies. For

* *Das Papsttum*, etc., II., 229-410.

in their case the witty expression, at any rate, conceals the wickedness, but in Sanchez unadulterated libertinism and uncovered lust range at will.”*

I shall preface my extracts from Jesuit treatises on fundamental questions of morals and ethics by criticisms of Jesuit morality uttered by men whose knowledge of the subject and good Catholic sentiments are beyond suspicion. The only non-Catholic among the number is Leibnitz. His importance as a personality, a connoisseur and not unfriendly critic of the Jesuit Order justify his admission here.

I shall also quote Jesuit critics on the morality of their Order, since their opinion on this matter is obviously of special value.

From Abbé de Rancé, founder of the Trappist Order, and an intimate friend of Bossuet :

“The morality of most Molinists [Jesuits, so called after the Jesuit Molina] is so corrupt, their principles are so opposed to the sanctity of the Gospels and all the rules and exhortations which Jesus Christ has given us by His words and through His saints, that nothing is more painful to me than to see how my name is used to give authority to opinions which I detest with my whole heart. . . . What surprises as well as grieves me is that in regard to this matter the whole world is dumb, and that even those who regard themselves as zealous and pious, observe the deepest silence, as though anything in the Church were more important than to maintain purity of faith in the guidance of souls and the direction of morals. . . . Unless God takes pity on the world and subverts the zeal which is applied to destroying right principles and replacing them by wrongful ones, the evil will continue to increase and we shall soon see an almost universal devastation.”†

Rancé also relates how the Jesuits revenged them-

* Ludov. Sergardii, *Orationes* (Lucca, 1783), p. 205. D.-R., I., 117.

† *Lettres de A. J. Le Bouthillier de Rancé*, published by B. Gonod (Paris, 1864), pp. 358-365, from Döllinger-Reusch, I., 113 *et seq.*

selves for his judgment on their morality, and thus supplies a fresh condemnation of Jesuit morality :

“ Every day brings me fresh experience of the injustice and violence of those persons known as Molinists. They shrink from no calumny which may serve to destroy my reputation. . . . Their false moral principles allow them to utter against me all the calumnies inspired by envy and passion.”*

The Papal Nuncio at Vienna, Francesco Buonvisi (afterwards Cardinal), wrote on May 6, 1688, to the Abbot Sfondrati :

“ I do not like to see him [the Emperor Leopold I.] surrounded by these little foxes [the Jesuits], who ruin everything by probabilism, saying that in certain cases it is permitted to follow the less probable view, reserving to themselves the right to advise the prince to follow this on the pretence that the weal of the State requires it, in order to prevent greater evils.”†

The Augustinian monk, Giovanni Berti, says :

“ They [the Jesuits] play various parts ; one in the pulpit, another in the confessional, one in the professor’s chair, another in China. In the pulpit they are disciples of Poemi, in the confessional of Guimenius [the pseudonym of the ultra-lax Jesuit Moya], in the professorial chair of Molina, at court of Varroda, in Europe of Mascarenhas, in China of Le Tellier, not to say of Confucius. As occasion requires they are now zealous priests, now lax moralists, now quarrelsome scholastics, now followers of Machiavelli, now apparent Christians, now open idolaters.”‡

Cardinal Aguirre, in a letter dated April 26, 1693, writes to the King of Spain :

“ . . . It is a question of the boundless liberty with which many modern writers, especially Jesuits, allow very lax opinions

* *Lettres de A. J. Le Bouthillier de Rancé*, p. 355.

† *Memorie per servire alla storia politica del Card. Fr. Buonvisi* (Lucca, 1818), 2, 238. *Ibid.* I., 105.

‡ *Lettera di Fra Guidone Zoccolante* (1753), p. 51. *Ibid.* I., 106.

to be printed and also teach and apply them practically. Alexander VII. condemned forty-five of these opinions, Innocent XI. pronounced sixty-five dangerous and scandalous, and finally Alexander VIII. condemned two, one as heretical, the other as erroneous and subversive of morality. The General [of the Jesuits, Thyrsus Gonzalez], in order to counteract this evil, has ordered a book to be printed in Germany, which Innocent XI. has frequently called upon him to publish. But his subordinates, instead of showing gratitude and trying to amend, have taken up arms against him. Some of them declare that he is a Jannsenist—a shameful calumny, since he has no dealings whatever with the condemned principles of Jannsen, and has indeed combated them in his book most emphatically. . . . It is a matter of common knowledge that many Jesuits have also applied the epithet ‘Jannsenist,’ to Pope Innocent XI., who condemned so many of their lax opinions. They apply the same epithet to all the many learned and pious prelates, doctors and writers who have written against their lax morality.”*

The Dominican Concina, whom even the Jesuit Cordara calls a righteous man, says :

“For more than a century and a half Christian morality has had to endure the onset of bad doctrines. . . . This method permeates the whole of casuistic theology, and inflicts fatal wounds on almost every part of its body. Not content with perverting written law, it has almost wiped out all trace of that inscribed by nature in the heart of man. . . . There is nothing too lax, unjust, or shameful, not to say godless, for them to represent through the medium of unlimited probabilism as pious, decent and holy. That is the worst of all evils, the pestilential source which brings ruin to souls. . . . They have found a middle road, not quite a broad way, so as not to call forth any involuntary alarm, nor yet straight and narrow, thus pandering to the evil inclinations of men, reconciling the world and the Gospel and transforming rough roads into

* For the Spanish original, see Patuzzi, *Lettere* 6, LXXXII. For an Italian translation, Döllinger-Reusch, II., 115 *et seq.*

smooth ones. This middle road has probably carried more souls to hell than the broad way.”*

Johann Adam Möhler, Professor at the University of Tübingen, and unquestionably the greatest Catholic theologian of the nineteenth century, author of the rightly renowned *Symbolik*, writes :

“Moral theology has sustained a specially deleterious influence through them [the Jesuits]. The reason whose very essence it was to distinguish, to resolve the infinite into a number of finite magnitudes, could not truthfully and with clear, decisive vision face the infinitely holy principles of Christian morality. It split up everything into individual cases and, therefore, treated morality as mere casuistry ; and as the infinite power of moral and religious inspiration was not sufficiently regarded, everything was gradually transformed into cunning calculation as to the manner of acting in individual cases, which often really meant the best method of disguising our own egotism from ourselves. Probabilism took an important place in Jesuit morality, i.e. the maxim that of two possible courses in a particular case, the one based on the weaker arguments may be chosen, instead of teaching how to follow the holy sense, the inward Christian impulse in a free and cheerful spirit . . . casuistry is atomism of Christian morality. . . . This method of treating Christian morality often had a poisonous effect on the innermost being of Christian life. Religious depth, stern and holy morality and strict Church discipline were undermined by it. And as it was characteristic of them to transform the inner being into mere externals the Jesuits also conceived of the Church as primarily a state . . . they threatened to excavate, as it were, the whole Church, to rob it of all power and inward life. . . . The tendency of Jesuitism was also unquestionably very dangerous for the Church, and it was necessary to put a check on its efforts. . . . Although the suppression of the Jesuit Order was a work of violence and accompanied by the most crying injustice, it need not be regretted on historic grounds. The Order belonged to a past age, and in

* *Theologia christiana dogmatico-moralis* (Romae, 1749-51), dedication to Pope Benedict XIV.

spite of the change of circumstances continued its activity according to the old fashion. It was, therefore, impossible for it to intervene beneficially in the newer age.”*

Reinhold Baumstark, for many years leader of the Baden Catholics in the Second Chamber at Carlsruhe (who died in 1900), wrote of the influence of Jesuit morality on the confessional :

“ Jesuitism has transformed the confessor of the Catholic Church, *i.e.* the priest, to whom every Catholic must confess his sins at least once a year before receiving the Easter communion, into the spiritual director, *i.e.* that priest who, in the confessional and outside it, directs and governs the whole conduct of the individual not only from the point of view of what is permissible or sinful, but also from that of expediency, prudence and results. . . . His whole life is gradually surrounded and dominated by it [the intercourse with the confessor introduced by the Jesuits]; outward obedience to law, irreproachable conduct and piety are strongly in evidence, but that which constitutes the chief, indeed sole worth, of a man—his free self-direction, inward piety and real moral personality—is destroyed in this fashion.”†

Leibnitz characterises Jesuit morality in the first place as : “ *Cette morale ridicule de la probabilité et ces subtilités frivoles inconnues à l'ancienne Église, et même rejetées par les payens.*” Then he continues :

“ *On voit en Europe qu'il y a en a souvent entre eux qui sont pleins de petites finesses, qui ne seraient pas approuvées parmi les honnestes gens du grand monde. Je croy que leurs enseignments d'école et leurs livres de morale contribuent beaucoup à gaster l'esprit des novices et de leurs jeunes gens.*”‡

* From a lecture dictated by Möhler in 1831, at Tübingen, communicated by the Lucerne Canon and Theological Professor, J. B. Leu, in *Beitrag zur Würdigung des Jesuitenordens* (Lucerne, 1840), pp. 23–29.

† *Schicksale eines deutschen Katholiken* (Strassburg, 1885), 2nd edition, pp. 85 et seq., 147, 148.

‡ Rommel, *Leibniz und Landgraf Ernst von Hessen-Rheinfels, Ungedruckter Briefwechsel* (Frankfort-a-M., 1847), I., 279, 280.

Among the testimonies against Jesuit morality from within the Order, the first place is due to the General Thyrsus Gonzalez.

Gonzalez, the thirteenth General of the Order (1687-1705), for many years waged a heroic war against the bad morality of his Order as incorporated in probabilism and its excrescences. The most influential of his subordinates organised revolt upon revolt against him, and strove by open and secret attacks, calumnation and intrigues, to make his life and position unbearable, until at last they drove him out of his mind.*

The story of Thyrsus Gonzalez forms one of the by no means uncommon sections of the history of the Jesuit Order, in which, instead of the much-vaunted "sacred" and "blind" obedience to the Superiors, brutal disobedience prevails, and the disaffection stirred up by the Order's egotism and greed for rule gives way neither to General nor Pope; for Gonzalez, too, acted in agreement with Pope Innocent XI. and under his orders.

Here, as everywhere, when the dark sides of the Order's history are concerned, the official historians of the Order try to distort and hush up the matter. Thus, e.g. the Jesuit de Ravignan, who wrote his book *De l'Existence et de l'Institut des Jésuites* (Paris, 1855) by command of the Order, in dealing with the struggle of the Order with the General and Pope, which was waged with the utmost virulence, only says:

* The Jesuit Bonucci bears testimony to the fact that Gonzalez was driven out of his mind by his subordinates. In a confidential letter of September 9, 1719, published by Pietro Bigazzi as an interesting contemporary document (*Miscellanea storica e letteraria*, Firenze, 1847). Bonucci writes referring to the great annoyances to which the successor of Gonzalez, Tamburini, had also been exposed by his Jesuit subordinates, says: "He will be the second General in our time to be driven out of his mind (*e questo sarà il secondo Generale che a giorno nostri avevamo fatto impazzire* (cf. Döllinger-Reusch, I., 265). The "first" General driven out of his mind "in our time" can only refer to Gonzalez.

“ Many of the Order’s theologians have attacked probabilism ; the strongest condemnation of the kind known to me is that written by one of our Generals, Thyrsus Gonzalez. Many other of our members have approved of probabilism.”*

It is only when we begin to study the historical material relating to probabilism† that we come to realise how untruthful are such utterances in consciously suppressing the truth.

Gonzalez relates that Innocent XI. said to him on the occasion of his first audience that his (the General’s) task must be to divert the Society of Jesus from the precipice (*a praecipitio avertere*) into which it seemed about to fall, by trying to adopt as the doctrine of the Order the laxer view as to the use of probable opinions. “ The Pope also commissioned him to summon a prominent Spanish Jesuit to Rome as Professor at the *Collegium Romanum*, to teach the stricter morality approved by Gonzalez himself.”‡ And this statement was repeated on oath by Gonzalez as a witness at the Beatification of Innocent XI.§

As Gonzalez clearly expresses his assent to Innocent’s declaration, and as, moreover, his whole life and work were devoted to extirpating the lax morality of his Order, his testimony bears the crushing weight of the voices of a “ beatified ” Pope and a General of the Order, whose office of itself enabled him to know the condition of the moral teachings of his Order.

The Jesuits, too, must necessarily feel the weight of their General’s words: On this account they not only

* P. 152.

† Döllinger and Reusch, in their *Moralstreitigkeiten*, so frequently quoted supply almost complete material.

‡ Concina. *Difesa*, 1, 28 ; *Sac. Rituum Congregatione Em. et Rev. D. Card. Ferrarii, Roman. Beatificationis et Canonizationis Ven. Servi Dei Innocentii Papae undecimi. Positio super dubio an sit signanda commissio introductionis causae in casu* (Romae, 1713), p. 180, printed by Döllinger-Reusch, I., 132 (2).

Ibid.

keep them as secret as possible, but they do not even shrink from representing as false the statements made on oath by their General.

“They assert that it is certain that the Pope maintained a purely passive attitude in this matter; the words placed in his mouth by Gonzalez could never have been spoken by him.”*

The real reason for the resistance of the Jesuit Order to a reform of its morality and its obstinate adherence, in spite of Pope and General, to its lax probabilism, is worth noting. It is the lust of dominion which, like a red thread, runs through the whole of Jesuitism and its history, which here, too, allowed the end to “sanctify the means.”

H. Noris, Consultor of the Congregation of the Inquisition, and afterwards Cardinal, in a letter addressed to the Grand Duke Cosimo III. of Florence, in 1692, gives as the view of the Jesuits :

“The doctrine of their General [Thyrus Gonzalez] was dangerous to the efficacy of the Society; for as they [the Jesuits] were confessors to so many great princes in Europe, so many princely prelates in Germany, and so many courtiers of high rank, they must not be so severe as their General desired, because if they wished to follow his teaching they would lose their posts as confessors at all the courts.”†

It would be impossible to exceed the severity of the judgment passed by the Jesuit, Michael de Elizalde. He was a friend of the Jesuit Cardinal Pallavicini, who calls him one of the greatest theologians of the Order,‡ and was Professor of Theology at Valladolid, Salamanca,

* *Ibid.*, I., 135, and II., 163.

† The interesting letter is printed by Concina, *Difesa* 2, and Patuzzi, *Lettere* 6. Döllinger-Reusch, I., 176.

‡ *Lettere del Card. Sforza Pallavicini* (Rome, 1848), 2, 35; 3, 229.

Rome and Naples. He composed a work on Probabilism approved by Pallavicini, which, however, failed to attain the Imprimatur of the Superiors, and he was actually threatened with the severest penalties by General Paul Oliva. His work appeared first in a mutilated edition, but six years later, after his death, was republished *in extenso* with the title, *De recta doctrina morum* (Friburgi, 1684). Elizalde's polemics are directed against the theologians Diane and Caramuel, but chiefly against his fellow-Jesuits Escobar, Tamburini and Moya. He summarises his views on Jesuit morality thus :

“Recently I looked through a summary of morals in several volumes. I sought for Christ, but found Him not. I sought for the love of God and our neighbour, but found them not. I sought for the Gospel, but found it not. I sought for humility, but found it not. But if we read in St. Paul or any other apostle or saint; we find the very opposite; everywhere Christ, love, humility, holiness abound. These two doctrines, therefore, are in no way connected, and stand in no relation to one another. . . . The Gospel is simple and opposed to all equivocation; it knows only yea, yea; nay, nay. Modern morality is not simple, but makes use of that equivocating probabilism, using yea and nay simultaneously, since its rule is the probability of mutually contradictory statements.”*

In a memorial sent to Clement XI., in October, 1706, the Jesuit Camargo tells of the experiences which he and others had of Jesuit morality when conducting popular missions in Spain :

“How many contradictions, dangers and difficulties I and all the others experienced who, in the direction of conscience, reject the common rule of probabilism so universally diffused throughout Spain, God alone knows, and it sounds incredible. Morals have grown so lax that in practice scarcely anything is regarded as

* *De recta doctrina morum*, 1, 8 qu 7, § 2 : Döllinger-Reusch, I., 150.

not permitted. . . . Not only among the people, but also among confessors, preachers and professors does the opinion prevail, that we commit no sin, if we believe while acting that we are acting rightly, or do not think that we are acting wrongly, or are in doubt about the matter. . . . I know not through what mysterious or, at any rate, terrible decree of God it has come about that this moral doctrine, which is so hateful to the Apostolic See and so contrary to Christian morality, has found such favour among the Jesuits, that they still defend it, while elsewhere it is scarcely tolerated, and that not a few Jesuits believe themselves bound to defend it as one of the doctrines of the Order. . . . It is regrettable that the enemies of the Society can, without untruth, reproach it as being the only apologist for probabilism, which is the source of all laxity and corruption of morals, and has been condemned almost expressly by the Apostolic See, and even promote and spread it with zeal.”*

That the Jesuits Elizalde and Camargo were persecuted and grievously calumniated by their fellow-Jesuits for their candour,† is a matter of course to those who know Jesuit ways. Cardinal Manning and Abbé de Rancé also had experience of this peculiarity of the “Society of Jesus,” which is doubtless based on the command of Jesus, “Love your enemies . . . do good to them that hate you,” as have countless others before and after them.

The Jesuit André complains in a letter:

“Every day I hear the casuists of our Order maintain that a king is not bound to abide by a treaty which he has only concluded in order to bring to an end a war which has turned out to his disadvantage. I hold the opposite opinion. I stand almost alone among a crowd of persons who pretend to be religious. Neither law nor gospel is binding in matters of State—an abominable doctrine!”‡

* Printed in Concina, *Difesa*, 2, 60; Döllinger-Reusch, I., 265-266.

† *Ibid.*, I., 56.

‡ Charma, *Le Père André*, 2, 358; Döllinger-Reusch, I., 104, 105.

The Jesuit La Quintinye, to whose piety and purity of morals his General, Paul Oliva, bears testimony, after vainly directing protests to his superiors, addressed himself on January 8, 1679, to Innocent XI.

He says that during the last fifteen years he had repeatedly written to former Popes about the sad conditions that prevailed in the Society of Jesus, to which he had belonged for more than thirty years; but he did not know whether his letters had ever reached the persons to whom they were addressed. His complaints dealt with—1. The moral doctrines prevailing in the Society of Jesus, which had already been condemned by many bishops and popes. 2. The practice of the Jesuits in the direction of souls based on this doctrine. 3. The means adopted by the Jesuit superiors to compel the subordinates to adopt their moral doctrines. 4. The cunning which the Jesuit superiors employed to prevent the Papal decrees against the lax Jesuit morality from being made known to the subordinates. They assured the Pope of their intention to obey, and the Jesuit General publicly called upon his subordinates to prove their obedience; but secretly and in private letters they admonished them to abide by the lax moral doctrines condemned by the Popes.*

Two Jesuit voices raised on behalf of Jesuit morality really bear testimony against it; but for that very reason and on account of their boastful tone, they furnish proofs of special strength.

The Jesuit Le Roux says:

“Ivenin [an opponent of the Jesuits] thinks it may be deduced from their teaching that a man who, for forty years, has led a godless life and then received the sacramental absolution by mere attrition [penitence from fear of punishment], and immediately after loses his reason through a fatal illness, has a right to ever-

* Döllinger-Reusch, I., 57-61 and II., 1-19, where the documents are printed.

lasting bliss, although he never, not even at the end of his life, loved God. That we unhesitatingly admit.”*

And in the *Imago primi Saeculi* it is stated in praise of Jesuit morality that :

“ Now [in consequence of the activity of the Jesuits] sins are atoned more speedily and eagerly than they were formerly committed ; nothing is more common than monthly or even weekly confession ; most people have scarcely committed a sin before they confess it.”†

Everything which can be said against Jesuit morality may be summed up in the fact that several Popes, especially Alexander VII., Innocent XI., and Alexander VIII., found themselves compelled to condemn in solemn manifestoes a number of really monstrous maxims of this morality, which were actually taken from the works of some of the leaders in moral theology.

Truly the bodyguard of the Pope took little notice of the condemnation, but “ proved,” also through its leaders, that most of the condemned maxims were not understood by their Jesuit authors in the sense on which the Papal condemnation was based ; therefore they might calmly go on teaching them.

For a detailed account of this masterpiece of Jesuit obedience and Jesuit power of exposition I must refer to my work on the Papacy.‡

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF JESUIT ETHICS AND MORALITY

1. **Untruthfulness.**—I have repeatedly emphasised the fact that part of the essence of Jesuitism is an all-pervading untruthfulness. It is a subtle poison, which exercises its

* Döllinger-Reusch, I., 80.

† *Imago*, p. 372.

‡ II., 444 et seq.

power to kill truthfulness, faith and loyalty throughout the whole organism of the Order.

The Order's system of government, built up on mutual supervision, secret reports, espionage, denunciation, is opposed to all human and Christian simplicity and candour, and necessarily begets mistrust, suspicion, and at last conscious and unconscious untruthfulness.

Thus the Constitutions of the Order prepare the ground, on which the moral theological doctrines as to the permissibility of mental restriction, of every kind of equivocation, of half and three-quarter truths, easily take root and shoot luxuriantly upward. These doctrines are the flesh and blood of the Jesuit body, and are more or less the ethical and moral base of the individual Jesuits.

To what an extent Jesuitism has lost all sense of truth, is shown in startling fashion just where it appears to come forward against untruth and lies. Thus the Jesuit Delrio, Professor of Theology at the Universities of Salamanca and Graz, writes :

“ It is an article of faith that a lie (which deserves the name) is in itself something morally bad. Yet consider : it is one thing to say something false and another to hide something true, by making use not of a lie but an equivocation. The utterance of a judge at Liège was both cunning and permissible, who said to a stiff-necked witch, who denied all accusations, that if she spoke the truth sufficiently he would, as long as she lived, provide from his own or public means food and drink for her every day and see to it that a new house was built for her, understanding by ‘ house ’ the wooden [scaffolding] with the bundles and straw on which she would be burnt. Other [permissible equivocations] are cited by Sprenger [a Dominican] : They should treat the guilty person with greater honour than is customary, and admit respected persons, whom he would not suspect, to intercourse with him. These may discourse about various alien matters, and finally advise him with confidence

to confess the truth, promising that the judge would show him mercy and they would act as intermediaries. The judge should then come and promise to let mercy prevail, understanding by this,—for himself or the State, for the preservation of which everything that is done is an act of mercy. The judge might also say to the accused that he was giving him good counsel, and a confession would be of great advantage to him, even in saving his life. For this is most true, if understood of eternal life, which is the true life.”*

And this encouragement of infamous lying in trials when life is hanging in the balance is passed unhesitatingly by the censor of the Order, who, moreover, in the case of Delrio’s work, was one of the most famous Jesuits of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Oliverius Manäraus, who justifies his imprimatur “by the judgment of weighty and learned theologians of the Order.” And, what is more, a Jesuit of the twentieth century, Duhr, who has become sufficiently well-known to us, praises his fellow-member of the Order, Delrio—

“Because he severely attacks the judges, who wish to make the witches confess by means of false representations and lies.”†

Consequently, even to the present day, Jesuitism—for Duhr’s work, too, passed the Order’s censorship—does not find any falsehood or inaccuracy in the disgraceful craftiness and lies of the judge at Liège, and in the counsel of the Jesuit Delrio.

With such a conception of “lying,” it is no wonder that we find the most prominent moral theologians of the Jesuit Order putting forward preposterous doctrines with regard to equivocation.

* *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex* (Coloniae, 1679), p. 788.

† *Die Stellung der Jesuiten in den deutschen Hexenprozessen. Vereinsschrift der “Görresgesellschaft, zur Pflege der Wissenschaft im katholischen Deutschland”* (Cologne, 1900), p. 44.

The Jesuit Cardeñas says :

“ Sanchez [a Jesuit] mentions two kinds of ambiguities which he declares to be perfectly admissible. In the first place, if I make use of words which are in themselves ambiguous and apply them in one sense whilst the listener believes I am applying them in another sense. If there is no sufficient reason for concealing the truth, the use of such ambiguity is unlawful, but not untruthful. Thus, for example, if some one has killed a Frenchman (*hominem natione gallum*), he can say, without lying, that he has not killed a ‘*gallum*,’ if he takes this word in the sense of ‘cock.’ To this class must also be referred the ambiguity in the case *non est hic*, *i.e.* according to the way it is understood : he *is* not here, and he *is* not *eating* here. That Innocent XI. did not condemn this use of ambiguity is certain. For he only condemns ambiguity connected with mental reservation, which means that something is added mentally. But in the cases of ambiguity quoted above nothing is added mentally, because the different significations (*gallus, est*) lie in the words themselves. The second kind of permissible ambiguity arises when the words in themselves are not ambiguous, but assume another meaning owing to the conditions of place, time and persons. Thus it is related of St. Francis that when on one occasion robbers, who had passed him, were pursued by the officers of the law, he replied to their questions as to whether the former had gone that way by saying ‘They have not come here,’ at the same time putting his hands into his sleeves. And this reply was perfectly truthful, for the robbers had not passed through his sleeves. He could also have put his foot on a stone and said, ‘They have not gone through here,’ because they had not gone through the stone. There is no mental reservation in this case, because, through his placing his foot on the stone, the words in question (‘come through,’ ‘gone through’) related to the stone. In this class are also included those words which have only one meaning in themselves, but are ambiguous, without mental reservation, according to the different way in which they are used. Thus, for example, the word ‘know,’ which really signifies certain knowledge, is also frequently used for defective knowledge. On the other hand, ‘ignorance’ means lack of certain knowledge,

but is frequently used for the lack of any knowledge. Consequently, if someone has heard from another person that Peter committed a theft, and replies on being asked, 'I do not know,' i.e. 'I have no infallible knowledge of it,' he is not lying. Suare and Lugo [the chief theologians of the Jesuit Order] also give the following example: 'A man who has only a loaf, which is necessary for his subsistence, answers the person who asks for one truthfully when he states, 'I have none,' for he really has none which he can give, and he is asked in this sense. By these different ways of making use of ambiguity which we have quoted as permissible, all pangs of conscience and doubt are removed. Thus, an adulterous woman, when questioned by her husband regarding the adultery and threatened with death, may reply without falsehood and without mental reservation, 'I have not wounded your honour,' for 'wounded' means a material wounding, which cannot be applied to honour. She may also deny her adultery by taking this word in the sense in which it is frequently used in the Scriptures, namely, as idolatry. Any one who is questioned by the police concerning the whereabouts of a criminal, can give St. Francis's reply, which we have already cited. Whoever is asked by the judge on oath how much he has of a certain commodity, which is unjustly taxed at too high a rate, may swear that he has a considerably smaller quantity of it than he really has, and it can be shown in many ways that this is no perjury. In the first place, when he swears that he has, for example, twenty pitchers of oil, he does not deny that he has more, but speaks the truth, saying that he has twenty pitchers. Secondly, he may swear that he has not more than twenty, because he speaks the truth so far as the judge, who only asks as to the amount of oil which ought to be taxed, is concerned. As, according to the hypothesis, the tax is unjustly high, it is quite true to say that the person does not possess more, adding [mentally] than must be taxed.'*

The Jesuit Laymann :

"Ambiguities are not lies. Ambiguities are modes of expression with a double meaning, one of which, that conveying the truth,

* *Crisis theologica. Venetiis* (1710), IV., 120 et seq.

the speaker has in view, and hence does not lie, even when the person addressed interprets the words in the other sense, which is incorrect, and is thus deceived. For the speaker does not practise the deceit on the person addressed, but only permits it. . . . Although it is a probable view that every promissory perjury is a deadly sin, the opposite view is more probable. . . . Although an ambiguous oath is no perjury when there is just cause for concealing the truth, and is even exempt from all moral wrong, it is to some extent a false oath and not permissible when there is not just cause. Three assertions are implied by this thesis:—

1. An ambiguous oath is no perjury, because one sense of the ambiguous expression is correct, according to the hypothesis; consequently, whoever confirms this sense with an oath does not commit perjury. Indeed, when an expression is really not ambiguous, but when it has in itself or in the circumstances only one meaning and that the false one, no perjury is committed when the person under oath does not intend to emphasise this false sense, but another, which does not correspond with the words sworn by him. An oath is only false when God is called upon as a witness for something false; but he who swears in the above-mentioned manner does not call upon God on behalf of the false sense which he refers to outwardly, but on behalf of the truth which he retains inwardly."

Laymann admits, it is true, that he who swears thus utters a lie and usually commits a grievous sin. He then continues :

"2. That an ambiguous oath is no sin, can be proved in the same way. For one interpretation of the ambiguous expression is true, and it can consequently, if necessary, be confirmed with an oath. . . . It follows from clause 2 that he who has returned a loan may swear before a court of justice, if he has no other proof, that he has never entered into any agreement for a loan, adding to himself, such that he should have to return the loan twice. Covarruvias, Azor and Suarez declare this view as probable. He who has been induced under severe threats, or without the inner wish, to bind himself, and has said to a woman, 'I will marry you,' may, when asked by the judge about the matter, deny on oath that he

has spoken such words, understanding the oath to mean that he has voluntarily agreed to marry her. He who is asked under oath if he has come from a place which is falsely supposed to be infected with the plague, may swear that he has not come thence, saying to himself, 'from the plague-infected place.'**

The Jesuits Ballerini and Palmieri:—

"The general teaching of the theologians is that for a just cause ambiguity and equivocation are permissible even when under oath. And, in fact, when ambiguity is used, that which is manifested outwardly corresponds with the inner meaning of the person under oath, and hence the truth necessary for the oath is present. The listener is deceived, it is true, but we only admit that he misleads himself. A person is permitted to swear falsely aloud when an addition is spoken softly, provided that it is evident that an addition has been made, although the meaning of the addition is not understood."†

The Jesuit Lehmkuhl, whose *Moral Theology* is taken as the basis of instruction for the confessors designate in numerous seminaries for Roman Catholic priests in Germany, France, Italy, Holland, and elsewhere, says :

"Lying is always sinful. . . . But mental reservation is frequently free from falsehood ; consequently [*sic* !] it is occasionally permissible and necessary and occasionally not permissible to make use of it. Under mental reservation is understood the keeping back of the sense of the words or its mental definition. This may occur in different ways:—1. If the words themselves have different meanings according to their interpretation, so that the speaker must give them a particular meaning. 2. If the words have not a double meaning in themselves, but may be taken in a sense different from the obvious one through conditions of place, person and time. For example, the expression, 'I do not know,' may admit the

* *Theologia moralis. Liber quartus, tract. 3, ep. 14. Edit. Monach., 1625, II., 165, 174, 176, 177.*

† *Opus theolog. morale, Prati, 1892, II., 415, 418.*

meaning in certain circumstances, 'I do not know so that I can communicate it.' 2. If the words can neither have such a meaning in themselves nor through special conditions, but can only have another signification through mental addition; for example, if anybody, on being asked whether he has been in Cologne, replies, 'I was there,' and says to himself, 'in spirit.' The last manner of speaking, which only consists of mental reservation, is never permissible, but is untruthful. The two other ways are permissible in suitable circumstances, for in whatever way the words are spoken—and they must be considered along with the circumstances—they express the real meaning which the speaker mentally intended, even though not clearly and definitely. The speaker intends, however, that the full meaning shall not be understood by the person addressed, and herein he is justified, and it is admitted that they may perhaps even be wrongly understood. Consequently, a part of the truth is concealed, which, for just reasons, may and must frequently occur. . . . As often as I use in permissible fashion any reservation not exclusively mental, I may, according to the importance of the occasion, swear even with this reservation."*

Lehmkuhl's instructive remarks regarding calumnia-tion also belong here. On the authority of Liguori and the Jesuit Busenbaum, he declares that it is a deadly sin—

"To call a priest or a pious member of an Order a liar, whilst it is a pardonable sin to accuse a soldier, who lives a freer life, of philandering or vendetta. Nor is it very sinful to relate similar or analogous offences of one who is already notorious in other respects; for example, to say of one who is known as a drunkard that he quarrels with his wife, or of a robber that he has committed perjury. . . . Who would consider it a serious calumny to say that an atheist is considered capable of secretly committing any crime (*quaelibet crimina*)?"†

* *Theologia moralis. Edit. 6. 1890, I., n., 772, 773.*

† *Ibid., n. 1178, 1179.*

The Jesuit Gury :

“ Anna had committed adultery ; she replied first of all to her husband, who was suspicious and questioned her, that she had not broken the marriage bond ; the second time, she replied, after she had been absolved from the sin, ‘ I am not guilty of such a crime ’ ; finally, the third time, because her husband pressed her still further, she flatly denied the adultery, and said, ‘ I have not committed it,’ because she understood by this, ‘ such adultery as I should be obliged to reveal,’ or ‘ I have not committed adultery which is to be revealed to you.’ Is Anna to be condemned ? Anna can be justified from falsehood in the threefold case which has been mentioned. For, in the first case, she could say that she had not broken the marriage bond, because it was still in existence. In the second case, she could say that she was innocent of adultery, since her conscience was no longer burdened with it after confession and the receiving of absolution, because she had the moral certainty that this had been forgiven. Indeed, she could make this assertion on oath, according to the general opinion and that of Liguori, Lessius, the Salmanticenses, and Suarez. In the third case, she could, in the probable view, still deny having committed adultery in the sense that she was obliged to reveal it to the husband.”*

Such theories have been practically utilised in the Jesuit Order from early times. Some historical occurrences which have become famous will serve as examples.

The Jesuit Garnet, Provincial of the English Province of the Order, made use of equivocation, as he himself writes in a letter “ to the Fathers and Brethren of the Society,” so as not to be convicted of participation in the Gunpowder Plot in the examination before the Commissioners.† Garnet says, in a letter dated March 20th, 1606 :

* *Causa conscientiae*, I., 182 et seq. (Parisii, 1892), 8th edit on.

† Text of the letter in Jardine : *A Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot* (London 1857), p. 203 (1).

“In cases where it becomes necessary to an individual for his defence, or for avoiding any injury or loss, or for obtaining any important advantage, without danger or mischief to any other person, there equivocation is lawful: Let us suppose that I have lately left London, where the plague is raging, and on arriving at Coventry, I am asked before I can be admitted into the town whether I come from London, and am perhaps required to swear that I do not: it would be lawful for me (being assured that I bring no infection) to swear in such a case that I did not come from London; for I put the case that it would be very important for me to go into Coventry, and that from my admittance no loss or damage could arise to the inhabitants.”*

Garnet acknowledged in a letter to his accomplice, the Jesuit Greenway, that he knew of the Gunpowder Conspiracy from the conspirator Catesby's confession, and that he was obliged to impart his information (he made this confession to the court of justice in a “declaration” written in his own hand). The letter was intercepted, and the Commissioners questioned him as to the existence and contents of the letter. Garnet replied, “upon his priesthood that he did never write any letter or letters, nor send any message to Greenway since he was at Coughton; and this he protested to be spoken without equivocation.” A few days afterwards, on being shown his letter to Greenway, and asked how he could justify his falsehood, he boldly replied, “that he had done nothing but that he might lawfully do, and that it was evil done of the Lords to ask that question of him, and to urge him upon his priesthood when they had his letters which he had written, for he never would have denied them if he had seen them; but supposing the Lords had not his letters, he did deny in such sort as he did the writing of any letter, which he might lawfully do.”†

Jardine, the keen-witted investigator of these cir-

* Jardine, *Ibid.*, p. 233 *et seq.*

† Jardine, *Ibid.*, p. 244 *et seq.*

cumstances, criticises, on the strength of the still extant minutes, the Jesuit Garnet's attitude before the tribunal :

“ He had denied all knowledge of the Plot until betrayed by the conferences with [the Jesuit] Hall, and he denied those conferences until he plainly perceived that he only injured himself by so doing ; and when afterwards abashed and confounded at the clear discovery of his falsehood, he admitted to the Lords that ‘ he had sinned unless equivocation could save him ’ ! From the beginning to the end of the inquiry, he had acted in strict consistency with the principles he now acknowledged, never confessing any fact until it was proved against him, and never hesitating to declare palpable falsehoods respecting matters which tended to inculcate himself and affirm them by the most solemn oaths and protestations.”*

And this is the man of whom Professor Buchberger, the editor of the *Kirchliches Handlexikon*,† which was episcopally approved, writes : “ Garnet was a man incomparable in knowledge and saintliness.” This is another proof of the great extent to which the official Roman Church adapted itself to the morals of the Jesuits.

The Jesuit Gerard relates :

“ They [the Commissioners] asked me then whether I acknowledged the Queen [Elizabeth] as the true governor and Queen of England. I answered, ‘ I do acknowledge her as such.’ ‘ What ! ’ said Topcliffe, ‘ in spite of Pius V.’s excommunication ? ’ I answered, ‘ I acknowledge her as our Queen, notwithstanding I know there is such an excommunication.’ The fact was [the Jesuit continues] ‘ I knew that the operation of that excommunication had been suspended in all England by a declaration of the Pontiff till such time as its execution became possible.’‡

The Catholic theologian, Taunton, rightly remarks on

* Jardine, *Ibid.*, p. 237.

† Munich, 1907, I., 1594.

‡ *The Life of Fr. John Gerard* (London, 1882), p. 225.

this cynical and naïve utterance : “ It shows what reliance can be put upon some of the protestations of allegiance.”*

The shameless inaccuracy of the Jesuit's reply reflects, of course, more on the Papacy than on Jesuit morality. For Gregory XIII., a special friend of the Jesuits, had indeed authentically interpreted the Bull of deposition of his predecessor, Pius V., in the manner indicated by Gerard, and had entrusted the “ interpretation ” in an audience of April 14th, 1580, to the Jesuits Parsons and Campian, who were journeying to England. †

The Jesuit, Robert Southwell, directed the daughter of his host, in whose house he lay concealed from the sheriff's officers of Queen Elizabeth of England, that she should reply “ No,” to the question as to whether Robert Southwell were in her father's house, and confirm the reply with an oath. In order to make the “ No ” correct, she was to think, “ He is not in my father's house so that I am bound to tell them.” ‡

The attitude of the Parisian Jesuits with regard to a book by their fellow-Jesuit, Santarelli, *Tractatus de haeresi, etc.*, affords a specially striking example of the ability of the Jesuits to say “ Yes ” and “ No ” about the same circumstance. This book, which was published in 1625, with the approval of the General, Vitelleschi, taught the usual doctrine of the Order regarding the Pope's supremacy over kings and princes, and defended the view that the Bull, *Unam sanctam*, which dogmatically established this doctrine, was not suspended by Clement V.'s Brief, *Meruit*, published in favour of France. The Parisian Sorbonne condemned the book. On March 14th, 1626, the French Parliament cited the Provincial of the Jesuits at Paris

* *The Jesuits in England*, p. 165.

† *The Jesuits' Memorial*, p. XXVI., and *Harleian Miscellany*, 4th edition, II., 130.

‡ Taunton, p. 168.

and six other Fathers to appear before the bar so as to question them about the book. I quote from the minutes of the case :

“ ‘Do you approve of Santarelli’s bad book?’ ‘On the contrary, we are ready to write against it and contest all that he says.’ ‘Do you not know that this wicked doctrine has been approved by your General in Rome?’ ‘Yes, but we here cannot help this indiscretion, and we blame it most emphatically.’ ‘Do you believe that the Pope may excommunicate and depose the King, and release his subjects from their oath of allegiance?’ ‘How should the Pope excommunicate the King, the eldest son of the Church, who would certainly do nothing which would render it necessary?’ ‘But your General, who has approved the book, considers that its contents are correct; do you differ in opinion?’ ‘The General, who lives in Rome, can do nothing but approve that which the Roman Curia has sanctioned.’ ‘And your own conviction?’ ‘Is quite different.’ ‘And what would you do if you were in Rome?’ ‘We should act in the same manner as those who are there.’”*

Louis XIV.’s confessor, the Jesuit La Chaise, writes to the Jesuit Petre, the political favourite of James II. of England, in a letter dated March 7th, 1688 :

“One of your Assisting Fathers of that Kingdom (which was Father Parsons) having written a book against the succession of the King of Scots, to the Realm of *England*, Father *Creighton*, who was also of our Society, and upheld by many of our Party, defended the Cause of that King, in a Book intituled, *The Reasons of the King of Scots, against the Book of Father Parsons*; and tho’ they seemed divided, yet they understood one another very well, thus being practised by Order of our General, to the End, that if the House of *Scotland* were excluded, they might shew him, who had the Government, the book of Father *Parsons*; and on the other Hand, if the King happened to be restored to the Throne, they

* Reusch, *Der Index*, II., 351, 352.

might obtain his Good Will, by shewing him the Works of Father Creighton: So that which Way soever the Medal turn'd, it still prov'd to the Advantage of our Society."*

Whether the letter is genuine in this form is uncertain. But we are certain of the existence of the two mutually contradictory works by the Jesuits Parsons and Creighton mentioned in it,† and in this fact lies the proof of the equivocation of the Order which is expressed in a typical manner in this letter. And this is the point. The letter—in case it is not genuine—would then be, like the *Monita secreta*, a sharply pointed, satirical exposure of Jesuit double dealing.

On December 24th, 1613, the Jesuit Adam Contzen, Professor of Theology at Mayence, suggested in a letter to the Jesuit Cardinal, Bellarmin, that a *Supplicatio* to the King of England, or to the Dutch States-General, should be written in the name of a Protestant preacher, showing the necessity for a Calvinistic council, in order to divert attention from a letter directed against Pope Paul V. (demonstrating that the choice of the Pope was simoniacal, consequently invalid).‡

The Jesuit, Hugo Roth, also pretended that he was a Dutch Calvinist in his anonymous work, *Cavea turturi structa*, published in 1631, against the Dominican Jacob Gravina. In a letter addressed to the Jesuit Forer he says it would not be well that he (Roth) should be known to be the author, because it would lead to a popular scandal if it were known that members of the Orders attacked one another.§

* *Collection of Papers Relating to the Present Juncture of Affairs in England*. Third Collection, p. 27. London, 1689.

† Sommervogel, S.J., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Bruxelles-Paris, 1895-1900), 6, 303; 9 (Supplément), 148.

‡ Döllinger-Reusch, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, I., 550, and II., 262.

§ *Ibid.*, I., 584; II., 309.

Specially characteristic of the Jesuits was their attempt, towards the end of the sixteenth century, known as "The Douai Knavery" (*la fourberie de Douai*), to destroy the Catholic Theological University at Douai, which displeased them because it had a tendency towards Jansenism.

A professor at Douai, P. de Ligny, became implicated in a secret correspondence. The writer of the letters, who pretended to be the Jansenist leader, Antoine Arnauld (he always signed himself as Antoine A. and had the answers sent to Brussels, which was then Arnauld's place of residence), severely attacked the Jesuits, and warmly took up the cause of the Jansenists. The aim of the correspondence was to unmask Ligny and the other professors as Jansenists. The object desired was achieved and Louis XIV. deprived the Professors Laleu, Rivette, Ligny and Malpaix of their office, and banished them to different parts of France. The cunning correspondent, "who had rendered such a signal service to religion," was not, however, Antoine Arnauld, but a Jesuit, probably the Jesuit Lallemand who, as Sainte-Beuve* reports, when an old man, still boasted "*avec jubilation, qu'il avait imaginé, filé et conduit à la fin, qu'il se proposait, la fameuse fourberie de Douai.*"

The "Fourberie de Douai" created great commotion. All respectable people were unanimous in its condemnation. Leibnitz pronounced upon it, saying :

"The deceit in the Douai case is very wicked and a very bad example. In legal parlance it may be designated as *stellionatus* (artful deception). But, in spite of everything, I do not believe that the Jesuits will gain much by it; for if, as seems probable, the matter is taken up further in the courts of law, the handwritings will be compared, and it will easily be seen that the handwriting is not that of Arnauld, and the Jesuits of Douai will be forced to say how they obtained the documents. Besides, the intrigue bears

* *Port Royal*, 5, 464.

several marks of falsehood, so that I cannot see the use of such a cunningly contrived piece of roguery, except to cause alarm among the ignorant. . . . I do not believe that these controversies [the affair at Douai] can be laid to the charge of the Roman Catholic religion; the failings of human nature are only too well known, and the Jesuits have given too many proofs of their vindictive character to be considered exempt from human passions. Doubtless their general superiors ought to express their strong disapproval of those who have carried out the affair at Douai, which was a very dishonourable business (*chose forte malhonneste*) . . . But it seems that two considerations restrain the Superiors (although they must be exceedingly displeased, as I readily believe). In the first place, they think that their punishment would damage the reputation of the Society [of Jesus]; secondly, they have such a bad opinion of the so-called Jansenists that they rejoice over the matter as a service rendered to the Church, although they do not approve of all the circumstances. [Leibnitz thus clearly reproaches the Jesuits with their observance of the principle 'The end sanctifies the means.'] If I were in place of these Superiors, I would make amends to Arnauld."*

The Jesuits themselves, however, thought very differently on the subject of "making amends," as the above-mentioned remark of the chief culprit, the Jesuit Lallemand, shows.

Arnauld himself tried to obtain the "amends" by publishing several "complaints" against the Jesuits. It is stated in one of these:

"I appeal to you, my right reverend Fathers. . . . It only remains for me to cite you before the tribunal of all honest people in the world, who are already so indignant about the rascality of the false Arnauld, so that if nothing else can avail to shame you the fear of public infamy may, at any rate, compel you to change

* Letters, dated September 12th and October 9th, 1691, to Landgraf Ernst von Hessen-Rheinfels: Rommel, *Leibnitz und Landgraf Ernst von Hessen-Rheinfels* (Frankfort, 1847), II., pp. 306 and 326.

your attitude. . . . There is only one way for you to save the honour of your Society, show honour to God, and acknowledge that all those of your Society who have taken part in this wretched intrigue have acted very badly.”*

The Jesuits also tried by a cunning trick to disarm the Dominican Concina, one of the keenest opponents of their moral teachings. Such a trustworthy witness as the Jesuit Cordara gives an account of this :

“ Whilst the struggle against the Jesuits raged thus [chiefly stirred up by Concina], a violent work suddenly appeared from a secret place of publication with the title *Concina's Recantation*, in which Concina, repenting of his misdeeds, withdrew his accusations against the Jesuits, accused himself of wicked malignity, and unmercifully reproached himself with many infamous actions. Nobody doubted but that a Jesuit was the author of the pamphlet, which was immediately circulated through the whole city [Rome] and was eagerly read on account of its satirical wit.”†

Is it surprising that this false and treacherous spirit which pervades the manuals of moral theology and the “glorious” history of the Order should also make its way into the daily life of the Jesuit? Ever since my suspicions were aroused, in the second year of my novitiate, regarding the Order's secrecy, concealment and avoidance of the light, they never ceased to disturb me; and numerous experiences proved to me that, in the Society of Jesus, Christ's saying, “Let your communication be Yea, yea; Nay, nay,” is not observed, but that the words of the genuine Jesuit are full of secondary meanings and reservations. My mistrust of the uprightness of their words and deeds became insurmountably strong as time passed,

* *Seconde Plainte de M. Arnauld aux R. R. P. P. Jésuites*, from Arnauld, 31, 453 *et seq.*; for the evidence concerning the “false Arnauld” cf. Reusch, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens* (Munich, 1894), pp. 169-195.

† *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Döllinger, *Beiträge*, 3, 10.

especially in the case of five influential Jesuits who were my Superiors — Meschler, Nix, Ratgeb, Hövel and Pütz.

Words cannot express what a subordinate, especially one who is so absolutely dependent as a subordinate in the Jesuit Order, suffers in an atmosphere of falsehood, which surrounds him and emanates from his superiors. And this suffering was not felt by myself alone. Others, too, were oppressed by its weight. Only very rarely, and then but casually, did one of us dare to speak to another of his feelings. For both alike have the right and the duty to report everything they hear to the Superior. In the Jesuit Order, there are no friends to whom we can confide cares and mental anguish without fear of betrayal. The Constitutions of the Order have made breach of confidence a law. And yet I once heard a complaint of the untruthfulness which pervaded the Order made in a most affecting manner by a fellow-Jesuit, a dying one, it is true, who had nothing more to hope for and nothing to lose.

In 1889 or 1890, the Jesuit Niemöller died at Exaeten of consumption. I frequently visited him, and he spoke to me confidentially. Once he said to me in a hoarse, rattling voice: "Do you know what has been the hardest thing in the Order, what has caused me the severest spiritual tortures? The feeling of being surrounded by a system which is full of reservation. But we must believe that our judgment is mistaken," he added hastily, "for the Church has certainly approved the Jesuit Order with its theory and practice." I did not reply to the poor man, because the authority of the Church, to which he could still cling, had already begun to totter in my estimation. For years this "authority" had also prevented my condemnation of Jesuit untruthfulness.

One afternoon—it must have been in 1887 or 1888—

I was in the library at Exaeten. A report had spread amongst us that the neighbouring estate of Oosen, which is situated on the Maas, had been bought by the German Province of the Order as a place for recreation. Whilst I was there, the *Socius* of the Provincial Superior, the Jesuit Pütz, entered. No one could give more positive information, so I asked him if this report was founded on truth, *i.e.* whether the estate had been bought, or would be bought. He replied without hesitation, "No, what are you thinking of?" On the following day, it was announced that Oosen had been bought, and the purchase was actually legally concluded in the morning of the day, on the afternoon of which the Jesuit Pütz, who knew exactly the fact of the purchase, had so definitely denied it.

I have already mentioned the mental reservation which the Jesuit, Cardinal Franzelin, advised me to employ on taking the official oath when I entered the Prussian State service, and how deceitfully the Jesuit Superior at Blyenbeck (unfortunately I also had a share in this) kept a "magister meal" secret from my uncle, Baron Felix von Loë.

All these are small passages from daily life—I could easily multiply them—which, owing to their insignificance and frequency, show especially clearly the extent to which untruthfulness has become incorporated in the flesh and blood of the Jesuit. He no longer feels that restrictions, reservations, and the like are dishonourable, and that they offend against faith and honesty. The "classic moral theologians" of his Order teach that they are permissible; members of the Order, to whose "virtue" and "saintliness" the history of the Order calls special attention, practise "knaveries" and make use of mental reservations; why then should such teachings and examples not be followed in daily life?

2. **The End Sanctifies the Means.**—I may be mistaken, but in my view it is here we find the deepest shadows over Jesuit morality.

The oft-quoted maxim, "The end sanctifies the means," does not occur in this abrupt form in the moral and theological manuals of the Order. But its signification, *i.e.* that means in themselves bad and blameable are "sanctified," *i.e.* are permissible on account of the good ends which it is hoped to attain through them, is one of the fundamental doctrines of Jesuit morals and ethics.

It is well known that many violent disputes have raged about this maxim. The Jesuit Roh offered a reward of 1,000 florins to anyone who could point it out in the moral and theological writings of the Order. The matter was not decided. In April, 1903, the Centre deputy, Chaplain Dasbach, repeated Roh's challenge at a public meeting at Rixdorf, increasing the sum to 2,000 florins. I took Herr Dasbach at his word, published the proofs from Jesuit writings, which appeared to me convincing, in the magazine *Deutschland*,* edited by myself, and called on the challenger, Herr Dasbach, to pay the 2,000 florins. He refused. I sued him for payment at the County Court at Trèves (Dasbach's place of residence). The court pronounced that the matter was a betting transaction, and that the money could not be recovered at law. On appealing against this to the High Court of Appeal at Cologne, my case was dismissed on March 30th, 1905, on the ground that the passages brought forward from Jesuit authors did not contain the sentence, "The end sanctifies the means," either formally or materially. My counsel advised against applying for a revision at the Supreme Court of the Empire, as the facts of the case would not be discussed there, only technical errors in the previous judgments.

* July, 1903.

I have given the main points of the Cologne judgment in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*,* with my comments, and there also expressed the well-founded supposition that in essential points it was composed with the assistance of Jesuit theologians. But even this judgment contains the sentence, "Whatever we may think of the morality manifested in these cases," etc.

All the proceedings, with the quotations (Latin and German) from the writings of the leading moral theologians of the Jesuit Order, have been given in detail in my work, *Der Zweck heiligt die Mittel*, an ethical historical examination, together with an *Epilogus galeatus*,† to which I refer the reader.

I will only submit a few passages here :—

The Jesuit Becanus says :

"Is it an offence if a person advises another to do the lesser evil so that he may abstain from the greater? Or, as others put the question, is it permissible to advise the lesser evil so as to prevent the greater? In particular, may I advise Peter, who wishes to commit adultery, to commit a simple sin of unchastity, so that the adultery may be prevented? Likewise, may I advise a man who wishes to steal the whole treasure to be satisfied with a part? Some believe that it is not permissible, for we must not do evil that good may come, as the Apostle says in the Epistle to the Romans, iii. 8, or, which is the same, 'It is not permissible to make use of a bad means so as to attain a good end'; thus it is not permissible to steal money so as to give alms from it; it is not permissible to lie so as to convert some one to the Catholic Faith. Others are of the opposite opinion, as Dominicus Soto, Sylvester (Prierias), Navarrus, Adrianus, and Johannes Medina en Vasquez . . . To this is added a proof based on reason: It is permissible to advise Peter, who is determined to sin, to commit a more trivial sin without designating the object of the lesser sin. And yet the result of this advice is that, while he was previously determined

* Vol. 27, p. 339 *et seq.*

† Third Edition (Berlin, 1904), C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn.

to commit adultery, he is now advised rather to commit a simple act of unchastity. This latter point of view must be thus understood: If I saw Peter disposed and absolutely determined to commit adultery so as to satisfy his desires, and I was not able to dissuade him from his design in any other way than by advising him to commit a simple act of unchastity in place of the adultery, it would be permissible to advise the latter, not inasmuch as it is a sin, but inasmuch as it prevents the crime of adultery, which would otherwise have been committed. Augustinus also speaks in this sense when he says that both murder and adultery are sins, but, for all that, if a man be determined to commit one of the two, he should rather choose adultery than murder. I say the same of the thief or robber, who is determined to steal from Peter his whole stock of gold articles. For, if I cannot prevail on him in any other way than by the advice to be satisfied with half, it is permissible to advise him to commit the lesser theft so that he may abandon the greater. The reason is that he who advises thus does not injure Peter, but rather renders him a benefit; he contrives so that Peter retains half his possessions, which he would otherwise have lost entirely.”*

The Jesuit Castropalao says :

“Does a man commit a sinful offence if he offers another an occasion for sin or does not remove the occasion offered although he could do so? If you do not remove the opportunity for sin, with the intention that the other should sin, it is clear that you yourself sin on account of the evil intention. It remains doubtful whether you are excused from the sin, if you were prompted by some good purpose. The motive may be either that the person in question may be caught committing the sin and punished, or that he may be reformed, or that you secure yourself from harm. If you act from any of the above reasons, you do not apparently approve the sin of the other person, but permit it. But as to this we must say that if you merely permit the sin of the other so that he may be detected and punished, then you yourself sin, for there does not seem sufficient reason to justify such a permission. The

* *Opera omnia. Mogunt. 1649, Partis secundae tract, 1, c. 27, qu. 4, p. 396 et seq.*

punishment is not a worthy aim in itself, because it can only be imposed when the sin has been committed ; indeed, if you, before the sin has been committed, desire the punishment for the sin, it implies a silent consent to the sin itself. This is the opinion expressed by Medina . . . Sanchez . . . and Bonacina. They say, for instance, that guards by concealing themselves so as to extort a very heavy fine from travellers who have unlawfully passed the frontier are guilty of a deadly sin, which is very hard. But if you permit another to sin so that he may be detected and reformed, it is allowable, and it follows from what we have said when treating of admonition on the sixth point ; for the reform of the sinner, which is confidently expected, seems to be sufficient reason for permitting the commission of the sin. Besides the above-named theologians, this doctrine is held by Navarrus . . . , Navarra . . . , Valentia . . . , and Sanchez, who again cites Bonacina . . . , Molina . . . and Joh. Sanchez. . . . But the prospect of reform must be almost certain, for only then can the hope of permanent and radical improvement make up for the permission of the prospective sin. In the second place, I say that you may permit a sin so as to make your position secure. For these reasons, a married man, when he suspects his wife of adultery, or is secretly aware of it, may take witnesses with him so that he may prove the adultery and may bring about the divorce. As the husband suffers the greatest injury through the wife's adultery when he is forced to live with her, he may, to avert this wrong, and as no other practicable way of doing so is presented, except permitting the sin and confirming it by witnesses, permit it and call in witnesses. Navarra, Sanchez, Bonacina and Molina hold this view. The difficulty arises, is it permissible, for the purpose named, to offer the sinners the opportunity for the sin ? A common opinion negatives the permissibility, for this does not only entail permitting a sin, but co-operating in its perpetration, and Emmanuel Sa. . . , Sanchez . . . and Bonacina hold this view. Hence, as Bonacina and Sanchez reason, the husband is not allowed to come to terms with his wife that she may make an appointment with her lover, who seeks to violate her chastity, fixing time and place, not in order that the adultery may be committed, but in order that the latter may be caught in his wicked design. For such an agreement is

a tacit, indeed, an express consent to the proposed adultery, which is not permissible. Peter Navarra considers it permissible, however, though only in rare cases, to offer sinners an occasion for sin: It may be said as a proof of this: In the first place, an occasion for sin may be presented by a passive medium. This, for example, is the case when the father, who wishes to catch the son who is stealing, leaves the key in the money chest as if through forgetfulness, or places coins in a place where the son can easily take them and then be convicted of the theft; then, I say, the father performs an indifferent action. Sanchez and others hold the same opinion in this case. In the same way a woman does not seem to sin when she, in presence of a seducer from whose importunity she cannot defend herself, uses an ambiguous expression which the seducer takes as consent, but which is in reality no consent on her part. When she says, for instance, to the seducer: 'I agree, if you come at this time and hour, the door will be open,' the expressions are indifferent, and although they are considered by the seducer as a consent to the adultery, this is not the case. Consequently, it is allowable for her to express herself in this way, because she has a sufficient reason for the equivocation. Granted, moreover, that the expression might appear to the seducer as a consent to the adultery under given circumstances, yet it is no consent when the matter is well considered; for such an expression is frequently used, not in order that the adultery may be committed, but so that he who secretly designs it may be punished. The woman does not say, 'I agree to your carrying out your wicked design,' but only, 'I agree to your coming to-night.' These words may not only denote that he should come for adultery, but just as well that he should only come to receive his punishment, so that she may rid herself of his attentions and defend her honour. . . . Does a man commit a sinful offence who advises a person about to commit a serious sin to commit a less serious one? . . . It is certainly permissible to suggest a smaller offence to some one who is quite determined to perpetrate a serious one, so that he may be prevented from committing the greater. For example, you may urge one who wishes to commit sodomy to commit a simple unchaste act; and you may point out to one who wishes to commit a murder and then to steal, how to obtain money through usury; for by this

indication you do not directly tempt the person either to unchastity or to usury, you only point out the way in which the greater sin may be avoided, and although the way is morally wrong, you do not induce the other to follow it, but you only say that this is the way to avoid the greater sin, which is true. This is the view of Covarruvias, Cajetan, Valentia, Sanchez, Lessius and other theologians to be mentioned later. The difficulty, therefore, begins when the question is whether it is permissible expressly to advise anyone who is determined to commit a grievous sin and persuade him to commit the lesser sin, when he cannot be restrained in any other manner. The first opinion teaches that it is permissible in this case, for you do not persuade the other absolutely to commit the lesser sin, but only on the hypothesis that he wishes to commit the more serious sin. In case he wishes to commit the more serious sin, however, it is right to persuade him to be satisfied with committing the lesser sin, for by this his own cause and God's are fitly protected. Consequently you do not sin. This is what is taught by Sanchez, who cites others besides, Lessius . . . , Rebellus . . . , Molina . . . , Bonacina . . . , and Vasquez The second view teaches that it is in no case permissible to recommend the lesser sin to him who wishes to commit the greater. For the recommendation of the lesser sin is still a counsel to sin: a comparative presupposes a positive. But to advise something which is unlawful is not permissible. Moreover, free choice of the lesser sin is never permissible, even when it is made by one who is ever so determined to commit the greater sin. Consequently the advice to do this is never permissible. Advice to do something which is in itself not allowable can never be permitted. This is the view of the theologians Cajetan, Covarruvias, Sylvester, Emanuel Sa, Valentia and Conrad Summenhart. In this matter, I believe that the first point of view is correct if he who is advised to commit the lesser sin and persuaded to do so is already prepared not only to commit the greater sin, but also the lesser. For then we do not advise the commission of the lesser evil, but the omission of the greater; also, we do not determine the sinner to commit the lesser sin, but rather deter him from the perpetration of the greater. This is clear from the following example: Peter is determined to kill Francis in order to rob him; he wishes to commit the murder,

and you persuade him to be satisfied with wounding. In giving this advice you wrong no one: you do not injure Peter, because you take care that his soul is not stained with so many crimes; nor yet Francis, because you manage his business advantageously. It follows from this that you are allowed not only to advise Peter in this case to commit the theft, but also to help materially in the act, because you do not help in an act which is not permissible in itself and wicked, but which is rather good and honest so far as you are concerned, being committed with the tacit and assumed consent of the owner of the property who, it is supposed, in order to escape death, has given you permission to aid in the theft, so that his death is prevented by this assistance. This is the view of Sanchez, Bonacina and Vasquez.”*

The Jesuit Voit says:

“In regard to the knotty question whether it is a sinful offence to recommend a lesser sin to one who would otherwise certainly commit a greater, Valentia and Sa reply that it is not permissible, for even the smaller sin remains a sin, consequently to advise it always remains something bad in itself; Laymann, Dicastillo and others reply with a distinction. If the lesser evil is comprised in the greater, and the greater evil cannot be prevented otherwise, it is permissible to advise the lesser evil, because then the lesser sin is not advised and suggested, but it is only intended that he who is determined to commit the greater sin shall abstain from committing a part of it. It is not permissible, however, to advise the lesser evil when it is by no means contained in the greater evil—for example, to advise one who is determined to commit a murder to get drunk—for that means to cause him to commit a sin which he had by no means intended to commit. In the former case, that evil is not directly advised, but it is chosen as a means for preventing the greater evil. Sanchez and other weighty theologians declare it to be permissible to recommend the lesser evil, although it is not contained in the greater, because then also the evil is not recommended as such, but only as a means of hindering the greater evil. . . . He who does not remove the occasion for sin [though

* *Opera moralis pars prima*, tom. 1, pp. 476-478. Ed. Lugd., 1669.

it is in his power] to the end that the person should be detected, amend and repent, does not sin, because this action is not designed to lead into sin, but to permit a sin as a means for the prevention of many sins." *

It follows from these passages :

1. That the recommending of a lesser sin, the presenting of an opportunity and the inducement to commit it, is morally permissible if it is done in order to prevent a greater sin. 2. That the prevention of the greater sin is clearly and distinctly designated as a "good end." 3. That as the recommendation to sin, no matter how small it may be, is in itself bad, Jesuit morality sets up the principle that a "means" in itself bad (advising, presenting of an opportunity for the lesser sin) is morally permissible, and is "sanctified" by the "good end" (prevention of the greater sin).

That this is the substance of the above moral and theological principles cannot be contraverted by any subtleties. On the contrary, the subtleties which the Jesuit Becanus, etc., employ to veil this result, make it even clearer to every person endowed with healthy judgment. And it is just these subtleties which show in an unparalleled way the unhealthiness of Jesuit moral feeling, and justify my assertion that the darkest shadows in Jesuit morality are here to be found.

3. **Tyrannicide.**—Juan Mariana, a celebrated Jesuit and an "ornament" of his Order, has defined with unprecedented candour and minuteness of detail the doctrine of the lawfulness of the murder of princes (not only tyrants) in his book *Concerning the King and his Education (De rege et regis institutione)*, published in 1599 at Toledo. The

* *Theolog. moral.* Edit. Lugdun, 1850, I., 402, 406.

book bears the imprimatur of the Order, dated "Madrid, December 2nd, 1598":

"I, Stephan Hojeda, Visitor of the Society of Jesus for the Province of Toledo, give, under the power of special authority from our General, Claudius Acquaviva, permission that the three books, *Concerning the King and his Education*, written by Father John Mariana, of the same Society, may be published, because they have been previously sanctioned by learned and distinguished men of our Order."*

The sixth chapter of the first book says:

"A noble monument has been recently erected in France which shows how important it is that the people should be pacified. . . . Henry III., King of France, lies there murdered by the hand of a monk, and the charm of the knife has been thrust into his entrails. This is an ugly but memorable spectacle calculated to teach princes [*'principes,'* not *'tyrannos'*] that godless, hazardous enterprises do not remain unpunished. . . . Jacques Clément . . . studied theology at the college of his Order, the Dominican. When he, in answer to his question, had been told by the theologians that a tyrant could justly be killed . . . he went into the camp on July 31st, 1589. . . . On August 1st, which is dedicated to the chains of the Apostle Peter, after reading Mass (*sacris operatus*), he obeyed the summons of the King, who was out of bed but not

* The approval of Mariana's doctrine by the censorship of the Order has caused so much annoyance to the Jesuits that they keep it as secret as possible. Thus, for example, the Jesuit Cathrein, a learned luminary of the German Province, specially emphasises the official approval of Mariana's book, but suppresses its approval by the Jesuit Order (*Moralphilosophie*, II. (4), 871 (Freiburg, 1904)). Here is a still more significant circumstance. When I wrote the work *Warum sollen die Jesuiten nicht nach Deutschland zurück?* in 1891, under compulsion of obedience to the Order (as I shall presently show), I mentioned the imprimatur of the Order in discussing Mariana's book. The Jesuit Ratgeb, at that time Provincial, requested me to omit this passage: "Why should we," was the gist of his comment, "put weapons into our enemies' hands?" Reusch charged me with the sin of omission in the *Deutscher Merkur*, and only then did the Jesuit Ratgeb consent to the reinsertion of the passage—i.e. the mention of the Order's imprimatur—in the second edition of my work, on the ground that the fact had now been made known and it would no longer be advantageous to suppress it.

completely dressed. During a conversation, he drew nearer to the King, apparently to present a letter, and inflicted a deep wound in the vicinity of the bladder with a knife hidden under medicinal herbs. What magnificent presence of mind! what a glorious action! . . . The courtiers who rushed in covered him [the monk] with wounds. . . . He [the monk] bought the liberty of his country and nation with his blood; he rejoiced exceedingly in spite of blows and wounds. He won a great name through the murder of the King. . . . Thus died Clément, France's everlasting glory, as most people believe. . . . Opinions differ as to the monk's act. Whilst many praise him and consider him worthy of eternal renown, others, distinguished by discretion and learning, blame him: It is not permissible, they say, for any man on his own authority . . . to kill a king deposed by the nation. . . . And they confirm this with many proofs and examples. . . . This is what those teach who espouse the cause of the tyrant. But those who espouse the people's cause can bring forward as many and as weighty proofs. It is certain that a king may, if the circumstances require it, be cited before their tribunal by the community from which he derives his kingly authority, and, if he scornfully rejects the remedy, may be divested of his princely rank. . . . We also see that, from ancient times, those who have murdered tyrants are held in honour. . . . I observe that philosophers and theologians agree as to the fact that a prince who has taken possession of a state by arms and violence, without right and without the consent of the nation, may be deprived of life and power by anybody (*a quocunque*). As he is an open enemy and wrongfully oppresses the country and has the nature and name of a tyrant in truth and reality, he may be removed by any means (*amoveatur quocunque ratione*) and be deprived of the power of which he has forcibly possessed himself. . . . When a prince enjoys his power by consent of the people, or by inheritance, his oppressions and whims must be borne as long as he chooses to infringe those laws of honour and morality to which he is bound as a person. For princes must not be changed lightly. . . . But if he brings ruin on the state . . . this must not be overlooked in silence. But first the method of deposing such a prince must be carefully considered. . . . The most practicable and safest method seems to

be to authorise the public assembly to determine in general conference what is to be done. . . . If the prince then amends, I consider that he must again be reinstated and stronger measures need not be adopted. If he refuses the remedy, however . . . it is permissible to deprive him of his power after judgment has been passed upon him. . . . And if the state cannot defend itself in any other way, it is permissible, according to the law of self-defence and on a man's own authority, to kill the prince, who has been declared an open enemy, with the sword (*ferro perimere*). And this authority is possessed by every private individual who seeks to aid the state, abandoning all hope of impunity, at the risk of his own salvation. You ask what is to be done when the authority of the public assembly [of the Estates] has been suspended, as may frequently occur. In my opinion, the matter remains the same . . . and he who, in accordance with public wishes, tries to kill the prince has, in my opinion, not acted wrongly. This is adequately confirmed by the evidence which I have already brought forward against the tyrants. Consequently it is only the question of fact (*questio facti*) which is disputable, *i.e.* who should be regarded as a tyrant; the question of justice (*questio juris*) is clear that a tyrant may be killed. . . . It is well for princes to consider that, if they oppress the State and become unbearable through their vices and moral infamies, their life hangs in the balance, and that it is not only lawful to kill them, but even honourable and glorious: . . . If all hope [of the prince's reformation] has disappeared, and if the State and the sacredness of religion are in danger, who is so devoid of wisdom that he cannot acknowledge that it is right to shake off tyranny by means of the law and by weapons? . . . This is my opinion founded on sincere conviction, and since, being human, I may be mistaken, I shall be thankful if anyone can advance anything better. I close the discussion with the words of the tribune, Flavius, who, convicted of participation in the conspiracy against Nero, and asked why he had forgotten his oath, replied, 'No soldier was more faithful than I at the time when you deserved to be loved. I began to hate you when you became a matricide, wife-murderer, racer and incendiary.' A soldierly and brave spirit!"*

* *De rege et regis institutione*, pp. 65-80.

In Chapter 7 Mariana asks the question, "Is it permissible to kill a tyrant by poison?" He writes:

"It is a glorious thing to exterminate the whole of this pestilential and pernicious race [of tyrants] from the community of mankind. Limbs, too, are cut off when they are corrupt, that they may not infect the remainder of the body; and likewise this bestial cruelty in human shape must be separated from the State and cut off by the sword. . . . The question is only whether a public enemy and tyrant may also be killed by poison and deadly plants. This question was addressed to me a few years ago by a prince in Sicily when I was teaching theology there. . . . In my opinion, it is not permissible to mix either an injurious medium or poison in food or drink. But there is one reservation [killing by means of poison is permissible]: if the person to be killed is not obliged to drink the poison, but the poison is applied from outside without the co-operation of [the person to be killed]. Thus, for example, if the poison is so virulent that a chair or dress besmeared with it has the power to kill."*

Consequently Mariana has not only "tyrants, usurpers" in his mind, as is asserted by Jesuits, but also legitimate princes (*principes*) who rule "tyrannically."

The attitude of the Order towards Mariana's teaching is extremely instructive.

The approval of his doctrine by the censorship of the Order, based on an examination by "learned and important" theologians, has already been mentioned. Only seven years after the publication of the book does General Acquaviva seem to have found fault with the contents in a letter to the French Province of the Order. But the censure is made in such a general manner and without mentioning any name, that it cannot positively be shown to be directed against Mariana.

* *Ibid.*, pp. 81-85. The Jesuit Cathrein had the audacity to write opposite these plain words of Mariana's, "But only by open violence [may a tyrant be killed, according to Mariana], not by poisoning, as Mariana emphatically adds later" (*Moralphilosophie*, II. (4), 672 (1)).

Again and again I must repeat that the Jesuits rely on the blind credulity of their readers. And, indeed, how easy it would have been for the General of the Order, if he had really wished to condemn and censure Mariana's teaching, to have expressed his condemnation and censure in an effective manner, and checked the further circulation of the book.

Instead of this, a reprint of Mariana's book was issued at Mayence (*typis Balthasaris Lipii, impensis haeredum Andreae Wechelii*) in 1605. And it cannot be doubted that this was published with at least the tacit consent of the Jesuits, who were then almost omnipotent at Mayence. Indeed, the omission of Mariana's most disgraceful words regarding the murderer of Henry III. ("France's eternal glory"), an omission which, as Reusch pertinently indicates, "would scarcely have been suggested by the Protestant publisher,"* renders the conclusion as to the co-operation of the Jesuits in the new edition almost inevitable. Even the Jesuit Duhr admits that it may be "possible that the changes in the Mayence edition are due to a Jesuit."†

Consequently the words of Isaac Casaubon, addressed as far back as 1611 to the Jesuit Fronton Le Duc, remain unanswered and unanswerable :

" . . . Wechel's Successors are merchants, and do not pretend to any literary knowledge. They were informed by a Jesuit of high standing that Mariana's book, printed at Toledo and approved, was to be issued in a complete edition for the public weal. They were not expected to do anything except defray the cost of printing ; they were not to trouble about anything else, because the book was to be published at Mayence by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. They did as they were bidden. Wechel's Successors

* *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens* (Munich, 1894), p. 7.

† *Jesuitenfabeln* (4), p. 739.¶

supplied the money, as requested, and the Jesuits managed everything else."*

The murder of Henry IV. by Ravallac followed on May 14th, 1610. A storm of indignation arose in France against Mariana's doctrine, the Parisian Sorbonne had his book burnt by the public executioner, and only then did the Order, in the person of its General, Acquaviva, oppose the doctrine. But even this opposition which, as circumstances show, was due solely to opportune reasons, presents so much that is characteristic of the Jesuits that we are justified in doubting whether it was meant seriously.

In the first place, Acquaviva issued a letter on July 6th, 1610, which threatened with the most severe punishment all those belonging to the Order who defended the permissibility of tyrannicide. (Here, too, Mariana is not named.) It is a striking fact that this threat was not sent to Spain, where naturally the greatest impression had been made for the previous twelve years by Mariana's book, nor yet to the remaining Provinces of the Order, but only to France, obviously to appease the bitter anger which prevailed there against the Order owing to the murder of the King. On August 14th, 1610, Acquaviva wrote to the remaining Provinces of the Order in a different key and without the threat of punishment.†

Meanwhile, the indignation against the Jesuits caused by Mariana's teaching continued to increase, and troubles of every kind came upon the Order from every side. Finally, Acquaviva caused a third letter, dated August 1st, 1614, four years after his first letter, to be sent to all the Provinces, repeating the threat of punishment contained in the first letter, which had only been sent to Paris.‡

* *Casauboni Epistolae*, Edit. 2 (Magdeburg, 1666), p. 728 *et seq.*

† *Monumenta Germ. paed.*, 9, 48 (3).

‡ *Ibid.*, 9, 47.

This threat was then also inserted in the Constitutions of the Order :*

“ In virtue of holy obedience, under pain of excommunication, ineligibility to hold any office, privation of ecclesiastical office and other punishments at the will of the General, it is commanded that no person belonging to our Society shall presume to assert publicly or privately, in lectures or in counsels, and still less in books, that any person (*cuique personae*) is permitted under any pretext of tyranny (*quocumque praetextu tyrannidis*) to kill kings or princes, or to contrive their death : *praecipitur . . . , ne quis . . . affirmare praesumat, licitum esse cuique personae, quocumque praetextu tyrannidis, Reges aut Principes occidere, seu mortem eis machinari.*”

But this “ severe ” decree is probably the most cunning piece of deception which has ever been published officially concerning an important matter. For under the prohibition accompanied by the heaviest punishments, “ that it is not permitted to any person under any pretext of tyranny to kill kings or princes,” is concealed the permission that certain persons, under certain pretexts of tyranny or in face of “ real ” tyranny, are allowed to do so. In addition the perfect tense *licitum esse*, instead of the present *licere*, should perhaps be rendered “ has been permitted,” in which case it is possible that the whole decree, together with its punishments, only refers to the past, so that a prohibition of the doctrine of tyrannicide for the present and future is not contained in the decree.

Thus the opposition of the Order to Mariana closed with a piece of real Jesuitical equivocation. Where clearness and exactitude of expression were necessary and easy, after fifteen years of vacillation, words were chosen which do not absolutely exclude the permissibility of

* *Inst. S.J. Censurae et praecepta hominibus Societatis imposita* (Edit. Romae, 1870), II., 51.

tyrannicide in certain circumstances (e.g. in cases of "real" tyranny) for the present and future.*

The following facts also throw a curious light on the subject of Jesuits and tyrannicide.

When, after the attempt by John Chatel, a pupil of the Jesuits at Clermont, to murder Henry IV. of France, on December 27th, 1594, a domiciliary visit was made to the Jesuit college of that place, such incriminating documents were found in the possession of the Jesuit Guignard that he was put on his trial and was hanged on January 7th, 1595. The Jesuit Prat, the historiographer of the Order for the period between 1564-1626, can find nothing to bring forward in defence of his fellow-member † but: "*Les auteurs du temps s'accordent si peu sur la nature de ces pièces qu'il n'est pas possible de la conclure de leurs récits.*" He was obliged to admit, however: "*Il est cependant probable que le P. Guignard, en qualité de bibliothécaire (!), avait la collection des écrits de toute sorte qui avaient été publiés sur le meurtre de Guise, sur le crime de Jacques Clément [the murderer of Henry III. extolled by the Jesuit Mariana].*"

* The Jesuits try to reason away the offensive wording of the threat. The means adopted for this purpose are not very skilful. They assert that (see Duhr, S.J., *Jesuitenfabeln* (4), p. 741 (3)) not *cuique personae*, but *cuiunque personae* stood in the original text of the decree, and that *cuique* is a "printer's error." But this "printer's error" is to be found in two editions of the Constitutions officially published by the Jesuits themselves and declared to be "authentic," namely, the Prague edition (1757, II., 5) and the Roman (1870, II., 51). According to Duhr, it is true, the word used in the newest edition of the Constitutions of 1893 is *cuiunque*. The Order refused to let me look at this edition, which cannot be obtained through booksellers. But even if the statement about the remarkable "printer's error" is correct, this does not alter the sense of the passage in question. Whether we should read *cuique* or *cuiunque personae*, in both cases the translation is, "Any person has been permitted," etc. The ambiguity consequently remains. The Jesuits Prat, Schneemann, Duhr and Reichmann do their best to place the attitude of the Order towards Mariana in a better light by means of all kinds of "historical data." Reusch puts aside these efforts with the remark, "The data here collected may be shown as partly false, partly inaccurate, and partly undemonstrable" (*Beiträge*, p. 9), and proves his verdict.

† *Recherches*, etc. (Lyons, 1876), I., 1888.

Paolo Sarpi states* that, after the murder of Henry IV., a Jesuit had extolled this deed as meritorious from a pulpit in Prague. And Sarpi adds the characteristic words: "Even if the French Jesuits deny that they approve of the doctrine [Mariana's], I do not believe them, even if they swear it; they try to deceive God by some equivocation, mental subterfuge, or silent reservation."

A "memorandum," dated April 1st, 1606, signed by the Governor of the Tower, Sir William Waad, and by two other witnesses (W. Lane and J. Locherson), reports concerning the Jesuit Garnet, who was confined in the Tower owing to his participation in the Gunpowder Plot: "Garnet doth affirm, that if any man hath or should undertake to kill His Majesty, that he is not bound to confess it, though he be brought and examined before a lawful magistrate, unless there is proof to convince him." †

It is certain from the testimony of the Duke of Aveiro and the Counts of Atougouia and Tavora (all three of whom were executed as accomplices) that the Jesuits, especially the Jesuit Malagrida, by instigation and advice, had a share in the attempted murder of King Joseph of Portugal (September 3rd, 1758). Amongst the papers belonging to the Jesuit Malagrida, one was found addressed to the Lady-in-Waiting, Anna de Loreña, and sent back by her to the writer, in which, months before the perpetration of the act, reference is made to it. ‡

Nor was Mariana's doctrine without influence on the Jesuit education of the young. In 1760, the Jesuit Longbois made his pupils compose an essay which bore

* Letter dated June 22nd, 1610, to Leschasser, *Le Bret, Magazin*, 2, 318.

† Jardine, *A Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot* (London, 1857), p. 238 (1).

‡ Heeren und Ukert, *Geschichte der europäischen Staaten*: Schäfer, *Geschichte von Portugal* (Gotha, 1854), V., 281 et seq.

the heading, "Brutus encourages himself to murder Cæsar," in which the sentence occurred, "Shall I kill Cæsar? He is the Emperor . . . yet a tyrant: *Brutus ad caedem Caesaris se hortatur. Caesarem interficiam? Est imperator . . . sed tyrannus.*"*

* Reusch, *Beiträge*, p. 57.

CHAPTER XXV

JESUIT MORALITY AND THE STATE

THE Jesuits, though not the authors, are the most energetic champions and propagators of the doctrine of the indirect supremacy of the Church (Papacy) over the State.

Since the two greatest theologians of the Jesuit Order, Bellarmin and Suarez, reduced this doctrine, inclusive of the right of the Pope to depose princes, to a properly articulated system, it has been a *rocher de bronze* of Ultramontane Catholic dogmatics and canon law, until at length the Syllabus of December 8th, 1864, and the Encyclicals of Leo XIII. and Pius X. raised it from the sphere of theological opinions to the height of a dogmatically established doctrine.* And this promotion is the work of the Jesuit Order.

No matter what dogmatic, canonical or moral-theological books by Jesuits we open, we encounter in all the indirect power of the Church over the State. The subject is so important that I will cite numerous proofs. I will begin with the present General of the Jesuit Order, Francis Xavier Wernz, a German from Würtemberg:†

“The State is subject to the jurisdiction of the Church, in virtue of which the civil authority is really subordinate to the ecclesiastical and bound to obedience. This subordination is indirect,

* Cf. my book, *Rom und das Zentrum* (Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel), p. 16 *et seq.*

† *Jus Decretalium* (Romae), 1898-1901.

but not merely negative, since the civil power cannot do anything even within its own sphere which, according to the opinion of the Church, would damage the latter, but rather positive, so that, at the command of the Church, the State must contribute towards the advantage and benefit of the Church.”*

“Boniface VIII. pointed out for all time the correct relation between Church and State in his Constitution *Unam sanctam*, of November 18th, 1302, the last sentence of which [that every person must be subject to the Roman Pope] contains a dogmatic definition [a dogma].† The legislative power of the Church extends to everything that is necessary for the suitable attainment of the Church’s aims. A dispute which may arise as to the extent of the ecclesiastical legislative authority is not settled only by a mutual agreement between Church and State, but by the infallible declaration or command of the highest ecclesiastical authority.”‡

“From what has been said [namely, that the Pope may only make temporal laws in the Papal States], it by no means follows that the Roman Pope cannot declare civil laws, which are contrary to Divine and canonical right, to be null and void.§ The theory, which calls the Concordats Papal privileges, whilst denying the co-ordination of State and Church, assumes the certain and undoubted doctrine that the State is indirectly subject to the Church. This opinion is based on the Catholic doctrine of the Pope’s irrevocable omnipotence, in virtue of Divine right, the valid application of which cannot be confined or restricted by any kind of compact.”||

“As it not infrequently occurs that, in spite of attempted friendly settlement, the dispute [between Church and State] continues, it is the duty of the Church authentically to explain the point of dispute. The State must submit to this judgment.”¶

“The most celebrated pronouncements of Pius IX. are the encyclical *Quanta cura* and the Syllabus of December 8th, 1864. There is no doubt that the encyclical *Quanta cura* is an *ex cathedra* pronouncement of the Pope, and is thus infallible. But the Syllabus can also rightly be named a definition *ex cathedra*, although the certainty as to this is less clear than in the case of the encyclical

* *Jus Decretalium*, 15 et seq.

§ *Ibid.*, 147.

† *Ibid.*, 29.

|| *Ibid.*, 216.

‡ *Ibid.*, 105.

¶ *Ibid.*, 223.

Quanta cura. Since, however, both documents have received the assent of the bishops, they have both become the certain and infallible rule of conduct.”*

The central organ of the Jesuit Order, the *Civiltà cattolica*, published for more than fifty years at Rome,† says :

“ The aim of the civil community or of the State is exclusively temporal happiness. But this is subordinate, in the human being who has an immortal soul, to eternal happiness, to which the Church and the Church alone can lead. In the case of a human being who is both a Christian and a citizen of the State, the duty to obey the Church stands higher than the duty to obey the State, for God must be obeyed rather than man. Consequently the authority of the State is subordinate to the authority of the Church. But the subordination of the State to the Church is not only commanded by reason. This is also the general teaching of the Fathers, and Doctors of the Church [the *consensus theologorum*]. . . . Finally, Pope Boniface VIII. expressly teaches in his dogmatic bull *Unam sanctam*, in which he compares the two powers with the two swords mentioned in the Gospel, that the temporal power must be subordinated to the ecclesiastical. . . . That which apparently belongs to the domain of the State, such as purely civil and political affairs, is completely assured against all danger of encroachment on the part of the ecclesiastical authority. It is true that the line of demarcation cannot always be clearly discerned at the points of contact. But even here a dispute between State

* *Jus Decretalium*, 354 *et seq.* It is very remarkable that the leading Centre organ, the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* (*Literarische Beilage*, 1901, No. 52, p. 399 *et seq.*), bestows great praise on the work of Wernz, calling “ its programmatic statements [and the statements given as illustrations are doubtless ‘ programmatic ’] modern in the best sense of the word.”

† The *Civiltà cattolica* is the recognised mouthpiece of the Vatican. Pius IX. gave it this character in a brief of February 12th, 1866, so that the *Civiltà cattolica* could write of itself, “ We are not, it is true, the originators of Papal thoughts, and it is not according to our inspirations that Pius IX. speaks and acts, but we certainly are the faithful echo of the Roman See ” (Supplement to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* for November 19th and 20th, 1869). Leo XIII. and Pius X. stood and stand in closest relation to the *Civiltà cattolica*.

and Church is not permissible. For, since the former is subordinate to the latter, the Church must always settle the dispute which has arisen after courteous remonstrances and reasonable discussions, and the State has no more right to oppose its decision than a lower court of justice to resist the decision of a higher. . . . The Christian principles as regards the relation of the Church to the State are contained in the saying of Thomas Aquinas, 'The temporal power is subjected to the spiritual as is the body to the soul; and consequently it is no usurpation when a spiritual superior interferes in temporal affairs. A distinction must be made here between three kinds of concerns. In the first place, the purely spiritual, such as public worship, the administration of the Sacraments and the preaching of the Word of God; these, of course, stand exclusively under ecclesiastical authority. Secondly, the mixed concerns, as, for example, marriage, burial and charitable institutions; these stand under the power of both, but so that the ecclesiastical authority occupies the higher place and intervenes directly in order to amend and annul anything which the civil laws may have ordained in these matters in opposition to the Divine or canonical laws. Finally, the purely temporal concerns, such as the army, taxes and the civil laws. Although these stand directly only under the civil power, they may indirectly [*ratione peccati*] also fall under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction if, for instance, the laws connected with them promote immorality, or are in any way injurious to the spiritual welfare of the nation. In this case, the laws issued by the civil power may and must be revised by ecclesiastical authority, and rendered void. For it is the duty of the ecclesiastical authority to prevent public sins and to remove the obstacles in the way of eternal salvation. . . . Catholicism asserts the necessity of that harmony which follows from the subjection of the State to the Church. . . . No distinction must be drawn between individuals and the State; both have the same duty: the ruler does not live for himself, but for those whom he rules. Consequently, he must so arrange his business that it is in accordance with the necessities and the prosperity of his subjects, and does not hinder but promote the fulfilment of their duties and the attainment of the aim which they have as human beings. If, then, their needs and welfare and the voice of duty necessitate

submission and obedience to the Church, the ruler cannot overlook this in the arrangement and guidance of the social life of his subjects. Obviously this holds good in every State, even though the ruler should be heterodox; how much more so where he is a Catholic!

“The Church is a real kingdom, the kingdom of God on earth, of which Christ is the invisible and the Pope the visible monarch. . . . It is the duty of every person to be a subject of this kingdom. . . . Every person baptised is, consequently, more subject to the Pope than to any earthly ruler. . . .

“The Church is not subordinate to the State, but the State is subordinate to the Church. . . . Hence it may amend and annul the civil laws and the temporal decisions of the courts if they are contrary to spiritual welfare; it may check the abuse of the executive power and of armed force, or command the use of the same when it is necessary for the defence of Christian religion. The tribunal of the Church is higher than the civil; the higher tribunal may revise the affairs of the lower, but, on the other hand, the lower cannot in any way revise the affairs of the higher.”*

The doctrines of the “German” Jesuits of the present time are of special interest. Those of the German General of the Order have been given already, and I will add the opinions of others to his.

The Jesuit von Hammerstein writes: †

“Some superiority of the Church over the State is consequently indisputable; on the other hand, any supremacy of the State over the Church is but an illegal usurpation. But of what nature is that hegemony of the Church? How far does it extend? By what standard is it measured? We reply: The Church has the right, even where statesmen are concerned, ‘to bind and to loose all things,’ as far as the mission of the Church regards such a ‘binding and loosing’ as desirable after judicious consideration of the circumstances; *i.e.* all spiritual affairs of States are directly subordinate to the Church, and all temporal indirectly so far as

* Ser. 7, Vol. 5, pp. 139, 148, 276, 280, 647; Vol. 6, p. 19; Ser. 6, Vol. 7, p. 27; Ser. 7, Vol. 6, pp. 291, 301.

† *Kirche und Staat*, Freiburg, 1883.

they are affected by the direct mission of the Church.* . . . The system which we acknowledge touching the fundamental conception of the Christian and social structure is consequently that of the indirect power of the Church in temporal matters. We not only maintain that this is the more correct view, but simply the correct and only true one.† . . . The Church need not concern itself with temporal matters, but with the incorporation of the temporal (as of the subordinate and individual) into the spiritual. For incorporation is necessary, and no other kind than this is valid.‡ . . . We may thus sum up the entire dominion of the Church (the outer as well as the inner): The Church stands above the State, directly in spiritual, indirectly in temporal or, more accurately, in mixed affairs, *i.e.* in such as, besides their temporal character, have also a sufficient spiritual bearing as far as this extends.§ . . . In virtue of its teaching office the Church possesses the power in case of necessity to define the boundaries between Church and State, for it lies directly within its province to establish the plenary power specially conferred on it by revelation and to instruct the nations on the subject. By this means, however, the task is also indirectly imposed of defining the limits of the political jurisdiction. Not only the relation between Church and State, but also the relations of States to one another and to their dependents are subject to the doctrinal judgment of the Church.|| . . . If a State thinks it ought to wage war against its neighbour, it is a peremptory demand of the conscience that it should previously remove any doubt as to the legitimacy and permissibility of the war in some way or other, and if the subjects desire or are compelled to take part in the war they must likewise be clear as to the permissibility of their course of action. If they cannot themselves remove the doubt, it is the duty of the parties concerned to apply for enlightenment to that authority [the Papacy] which Christ has established for the religious instruction of nations.¶ . . . The priests are bound to observe the civil laws so far as they do not contradict the holy canons or are not incompatible with the sanctity of their spiritual status. But they are not subject to the civil laws *quoad vim coactivam*, because they cannot be cited before the temporal but only before the ecclesiastical tribunal for the violation of these laws. Priests can

* P. 117. † P. 120. ‡ P. 123. § P. 125. || P. 133 ¶ P. 134.

only be punished by a temporal judge if the Church hands them over to the temporal arm for some just cause.”*

The Jesuit Laurentius writes :

“ The rights of the Church with regard to the State, as at present claimed by the Church, are contained in the scheme of the Vatican Council concerning the Church. . . . What was proposed there corresponds well with the teaching of the indirect authority (*cum doctrina de potestate indirecta bene conveniunt*). After rejecting the false doctrine concerning the origin and nature of the civil authority, the scheme sets up the Catholic doctrine concerning the civil authority. It teaches that . . . the judgment concerning the rule of conduct in as far as it is possible to determine questions of morality, permissibility or unlawfulness, belongs, even as regards the State and public affairs, to the highest teaching office of the Church.”†

The next quotation is from the Jesuit Lehmkuhl. I have already spoken of Lehmkuhl’s importance as a moral-theological authority. Lehmkuhl and his teachings have, however, also a political significance. For it is an interesting fact that, in discussing and voting on the civil code, the Centre Party was guided by the directions of the Jesuit Lehmkuhl; and there seems no reason why it should not again apply to Lehmkuhl as its adviser in other cases also.‡

* P. 141.

† *Institut. juris ecclesiastici* (Freiburg, 1903), p. 643, 644.

‡ Hermann Oncken published in his book, *Rudolf von Bennigsen* (Munich, 1909), a letter by the leader of the Centre party, Karl Bachem, addressed to Bennigsen on July 6th, 1896, in which Bachem states that in the “ Compromise ” which the Centre had arranged with the other parties with reference to the civil code, the collaboration “ of the German Jesuits, especially of their most prominent authority, P. Lehmkuhl, was of the first importance. In the other discussions, too, concerning the marriage law,” Bachem relates further, “ we have always enjoyed the disinterested advice of the Jesuits, and if we have succeeded in finding a way enabling the Centre in the final vote to approve the great national work . . . the Jesuits have done outstanding service to our side.” Bachem demands as compensation, because “ the Jesuits, in an extremely important matter, have

In a commentary on the civil code,* Lehmkuhl minutely criticises Germany's most important code of laws from the point of view of the Divine and ecclesiastical law, and declares there are many things in it which, from the standpoint of the Church's supremacy over the State, must be rejected.

“ Because civil law and the natural and ecclesiastical law clash on several points, the Catholic cannot conscientiously avail himself of all the rights which the civil code confers on the citizens of the State; the spiritual director and confessor must in certain circumstances impose a duty which the civil code does not set up.”†

This mobilisation of the forces of the spiritual directors and Catholic lawyers (for we must not forget the Union of Catholic lawyers) against the civil code has spread far and wide, for even in 1900 Lehmkuhl's *Commentary* had reached its fifth edition.‡

Lehmkuhl writes in his *Moral Theology* :

“ It is evident that an oath taken in accordance with the civil law and constitution can never be binding with reference to laws which are contrary to the Divine or ecclesiastical law. Indeed, if there is a controversy between the State and Church at the time when the oath is required and civil laws are issued or emphasised which are directed against God and the Church, it is not permissible to swear except with reservation and the omission of these laws. But if these [anti-ecclesiastical] laws are, as it were, buried in the codes, although they have not been expressly pronounced invalid

again so brilliantly proved their patriotic attitude,” Bennigsen's assistance in the matter of the suspension of the entire Jesuit law, which Bennigsen refused, Germany consequently owes its civil code “ in the first instance ” to the Jesuits, and especially to the Jesuit Lehmkuhl.

* *Das Bürgerliche Gesetzbuch des Deutschen Reichs nebst Einführungsgesetz*, Freiburg, 1900.

† *Ibid.*, *Vorwort*, p. vii.

‡ Further information as to Lehmkuhl's verdict is to be found in my book, *Moderner Staat und Römische Kirche* (Berlin : C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1906) pp. 80-88.

by the State, it is not then necessary to add such a protest expressly, as the person who takes the oath, must reasonably so understand the sense of the oath that it only applies to valid laws. Kenrick and Sabetti [Jesuits] teach the same for America. The same may be said about every oath of allegiance and the military oath; they must also be understood in like manner in ordinary circumstances. Consequently, if a soldier is commanded to do something which is so obviously wrong as to require him to refuse obedience, or if he, through his officer's fault, is exposed to spiritual dangers, it would be better to desert from military service than be exposed to such immediate occasion for sin; the obligation of his oath need not prevent him from being permitted or, under some circumstances, even compelled to leave the colours. Indeed, if anyone is forced to become a soldier [*e.g.* in all States where conscription prevails], it must be considered whether the compulsion were just, or whether the oath be invalid owing to unjust compulsion, or whether it involved an important reason for mental restriction or dissimulation in swearing. . . . The obligation of the oath [*i.e.* of any oath] can be directly removed by the ecclesiastical authority, namely, by the power of the Pope and the bishops, or by others legally delegated in accordance with the will of the Pope."*

But the strongest incitement to the disregarding of civil laws is afforded by the Jesuit Lehmkuhl in his *Conscience Cases*: †

"The priest Remigius, who had been banished from his native land by laws relating to ecclesiastical policy, nevertheless frequently returns in disguise, even for pleasure, exercises spiritual functions and rejoices over the fact that he breaks the laws with impunity. When the functionary Paul, a pious Catholic, hears this, he takes no action, but he is scandalised at the fact that Remigius does not observe the laws issued by the legitimate power, and begs him,

* *Theologia moralis*, I., n. 411, 421, 423, 6 Edit. Friburgi, 1890.

† Moral theology calls imaginary occurrences, which it uses as foundations for the instruction of confessors, "conscience cases" (*casus conscientiae*). The "Conscience Cases" of the Jesuits Gury and Lehmkuhl are best known and most widely circulated.

through a friend, to discontinue such proceedings in future in order that he may not be obliged, should Remigius be denounced to him, to punish him according to his office and conscience. Remigius sends him a jesting reply to the effect that he fears neither laws nor fines; if a fine should be imposed upon him, he has a key at his disposal with which he could open Paul's money chest so as to take from him the money to pay it; if he should be condemned to imprisonment, he has arms and weapons with which he could defend himself. The questions are: 1. How must these laws and penalties be judged? 2. Did Remigius act rightly, or was Paul right to take offence? 3. May Remigius carry out in earnest what he has threatened in jest?

"I reply to the first question that it does not follow that because such laws have been issued by the legislative power they are proper laws. Else we must also call the edicts issued by Diocletian against the Christians proper laws. It has been stated above that, according to the doctrine of St. Thomas Aquinas, it is essential to the existence and comprehension of a law that it should be a reasonable regulation, issued by those who are devoted to the care of the community, and that it must be promulgated. If only one of these conditions is lacking, it is no law; in case of uncertainty the presumption is in favour of the legitimate legislator. Now in the case of these laws, most of these conditions, not one alone, are lacking. They are in truth and reality not reasonable regulations because, for numerous reasons, they are not just, because they violate the superior right of the Church, the right of the priest and the right of the Catholic nation; indeed, they may perhaps even attempt to urge the priest to commit a dishonourable and forbidden action. They do not proceed from a person who is devoted to the care of the community, consequently not from the legitimate authority. For care for religious matters and for the religious community is not incumbent on the State. Consequently the authority has even less legitimacy than if the French Government wished to make laws for the German Empire. If the laws are invalid as prohibitory laws, then the penalty inflicted by them is not legally imposed, but is unjust, *i.e.* these laws are null and void as penal laws.

"To the second question I reply: Remigius is not guilty of

any transgression of the law ; for an invalid law is no law. Consequently, whether he returned to his native land for the sake of recreation or to bring spiritual help to others, he did not transgress the law. Therefore his pleasure in the non-payment of the fine is completely free from objection ; the rather that the joy at violating this law, which is in itself invalid, is not morally blameworthy. Paul's vexation is consequently unfounded. Generally also such a manner of dealing [as that of Remigius] should not be a cause of offence to Catholics, but rather of edification. If Paul, owing to his faulty education, does not understand that which even uneducated people understand, he must be taught better. Paul unjustly threatens to inflict fines. He has acted rightly up to now by overlooking the matter, because it is not only no duty, but even unpermissible, to carry an unjust law into effect. But he may admonish Remigius and beg him to give up coming back in this way if possible, or to act carefully, so that he (Paul) may not be involved in any difficulties.

“To the third question I reply : This question may take the following form. Is not Paul, if he imposes the fine upon Remigius, obliged to refund it, as a violation of justice has taken place ? May not Remigius oppose an attempt at arrest ? The first question must be answered in the affirmative if Paul's treatment is objectively unjust, has produced a result and is theologically very sinful. Now Paul's deed is objectively unjust ; it produces an actual effect as soon as Remigius is obliged to pay, and there can be no doubt as to the theological sin. Paul, however, may be excused owing to subjective ignorance. In such a case, it is true, he would not himself be obliged to refund ; but Remigius, in demanding to be refunded, need not assume this good faith on Paul's part. Although it would be better for Remigius to fall back upon the chief offenders, namely, upon the originators of the unjust law, for repayment, he may yet betake himself to any person immediately concerned in the wrong, especially if the other persons can only be reached with difficulty. A distinction must be drawn in the second question. As the cause for which Remigius is punished is evidently unjust, and this is clear to every reasonable person, his defiance, if conducted without bodily injury to the officials, is not blameworthy, if it is successful. If its failure could be anti-

icipated, or if it would give rise to offence, it would be better to abstain from it. Armed defence, or bodily injury to officials would, as a rule, not be permissible, mainly because it would occasion greater evil and popular disturbances. If, therefore, Remigius were to make use of arms and weapons, not to inflict wounds, but only as a threat, he might easily be acquitted of all guilt.”*

Lehmkuhl was attacked by a Catholic critic on account of this “case.” In the preface to the second edition of his “Conscience Cases” he replies thus :

“I am blamed because I have permitted a priest, who is expelled by laws which are in themselves invalid because they have no power over spiritual affairs, to disregard these laws even without an imperative reason. But this blame has only strengthened me in my opinion, because I see that it is absolutely necessary to expel that most pernicious opinion from the people, that even unjust and godless laws must be obeyed so long as their neglect is not enforced by a higher law. This opinion lessens the authority of the Church and strengthens tyranny. It must be maintained absolutely that such laws, issued by a usurping power, possess neither of nor in themselves any binding power ; but that, if they were ever to be binding, this is only by chance so that greater evil may not arise. Therefore, those who violate such laws, when there is no danger that greater evil will ensue and, as in our ‘case,’ seek to return to their country for pleasure, are morally right if they do it in an honourable and temperate manner ; if they act in an intemperate manner, they are guilty of intemperance, but not of law-breaking.”†

TOLERATION, RELIGIOUS EQUALITY AND DENOMINATIONAL PEACE

The hatred expressed in the *Imago primi Saeculi*, in the first half of the seventeenth century, of all those who

* *Causus conscientiae*, I., *casus* 22, 2. Edit. Freiburg, 1903.

† *Ibid.*, Preface, p. vii.

hold heterodox views, has remained the key-note of the entire pastoral activity of the Jesuit Order.

“Peace is out of the question. The seed of hate is innate within us; Ignatius is for us what Hamilcar was for Hannibal. At his command we have sworn eternal war [against the heretical wolves] at the altars.”*

An enormous mass of books and pamphlets against “heretics” and “heresy” has been published in the course of time by the Jesuit Order. Most of them are tuned to a note in which rage and vulgarity are mingled.

Time and custom have tempered many things. But tolerance, religious equality and denominational peace have never found acceptance among Jesuits. The Jesuit Order regards these foundations of the modern civilised State as symptoms of decay in the structure of the Christian social order. And even at the present day wherever the opportunity offers, especially under the favourite cloak of anonymity, it still spits out poison and gall against all who are not Ultramontane Catholics.

The present General of the Order, Francis Xavier Wernz, says :†

“The Catholic Church undoubtedly considers all religious communities of unbelievers and all Christian [non-Catholic] sects absolutely illegitimate and destitute of every claim to existence. Duly baptised members of non-Catholic Christian sects are formal rebels against the Church if they obstinately persist in their errors. For through baptism they are subject to the absolute and eternal control of the Church. It is, therefore, a grave error to believe that the different Christian sects—for example, the Anglicans, Lutherans, members of the Russian Orthodox Church, etc.—are legitimate parts of some universal Church, and are, as it were, joined to the Catholic Church as sister-churches. . . . The Catholic

* *Imago primi Saeculi*, p. 843.

† *Jus Decretalium* (Romae 1898), L, 13, 52, 113.

Church alone possesses a real ecclesiastical law objectively and subjectively ; what is sometimes so designated in the case of other religious communities, whether of unbelievers, Jews, heretics or schismatics, is only an apparent ecclesiastical law (*jus putativum*) ; it is therefore not permissible to deal in one and the same book with the ecclesiastical law of Catholics, schismatics and Protestants. . . . According to Divine right, all duly baptised Catholics, schismatics and heretics, are subject to ecclesiastical law, even against their wish or without their consent.”

The Jesuit Lehmkuhl writes :*

“The Catholic Church insists, and has pronounced in recent times through several Popes by solemn decrees,† that it is an erroneous, perverse and absurd assertion, springing from the muddy sources of indifferentism, that liberty of conscience is the individual right of every person. . . . Freedom of cult can at best be regarded as a lesser, perhaps even a necessary evil, so as to avoid greater ones. . . . Inasmuch as by the word ‘cult’ or denomination, an organised society with definite religious aims, which is not in harmony with the [Catholic] Church, is understood, the principle naturally holds good that the denominations separated from the Church have no justified existence ; they have no social rights. . . . If denominations separated from the Church are to be regarded as legitimate subjects, it is only in so far as their general aim is to worship God in some way, but not in so far as they are especially Wesleyans, etc. In their concrete form they are characterised by an aim which is godless and false, and consequently falsifies human nature and its claims. In this respect, therefore, they can never attain a jot of true right and true legitimation, even should all kingdoms of the world unite in their favour. . . . It is useless to object that the various sects separated from the Church do not pursue such unnatural aims as heathen superstitions with their many-headed monstrosity. This may be so. . . . But even if the

* *Gewissens und Kultusfreiheit : Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, 1876, pp. 195, 255, 257, 258, 266, 406, 534, 536.

† Gregory XVI., *Mirari vos* of August 15th, 1832, and Pius IX., *Quanta cura* of December 8th, 1864.

error, to which they adhere in good faith, promotes the general aim of the worship of God, good faith and even unmerited error in no way remove from the specific character of the separate sects as such the taint of objective illusion and consequent objective illegitimacy. If good faith sufficed for the creation of an objective and real right, all manner of things might be justified. We are far from instituting a comparison here; but good faith may possibly exist even in the thieves' caste in Madura. . . . It is the duty of the State to be Catholic. A Catholic State and a Catholic prince must always regard the denomination deviating [from the Catholic Church] as an evil."

The Jesuit von Hammerstein says:

"The State, unless it desires to rebel against that power to which it owes its entire authority, must be Catholic, or, if it is not, must become so. We consider it a misfortune that in the delirium for freedom of 1848 and the following years complete civil rights were bestowed upon the Jews." "We regard as a regular and healthy condition that in which the entire population without religious schism acknowledges the [Catholic] Church founded by Christ. . . . On the other hand, we regard as an abnormal condition that in which a large portion of the inhabitants are not Catholics. . . . The emancipation of all cults—liberty of worship—should never go beyond the requirements of the individual case. . . . In case of doubt [as to the granting of liberty of worship], enlightenment must be sought from those to whom Christ said, 'He that heareth you heareth Me.' A monarch, even a constitutional one, must, before he signs a law, regarding the admissibility of which he is not absolutely certain, seek instruction, not only from a theologian present at court, but conformably to the importance of the matter [the granting of liberty of worship], from the highest doctrinal authority on earth, whose duty it is to decide in matters of religion and morals, the Vicar of Christ. . . . Religious equality is a morbid condition which may be required by circumstances."*

* *Kirche und Staat* (Freiburg, 1883), pp. 81, 83, 180-182.

The Jesuit Cathrein says :

“ Objectively amongst all Churches the Catholic Church alone has the right to existence, because it alone is the true one. Consequently a Catholic government in an entirely Catholic land must not permit the public exercise of other religious creeds, otherwise it violates the right of the Church. It is not as though a government had to decide what is true or false, revealed or not revealed, but because it has the guarantee of the infallible ecclesiastical authority. And as, according to God’s purpose, all governments and peoples should be Catholic, there ought to be only one religious cult on earth, namely, the Catholic, so that all humanity should form one great religious family under the Roman Pope, the Vicar of Christ. . . . But this is an ideal aim which is far from being realised. Actually at the present day in almost all countries different religions are found side by side in peaceful possession. What, then, should be the attitude of a Catholic government in a land with an entirely mixed population towards the different religious creeds ? We say a Catholic government advisedly. For a government founded on principles of religious equality must afford the same civil protection to all publicly acknowledged creeds. But a Protestant government must, from its own religious point of view—that of freedom in individual judgment—let its subjects decide which of the Christian religions they wish to embrace. If, nevertheless, Protestant governments frequently persecuted those whose faith was different, this only proved that they were not in earnest in regard to freedom of judgment. Stress was only laid on freedom of individual judgment so long as it could be used against the existing ecclesiastical authority. Besides, a government can only tolerate one particular religious creed and exclude others, if it is absolutely certain of the correctness of the one and the falseness of the others. But, apart from the evident truths founded on reason as to the existence of God, the reward of good and evil in the next world, etc., and some of the fundamental truths of Christianity, a government cannot attain this conviction of itself, but only through the medium of an infallible, supernatural doctrinal authority. A Catholic government can count upon this, but not a Protestant. Is it then permissible for a Catholic government to

accord complete freedom of public worship to the different Christian or even heathen (Mohammedan and Jewish) creeds if so many and such different denominations come within its sphere of power? Our answer is Yes, as soon as these can no longer be prevented from existing without occasioning great evil. True, the non-Catholic creeds have no right to existence in themselves; and unity in the true religion is so great a benefit for the State itself that all efforts should be made to maintain it. This, however, becomes morally impossible when once several religious communities have gained a firm footing in a land and cannot be opposed without occasioning greater evil. And, what is more, the Catholic government may even, for very pressing reasons, permit the adherents of other creeds to worship publicly and protect them in this as in their other civil rights. This is civil toleration which must be distinguished from religious toleration. A Catholic of profound conviction and religious education, be he king, minister, mayor or rural policeman, can afford religious tolerance to no adherent of other religions; but the Catholic government may and must afford and practise civil toleration where it has become a necessity.”*

The extreme limit of toleration, the killing of heretics, also finds a place in the armoury of Jesuit morals and ethics.

I will pass over the teachings of the most prominent Jesuits of the seventeenth century (Bellarmin, Tanner, Laymann, Escobar, Castropalao, etc.)† and will here only put together a few of the remarks of “modern” Jesuits.

The Jesuit J. L. Wenig, Royal and Imperial Professor, and in 1866 Rector at the University at Innsbruck, says:

“The passing of the sentence of death upon heretics was at any rate not unjust, as the crime of heresy can only be meetly atoned for and entirely prevented from injuring the ecclesiastical

* *Moralphilosophie*, II. (4), pp. 563 *et seq.*

† They are to be found in my book, *Moderner Staat und römische Kirche* Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1906), pp. 141 *et seq.*

and civil community by capital punishment. . . . We have seen that the ecclesiastical Inquisition cannot agree with the modern ideas as to toleration, enlightenment and humanity, but, for all that, I cry, 'Long live the ecclesiastical Inquisition!' For these ideas are not only unchristian, but also unreasonable, while the mission of the Church which, through the Inquisition, watches over the purity of dogmatic theology and ethics, is divine and consequently independent of the spirit of the age and of circumstances."*

The Jesuit de Luca says :

"First of all the Church merely excommunicated, then imposed fines, then banished, and finally, though only under compulsion, proceeded to capital punishment. For, since heretics scorn excommunication and fines, and if sent to prison or exile, infect others, the only effectual remedy is to send them prematurely to their own proper place. . . . Theologians are so certain that the Church has the right 'at least indirectly' [through the State as bailiff] to pass sentence of death that some most severely blame those who dispute the right of the Church to inflict capital punishment. Suarez [the chief theologian of the Jesuit Order] says it is a Catholic doctrine that the Church may punish heretics with death."† . . . "It is the duty of the State to punish the heretic with death at the direction and by the order of the Church; it cannot deliver the heretic handed over to it by the Church from this punishment. Capital punishment is not only incurred by those who have apostasised as adults, but also by all who obstinately adhere to the heresy imbibed with their mother's milk. Where this punishment exists, it is incurred by all apostates to heresy, even if they wish to become reconverted, as well as by all who remain obstinate when reproved for heresy."‡ . . . "Heretics and apostates who previously belonged to the Church may be forced by the Church, through bodily punishment and even capital punishment, to return

* *Über die kirchliche und politische Inquisition*, 1875, pp. 65, 72, 74.

† *Institut. juris eccles. publici. Romae*, 1901, I., 143, 145.

‡ *Ibid.*, I., 143, 145, 146, 261 et seq.

to the true faith. This is what all theologians to-day teach in accordance with St. Thomas Aquinas.”*

In the *Kirchenlexikon*, the Jesuit Granderath undisguisedly defends the justice of capital punishment.†

He declares that the punishments for heresy—banishment, confiscation of property and death—appear heavy at the present time, “partly owing to the sentimental objection to severe requital of crime, peculiar to our age, and partly to an incorrect estimate of the crime of heresy.”

And the Jesuit Laurentius writes in another part of the *Kirchenlexikon* :

“If the Church excludes all those who have taken part in executing a death sentence from service at the altar, it does not follow that this punishment cannot also be inflicted by it. That the Church has really the power, in her own right, to pass sentence of death for severe offences against religious law, has frequently been asserted, but the necessity for such a power cannot be proved, and this authorisation does not clearly follow from Revelation. The Church has contented herself with handing over the culprit to the temporal arm with a request to spare the life of the condemned.”‡

The Jesuit Order also gives, as officially as possible, a very significant emphasis to its consent to the capital punishment of heretics, which would scarcely be credited were we not in possession of the authoritative proofs. In its *Ratio Studiorum*, the Jesuit Order permits boys entrusted to it for instruction and education to attend “executions of heretics” :

“They [the pupils] must not go to public exhibitions, comedies, or plays, nor to executions of criminals, except those of heretics.”§

* *Institut. juris eccles. publici. Romae.* I., 270.

† V. (2), 1445 *et seq.*

‡ XL (2), 1827. I have already shown in detail in my book, *Das Papsttum*, etc., I. (5), 180–201, that this “request” was a preposterous piece of malice practised for centuries by the Papacy.

§ *Inst. S.J.*, II., 541.

It was not till the year 1832 that this sentence, clearly designating the execution of heretics as an edifying spectacle for scholars, was removed from the *Ratio Studiorum*, not because the Order condemned the practice, but "because these words might give offence in various places: *expunguntur haec verba, quia offenderent in variis regionibus.*"*

These are the rigid fundamental principles of Jesuit intolerance, leading at last to bloodshed. A few examples of sectarian persecution will enable readers to complete the picture.

Here also I refrain from quoting Jesuit literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It presents vulgarity and filthiness to the full. But neither did people speak nicely on the opposite side, and the polemic bitterness of Jesuitism may be explained and excused by this. I shall quote from Jesuits of the present time.

The Jesuit Tilmann Pesch, who died in 1899, was one of the great literary writers of the German Province. The Jesuit review, *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*,† to which he was a very zealous contributor, and the Jesuit Reichmann extol him in fulsome fashion as scholar, writer, Jesuit and preacher:

"This is not the place to estimate his full importance and greatness, and perhaps the time has not yet arrived for this."‡

The book, *Christ oder Antichrist, Briefe aus Hamburg*,|| is Pesch's sectarian and polemic masterpiece. It appeared, according to the favourite Jesuit custom, under the pseudonym Gottlieb. The bulky volume (955 pages) is one long vulgar defamation of Protestantism and the personality of the Reformers, especially Luther:

* *Monum. Germ. paed.*, 16, 503.

† 1889, Part 10.

‡ Reichmann, S.J., *Briefe aus Hamburg* (Berlin, 1905), 5th edit., preface.

|| Berlin, 1905, 5th edition, *Verlag der Germania*.

“ A historical description of Luther must include an illustration—a summary one, it is true—of the fact that the reforming principles of the great man imply not only the overthrow of political order and of Christian family life, but also the collapse of the entire moral order. Fortunately, the nations which embraced Lutheranism had retained enough conservatism from the pre-Reformation period to preserve them from experiencing all the consequences of Lutheran teaching. Here, too, it is impossible for me to give all the data from Luther’s words and works which would demonstrate this characteristic of the Lutheran work of reformation. I will content myself with a little, but this little is quite sufficient for the establishment of facts. I say therefore—and I am not afraid that my assertion will meet with opposition from any thinking person—that he who, in the most unequivocal manner, declares all good works to be sins, who repeatedly clearly and distinctly invites people to sin, *i.e.* to every violation of the Divine command and injury to the conscience, who denies the freedom of the human will, who blusters at every opportunity against the value of human reason, who not only fails to oppose superstition (to which, indeed, many uneducated classes of the people are often unfortunately only too much inclined), but promotes and adopts it, who teaches and practises the principle that the end can sanctify bad means, I say that he who teaches thus and brings forward such teachings consciously and prodigally may be rightly designated as a rebel against the entire moral order. Now, according to the most conscientious and learned criticism, all this is to be found in Luther’s writings. And up to the present time no one has been able to disprove this result of learning. Only one thing is certain, that Luther also sometimes wrote the very opposite.* Whoever reads Luther’s writings will be surprised to find how frequently and decisively the Reformer brings into prominence the indomitableness of brutal desire in human beings ; men must succumb helplessly to every attack of sensuality. Neither vows nor marriage bonds are to be respected. . . . The case appears in another form when the Reformer continually repeats that all human beings without exception have succumbed to the sin of unchastity and always and everywhere used every opportunity to give free rein to all promptings

* *Christ oder Antichrist*, p. 25 *et seq.*

of sensuality. . . . I am convinced that to all who move in circles animated by Christian life and thought such assertions appear like declarations from another world, a world of morass and misery. And the question intrudes itself: What prompted a man who professed to be a Reformer of the Christian Church, the chosen tool of the thrice holy God, to a view so low and so degrading to mankind? The question provokes a reply which absolutely annihilates the Reformer, if we note the numerous passages in Luther's writings in which he declares in plain words that it is absolutely impossible to overcome the brutal passions. . . . In Luther's opinion, man's vocation does not lie in the sphere of reason—indeed, reason is in his eyes a 'fool' and the 'devil's mistress'—but in that of animal nature. Man's merit, like that of every tree and every animal, lies in being exceedingly fruitful.*

"In the first place, it is acknowledged to be a fundamental dogma of the entire Lutheran system that it is impossible for man to observe any Divine law. . . . It is a necessity, according to Luther's teaching, that every person should sin. In the second place, Luther declares that a Christian may disregard all the Ten Commandments. . . . Like Calvin, Luther also teaches that God has condemned some who did not deserve it, and destined many to condemnation before they were born; he thus incites people to sin, and calls forth all their vices; whatever we do is not done of our own free will, but through necessity. . . . Finally, in the third place, the warning against good works follows quite logically, and the repeated invitation to break the commandments and commit sins, particularly to sin in order to annoy the devil.†

"I have just mentioned the temptations to suicide to which Luther, as he himself testifies, was exposed. This reminds me of a few remonstrances which Pastor Walther addressed to me in his missive with reference to my account of the last hours of the Reformer of Wittenberg. I purposely abstained from a more minute exposition for the simple reason that, according to my conviction, from the data which are available up to the present time nothing more can be said about it. Concerning the last moments of his life (referring to the writing, *Wider das Papsttum zu Rom vom Teufel gestiftet*), I said that even Luther's prayer consisted of curses;

* *Christ oder Antichrist*, p. 243 et seq.

† *Ibid.*, p. 245 et seq.

Regarding Luther's death, it only states that his soul was demanded of him on that night. . . . And, again returning to Luther's death, Pastor Walther gives at the close of his missive a peaceful and extremely edifying picture of the dying Reformer as furnished by Luther's partisans, Jonas and Coelius. For my part, I wish from the bottom of my heart that the poor man had ended a life racked by awful remorse with sincere repentance and had died a holy and godly death. But if Walther expects me to accept the information given by Jonas and Coelius, without further consideration, as the statement of a true event, and see in the impenitent Reformer a dying saint, I think this is, to put it mildly, asking rather too much. I, for my part, also possess an account of Luther's decease, and one which is essentially different. According to this narrative, Luther—to put it shortly—had spent the evening at a cheerful drinking-party, and then feeling sick, was conducted to his room by Count Mansfield's servants; next morning he was found hanging to the bedpost and dead. The true details were kept secret from Luther's friends for obvious reasons, and the rumour was circulated that the great man died a godly and edifying death. For my own part, I attach no importance to this narrative. But what would Pastor Walther say if I expected him to accept this report as the only one corresponding with the truth? Not only he, but his liberal colleagues also, would reject such a demand with righteous indignation. And yet, if Luther, in an evil moment through weariness of life, had given way to the promptings of suicide which he had himself admitted, this would, from the liberal Protestant point of view, by no means be regarded as so terrible. Suicide is quite compatible with the modern ideal of life.”*

* P. 357 *et seq.* The Jesuit Reichmann, who has re-edited Pesch's violent book, remarks at this point that the untenability of the account of Luther's suicide has been proved “meanwhile.” But he quietly permits the infamous calumny to remain in the text. For it has the desired effect on the readers in spite of the proof, and this is the more certain as none of the proofs are given. It is evident from the following that Pesch wished to implant the belief in Luther's suicide in the historical consciousness of the Catholic people: Once when the Sub-Agent of the Cologne priestly seminary, Dr. Pingsmann, paid me a visit at Blyenbeck, I was walking in the garden with him and Pesch. The latter told us that he had proofs of Luther's suicide; though not absolutely decisive, that did not matter; if rightly presented, the effect on the people would still be to make them believe the fact. Some years later, as we observe, he did “present them rightly.”

This huge volume, full of slander and provocation, which on account of its high price could not attain to a wide circulation, did not suffice Pesch and the German Province, of which Pesch was, of course, the instrument. The poison of sectarian strife must penetrate to the masses. Accordingly the Jesuit Pesch and the German Province of the Order originated an undertaking, existing to this day, which is systematically occupied in poisoning the wells and stirring up denominational hatred at a low price—the *Flugschriften zur Wehr und Lehr*, published at Berlin by the *Germania*.

Ever since the appearance in the year 1890 of the first of these pamphlets with the title *Luther and Marriage*, by Gottlieb (pseudonym for the Jesuit Pesch), thousands of these little “green leaflets” have appeared year after year, at 12 pfennigs (1¼d.) a piece, and been scattered broadcast among the Catholics of Germany. Almost all are attuned to a note of violent and spiteful attack on Protestantism. The style is coarse. Here is an instance :

“When the chieftain of the Evangelical Alliance goes on the warpath it is in the eyes of his peoples an event which resounds throughout Europe; the Ultramontanes are seized with panic, and they feel just exactly as in the past the American backwoodsmen must have felt at the news that the Indian chieftain Two-Strikes or Sitting Bull was dancing the war-dance and sharpening his scalping-knife. . . . Doubtless these tactics have advantages which must not be underrated. In the first place all the geese in the Evangelical Alliance will stretch out their necks and break out in a cackle of admiration; what a hero is our Willibald (Professor Dr. Beyschlag)! His rest and recreation after the labours of the term and the festivities in honour of his seventieth birthday consist in the moral annihilation of a Roman Bishop and as an interlude breaking the bones of the whole Catholic Church. And how gracefully he does it! He plays with poor Dr. Korum like a cat with a mouse!”*

* *Die Segnungen der Reformation*, p. 66.

And the coarse style is matched by the contents :

“ Every moral licence, every lapse of morality, in Catholicism signifies a perversion, a falling away from Catholic principles. But if once we accept the Protestant principle of ‘ evangelical freedom ’ it is only thanks to a most lucky lack of logic if the most serious consequences do not result in the social and moral domain. In the French Revolution French excitability with iron consistency deduced the consequences from the principles of the Reformation. Alas ! for us, if German thoroughness should enter on such paths ! But what did the Protestants do ? They annihilated the three Gospel counsels. . . . To the husband they said : ‘ The claims of passion are no more bound to give way before the sanctity of the marriage vow than before the vow of chastity.’ They whispered into the ears of all men : ‘ The animal instinct is untamable and unlimited, and justified in all its claims.’ . . . All moral excesses, which according to the reports of the societies for promoting morals in all our large Protestant towns are threatening the ruin of the German nation, are absolutely permissible according to the principle, the immediate consequences of which were described by Luther.*

“ There is perhaps no other dogma to which Luther remained so faithful during the long period of his reforming activity as this : To have two or more wives is good, but it is better and more advisable to be content with one ; this was his philosophy of life in youth and age, which he preached by word of mouth and in writing, at table and in the lecture hall, only not from the pulpit, and to which he never proved unfaithful even in evil days in spite of all attacks. . . . The only logical conclusion to be drawn from the secret Gospel of Luther, Bucer, Melancthon and other Fathers of Protestantism is that every Protestant is to have as many wives as he pleases, either by dispensation of his consistory or confessor. If we also consider that according to the common Christian and Protestant doctrine men and women have the same rights and duties it follows that a Protestant woman too has the right to have as many husbands as she pleases. This would be logical, but at the

* Leaflet No. 80, Professor Beyschlag's *Anklagen gegen den Bischof von Trier*, pp. 1, 27.

same time a very bad thing. The fact cannot be altered even by Luther's maxim: 'Sin boldly and believe even more boldly.' Another logical consequence of the dogma of universal priesthood and Luther's clear pronouncements is that every Protestant can supply his own dispensations and spiritual counsel, so long as he can excuse it before his own conscience and the Bible. Thus we should by perfectly logical means have reached the standpoint of the Berlin roués and prostitutes. Now let some one say that these are not bad Protestants! Is not every logical Protestant necessarily a bad Protestant? "*

The spiteful spirit which pervades the whole of these *Flugschriften* is very clearly expressed in the confession openly set down in leaflet 51-52:

"It is useless to say that we must not offend the convictions of those who hold a different faith. In our view this is only a trick of the devil's, mere ill-applied courtesy and consideration. Such reserve neither serves the cause of truth nor the true welfare of our Protestant brethren."†

PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF JESUIT MORALITY

The many thousand Jesuit confessionals and the many millions of penitents who confide their souls to Jesuit guidance, are the field where Jesuit morality is practically developed. It is a domain of which, although I know it intimately, since I was myself at work on it, I can obviously not speak. I will however quote some historical instances.

Le Bret, in his *Magazin*, gives an extract from a book

* *Katholische und Protestantische Sittlichkeit*, pp. 27 et seq.

† P. 86. Besides the Jesuit Tillmann Pesch, the originator of the whole undertaking, the Jesuits chiefly occupied in the composition of leaflets were, as long as I remained in the Order, Reichmann and von Hammerstein. As a rule they, like Pesch, wrote anonymously or pseudonymously. Further details about the *Flugschriften* may be found in my pamphlet *Die deutschen Jesuiten der Gegenwart und der confessionell: Friede* (Berlin: A. Haack).

entitled *Difesa del giudizio formato dalla Santa Sede Apostolica* :

“ When in the year 1624 the Venetian fleet conquered Scio, the victorious General, Antonio Zeno, gave orders that all the Turks should be driven out of the island. About three hundred renegades, whom everyone knew to be Mohammedans, because they had openly professed this religion, took refuge in a mosque and begged for mercy on the ground that they were Christians. The General, surprised, sent Father Carlini, a Dominican, at that time Vicar-General in the Levant, but now Archbishop of Napoli di Romania, to question them about their religion. They cried aloud that they were really Christians. They were for the most part women, who in order to be able to marry Turks, had openly adopted the Mohammedan religion: But having repented their fault they solemnly recanted before the Jesuits, and were permitted by them to continue openly to profess the Mohammedan religion, go to the mosques, and take part in Mohammedan observances, while the Jesuits administered the sacraments to them in secret. When this was reported to the General, he caused the women to be confronted by the Jesuits to whom they had referred, especially Father Lumaca, who had taken the chief part in instructing them. And, in fact, the Jesuits did recognise the greater part of the women as their penitents. These simple people were accordingly pardoned. But a severe reproof was administered to their instructors for not remembering Christ’s saying, ‘ He who denies Me before men, him shall I also deny before My heavenly Father.’ I do not appeal to dead witnesses : the worthy prelate of Napoli di Romania, who transacted this matter by public command, is still alive, and can testify of it to any one who desires. Other witnesses, too, are the Archbishop of Corinth, Bernardino Cordenos, the Archbishop’s secretary, Antonin Gavazzi, Prior of the Monastery of SS. Giovanni e Paolo at Venice, the Dominican Maria Ferro and Angelus Bevilacqua at Venice, who all testify on oath to the truth of these events.

“ When in 1606 Paul V. was at war with Venice, and the Jesuits, on account of their advocacy of the Pope, were driven out of Venice, they tried by every possible means to injure the ‘ heretical ’ Republic;

They stole disguised into Venetian territory, and advised the women to refuse to perform their conjugal duties, and the sons to deny obedience to their fathers until the Republic had given way. At Constantinople they stirred up the Turks to war against Venice.”*

Louis Sotelo, a Franciscan and Bishop, who was burnt at Foco in Japan, in August, 1624, on account of his faith, wrote in January of the same year from his prison at Omura a letter to Pope Urban VIII., which contains the bitterest reproaches against the Jesuits :

“ Although he had been sent from Rome to Japan as Bishop, they had tried to hinder his mission ; owing to their fault the Church in Japan was in a deplorable condition, because they would allow no other priests or members of orders but themselves to work there, though the thirty Jesuits could not suffice for the whole of the large territory. They circulated slanders about other missionaries, and forbade the believers to admit them into their homes, although this was a season of persecution. The Jesuits did all in their power to destroy the effect of such testimony. It seemed to them best to deny the truth and genuineness of the letter, and they quoted the statement of a certain John Cervicos as to the inaccuracy of the facts there stated, as well as of Fra Peter Baptista, who maintains that the signature was forged and that not only was it not the hand of his colleague, Fra Louis Sotelo, but did not even resemble it. Unfortunately, however, Dr. Cervicos and Fra Peter Baptista were still alive, and both protested against this statement attributed to them by the Jesuits. One of them proved in writing and swore before a notary and witnesses on October 10, 1628, that the words put in his mouth by the Society [of Jesus] were shameful lies, and the other revoked the doubts which he had at first expressed as to the signature of Fra Louis, and insisted that, after a more careful examination, he believed it to be genuine, and also believed that of the holy martyr to be authentic and worthy of the writer.”†

* From letters of Paolo Sarpi in *Le Bret, Magazin*, I., 427 *et seq.*, and III., 542.

† Gioberti, *Il Gesuita Moderno*.

In 1759 the Jesuit Mamachi set the boys in one of the classes of the Jesuit College at Toulouse a composition on this subject :

“Heroes at times commit crimes which are favoured by fortune. A fortunate crime ceases to be a crime. A man whom France now designates by the shameful name of robber will be styled an Alexander if he is favoured by fortune.”*

Anselm Feuerbach, quoting from the documents, reports the confession of a Catholic priest, Franz Riembauer, who on November 2, 1807, at Ober-Lauterbach, in Bavaria, murdered his former cook in the most cruel manner. She had borne him a child, and was threatening to denounce him :

“When I met the Eichstadt woman at Ratisbon [so Riembauer confessed in November, 1817, to the examining judge at Landshut] she declared her intention of never leaving me. . . . My honour, my position, my public credit, everything that was of necessity dear and sacred to me, was threatened by the woman’s arrival at Ober-Lauterbach. I thought to myself : What shall I do if she comes after all ? Then I remembered the principle laid down by Father Benedict Stattler [a Jesuit] in his *Ethica Christiana*, which permits the taking of another’s life if there is no other way of saving our own honour and good name ; for honour is a greater good than life, and we have the same right of defence against a person who threatens our honour as against a robber. On considering this principle, which Professor Stattler had also formerly expounded to us young theologians in the course of his instruction, I decided that it applied to my case and accepted it as a *dictamen practicum*.† I said to myself : My honour will be

* From Reusch, *Beiträge*, pp. 56, 57.

† The principle laid down by the Jesuit Stattler, which fortified the Pastor Riembauer in committing the murder, runs thus : “It is permissible to avert a grievous disgrace by killing the unjust adversary, if no other means are available ; if the disgrace has already been incurred, it is not permissible to avenge it by murder, unless there is no other way of making him amend, while there is great

ruined by this wicked person if she comes to Lauterbach and carries out her threats ; I shall be removed by the Consistory, shall forfeit my property, and gain an ill name throughout the diocese. Although even at that time I meditated on Stattler's principle and thought it applicable to my case, it was then no more than an idea and I had not yet considered the mode of execution."*

Such are the ethics and morals, the toleration, religious equality and denominational amity taught, both theoretically and practically, in the course of Moral Theology, which the young Jesuit must attend for two years.

My professors of Moral Theology were the Jesuits Frins (afterwards counsellor to the Centre leader Windthorst) and Stentrup. Frins gave expression to his opinion of Protestant morality by emphatically declaring his conviction that every young Protestant girl was morally ruined by the age of fifteen. Another of his utterances was that he could not understand how a married couple could look each other in the face without blushing. Stentrup taught Moral Theology in the narrowest sense of past ages. Progress, civilisation, and the modern state were an abomination to him.

The discussion of Conscience Cases which takes place in all the Houses of the Order once a fortnight, in the presence of all the Fathers and also the Superiors, gives an actuality to Moral Theology during the whole of a Jesuit's life ; and it is intended to supply a standard for his duties as spiritual director. At Exaeten, the only house in which I was stationed for any length of time

danger that he will renew the accusation. . . . A grievous calumny may not as such be averted by the previous murder of the calumniator, unless it is clearly oreseen that the unjust calumniator will find credence for his calumny, and there is also no other means of warding off the calumny and re-establishing his injured honour " (*Ethica Christiana communis*, III. (3), 1889-1893).

* *Aktenmässige Darstellung merkwürdiger Verbrechen* (Giessen, 1820), II., 86 et seq.

after the end of my scholastic studies, the Conscience Cases were under the direction of Lehmkuhl, some of whose principles I have already quoted. Lehmkuhl, the classic authority in the domain of Moral Theology, is one of the most distinctive types of Jesuitism in the bad sense of the word that I have ever met. Not in the sense of being himself bad; on the contrary, he took the greatest pains to lead a pious and virtuous life in the Jesuit acceptance of these terms. But for that very reason the Jesuit system had taken complete possession of him; the revaluation of moral and ethical conceptions which it contains was incorporated in him.

Another characteristic of Jesuit Moral Theology deserves emphasis. Lehmkuhl, the great authority on Moral Theology, who had a hundred solutions at hand for every case, and in the two volumes of his work on Moral Theology dissects virtue, sin and temptation anatomically into their final components, was in his own person helpless in face of sin and temptation. He was literally devoured by scruples, and afraid at every step of offending God; he confessed, sometimes more than once, every day. At the same time he defended, with a perfectly calm mind, all the enormities which have been discussed in the domain of mental restriction.

Nowhere is the saying of straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel more applicable than in the case of Jesuit morality.

CHAPTER XXVI

EXAETEN*

THE *Examen rigorosum* concluded my scholastic training. Usually this is immediately followed by the Tertiate, the third year of probation (*tertius annus probationis*), which forms the outward conclusion of the ascetic training. I was not, however, sent direct to the Tertiate, but first to Exaeten as a Scriptor.

Nine years had gone by since I entered Exaeten as a postulant, seven since I had left it to begin my scholasticate.

During this time the house had undergone a complete transformation. The novitiate had been transferred from there to Blyenbeck, and the philosophate from Blyenbeck to Exaeten. The German Province had also collected most of its writers there, and finally Exaeten had become the headquarters for the publication of the two periodicals so widely read in Germany, *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach* and *Die Katholischen Missionen*.

These thoroughgoing internal changes had resulted in considerable external alterations: A stately college, with roomy corridors, libraries, and a large and splendid

* On two occasions, apart from my novitiate, I was stationed at Exaeten: immediately after the conclusion of my studies, 1887-8, and after my Tertiate, 1889-92. I shall condense the most important events of these two sojourns in one chapter, if only because in my lack of written notes I am unable, after the lapse of twenty-three years, to state exactly from memory which belonged to the first and which to the second sojourn.

chapel, had been added to the old, confined Novitiate House (*Domus Probationis*).

If Exaeten appeared to me new and strange, I, too, entered it as a newcomer and a stranger. Indeed, the transformation which the birthplace of my Jesuit life had undergone was but a weak reflection of the change that had taken place in me.

Full of belief in the Catholic Church, and therefore full of confidence in the Jesuit Order on which she set so great a value, I had crossed the threshold of Exaeten nine years before. Not with youthful lightheartedness—it was only with violent and heavy struggles that I attained the resolution to leave the world and to serve God in poverty, chastity and obedience as a disciple of the Society of Jesus. But a firm belief in the truth of that which had been brought to maturity in me through the atmosphere of my home and the powerful example of an honoured father and a beloved mother, had induced me, not to silence my nature and my deepest individual feelings—that would have been impossible—but at any rate to trample them down, and with the sword of religious idealism in one hand, I had won my way to the entrance of the Order, hoping, with the trowel of prayer and mortification in the other, to erect the tower of Christian perfection which from my earliest childhood had been set before me, through centuries of traditional vision, as a shining sanctuary.

But how had the glory of this tower faded away! Its very foundations were shaken when, after the completion of almost a decade in the Order, I again entered the place where with eager, never-resting effort I had first put in my spade in the endeavour to build it.

The will of the Superior had designated me as a writer (*scriptor*). In the first place, I was to assist with the editing of the papers *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach* and *Die Katholischen Missionen*. The chief editor of these periodi-

cals was the Jesuit Fäh, a Swiss, who also presided over the whole college as Vice-Rector, representing the Rector, Hermes, who had fallen ill, and soon afterwards died.

That Fäh became my superior in a twofold capacity was both fortunate and unfortunate for me. Fortunate, because in him I found a man who, in spite of two decades of Jesuit training—for Fäh had entered the Order very young, straight from the Jesuit School at Feldkirch—had preserved his humanity, who himself could speak a candid word, and understand one when spoken by others; unfortunate, because this very characteristic of his postponed the process of development which was driving me to burst the bonds of the Order, and so hindered my taking the final step. Fäh also boasted in a strong degree what I was already beginning to lack: belief in the Church and its authority as directing the Jesuit Order. True, he once said to me in an hour of sadness, when in distress at being suddenly transferred from Berlin to Brazil:

“If I did not believe in the divinity of the Church which has given its sanction to the Jesuit Order, I should long ago have left it, and should not submit to such harsh commands.”

This remark set me thinking. It served me as a support when the divinity of the Church fell in ruins before me, long after I had recognised that the excellence of the Order was a mere delusion.

Among Jesuits who have attained a literary reputation, my more immediate comrades (*Socîi*)* at Exaeten were Langhorst, Baumgartner, Lehmkuhl, Beissel, Spillman, Frick, Tillmann Pesch, Cathrein, Epping, Dressel, Dreves, † Pachtler, and Pfülf.

* Socialism may boast that it has given its members the same official designation: comrades, *Socîi*, as the Jesuits have used for several centuries.

† Guido Maria Dreves, the celebrated hymnologist, was the son of the poet Lebrecht Dreves, a convert to Catholicism. Dreves, my fellow-pupil at Feldkirch, was an original man of singular gifts. In the autumn of 1909 I accidentally read

With none of these did I enter into any close relation. Indeed, the rule of the Order does not tolerate such intimacy, but I had a good deal of intercourse with all of them during our daily recreation and our walks. None of them, with the exception of Baumgartner, was gifted beyond the average; all, even Baumgartner, had completely lost their individuality in the sense of intellectual originality. The knowledge of some of them was varied, but even this variety was levelled away by the formal uniformity of training and purpose.

During my residence at Exaeten I was drawn towards the Provincial of the German Province, the Jesuit Ratgeb—or rather he was drawn towards me. Evidently he desired to train me to higher things.

The Jesuit Order knows exceedingly well how to exploit advantages of birth, family relations, and the like; its contempt for such worldly things is a mere pretence. It knows very well how great a value such things have for its work among mankind. This work, and nothing else, is concealed under the motto of the Order *Omnia ad majorem Dei gloriam*.

When such outward advantages are combined in any individual with “virtue which exceeds mediocrity” and “knowledge sufficient for teaching philosophy and theology satisfactorily,” this individual is specially adapted to render great services to the Society of Jesus. And such an individual was I for a long time in the eyes of my Superior. For many years, during the many “Statements of Conscience” which I had to make to my Superior, I was told that I was making good progress and should become a very useful tool for the service of God. When

in a South German paper that he had died as a secular priest in the neighbourhood of Munich—he must, therefore, have left the Jesuit Order. With his strong individuality he never really belonged there. His bigoted mother, who was body and soul under Jesuit dominion, and lived at Feldkirch as a widow till her death, induced him to enter the Order—her fortune probably went the same way.

my scholastic training was concluded, and a year afterwards my ascetic training also, this general and theoretic recognition of my utility took a distinct and particular direction, and it was the Jesuit Ratgeb who gave it this form, through special marks of confidence. One of these, my mission to Berlin, will be treated in the next chapter. Others may be mentioned here.

In regular long conversations Ratgeb instructed me in the method of government of the Jesuit Order. Sometimes he came to my room for this purpose, on other occasions he let me come to him. They were informal discussions in which many subjects were treated which, however, all clearly had the aim of initiating me in the true nature of Jesuitism. For a long time—before the final collapse of my Catholic religious edifice—I had been a docile pupil, *i.e.* I followed the expositions of my Provincial with zeal and interest; but then I became so indocile that the confidential conversations ended somewhat abruptly, and with a sharp discord. From that time the Jesuit Ratgeb disliked me as much as he had formerly favoured me. Two of these notes of discord may be emphasised:

Our conversation had turned on the relation of the Jesuit Order to the Papacy since the restoration of the Order by Pius VII. in the year 1814. With one exception, Ratgeb pronounced a favourable judgment on the successors of Pius VII., Leo XII., Pius VIII., Gregory XVI., Pius IX., and Leo XIII., *i.e.* he regarded them as friends to the Order—for a true Jesuit has no other standard of judging matters of ecclesiastical or secular history and personalities than that of friendship or opposition to the Order. The exception was Leo XII. Why this Pope was supposed not to have been well disposed to the Jesuits I could not clearly understand from Ratgeb's utterances, but two things were startlingly clear: the hatred with which the

influential Jesuit judged the anti-Jesuit Pope, and the calm determination with which he expressed the necessity of getting rid of such opponents. Ratgeb's words, which were indelibly impressed on my memory, were these: "Do you think that it is impossible to get rid of Popes who oppose the interests of the Order?"

I could only understand his words in one sense, and my terror at their meaning must have been expressed in my face, for after a penetrating look into my eyes, Ratgeb suddenly passed on to a different subject.* I am thoroughly aware of what I am writing here; but the words I heard, and the impression they made upon me, are facts.

Here is a second note of discord: Ratgeb had been enlarging on the influence of the Order at royal courts and on prominent persons; he let drop the names of the Jesuits Lamormaini, Vervaux, La Chaise, and others. There was something peculiarly observant in his glance as he said to me:

"Will you accept the post of tutor to the sons of the Austrian Ambassador in Paris?"†

Abruptly I answered, "No," and abruptly I was dismissed by the Provincial. That was the end of our intimate conversations. I had a feeling that the offer of this post was a test. Ratgeb, who was no longer quite sure of me, wanted to know whether I was suited for higher things. How matters really stood with me at that time—that the Jesuit system had become a horror to me, and the Catholic Church a mere ruin, that my gaze and will were fixed on a separation from both—of course he could not guess.

In my place another Jesuit received the post of tutor

* Leo XII., as a matter of fact, died suddenly after only three days' illness, on February 10th, 1829. Cf. Wiseman, *Recollections of the Last Four Popes*.

† The Austrian Ambassador in Paris was Count Hoyos Sprinzenstein, whose three sons at that time were between eleven and fourteen years of age; one of them is now Secretary to the Legation at the Austrian Embassy in Berlin.

refused by me, which, of course, was made to serve the political influence of the Order.

Here is another proof of confidence. In the summer of 1889 the Provincial Ratgeb sent me with the Jesuit Tilmann Pesch to Mayence, to take part in a political conference to be held there in the house of a Bishop, Dr. Haffner.

There were present: Windthorst, Prince Löwenstein (now a Dominican), the Bishops of Mayence and Trèves (Dr. Korum), the chief editor of the *Germania*, Dr. Marcour, the deputies Lieber and Racké (who was murdered at Christmas, 1908, by his own son); my uncle, Baron Felix von Loë; and three Jesuits, I, Tilmann Pesch and Frins (the future legal adviser of Windthorst in Berlin). A great social-political and "apologetic" undertaking was to be founded. The exchange of opinions was very lively. Windthorst, a cunning politician, and legal assistant to the Protestant Duke of Cumberland, represented the milder tendency towards persons of a different faith. Bishop Korum of Trèves and the Jesuit Pesch were in favour of sharp and extreme measures, and let fall characteristic remarks. Thus, for instance, when Professor Dr. Beyschlag of Halle and his activity against the Roman Church were under discussion, Pesch asked: "Is there no means of attacking him in his private life?" Very typical of ultramontane Jesuit fighting methods! The discussion, which led to no definite result, lasted many hours. But for all that, there in Mayence the idea of a fighting denominational organisation which should help to win members for the Centre Party took shape, and was finally realised in the "National Union for Catholic Germany." And the Jesuit Pesch who, in spite of the great assistance of Korum, Bishop of Trèves, had not succeeded, owing to the opposition of Windthorst in calling into being an "apologetic" Union of Agitation, soon afterwards began on his own account to stir up

denominational hatred in his *Flugschriften zur Wehr und Lehr*. In this he was most willingly supported by the Berlin paper *Germania*, which undertook the publication of the venomous review, and carries it on to the present day. The then business manager of the *Germania*, who called himself "Director," a certain Max Muschik, who, unless I am mistaken, soon afterwards had to make himself scarce on account of his "directorial" activity, also took part in the Conference.

As yet I have said nothing about the *vita communis* in the Order—the manner of our daily common life. I do not refer to the external arrangements, which found expression in the daily routine, but rather to its inner character, the tone of the intercourse, the relation of the individuals to one another, and so forth.

Since a Jesuit's day contains only two periods of recreation, an hour after dinner and another after supper, and as with few exceptions walks take place only twice a week, while at other times the rule prescribes silence for the whole of the day, and visits in different rooms are only allowed by special permission of the Superior, there is but little opportunity for personal social intercourse and for the exercise of the virtues—natural and "supernatural"—which it calls forth.

In general, it may be said that the tone in these common recreations was good and cheerful. Serious disagreements, and marked unpleasantness and enmities, were exceptional. All tried to accommodate themselves to one another. Still, the virtues which manifest themselves in the common life of the Jesuits are in no respect greater than those manifested in any good family life. On the contrary, they are far less, for the Jesuit has only twice a day, for a short time, the opportunity of exercising these virtues—amiability, pleasantness, adaptability, self-sacrifice and unselfishness—while in a well-ordered family

they have to be exercised all day long, from morning till night. But in one respect the life in the Jesuit and other Orders is exactly on a par with the secular life so greatly despised by the members of the Order. Human weaknesses, such as envy, dislike and friction, are to be found here as there.

During my membership of the Order I only witnessed one case of excess, or rather its consequences, during the recreation hours. A Jesuit returned from one of his frequent excursions in a state of considerable intoxication, and as the evening recreation happened to be in progress, he shared in it in a more than "animated" condition. It was a most unpleasant scene, the more unpleasant since the person in question, even when sober, was a noisy chatterbox. I never heard that this serious excess on his part was reprimanded by the Superior, as should certainly have been done. I have not mentioned this circumstance in order to throw stones at the Order or the particular Jesuit, but only to prove the evident fact that the sanctity of the life in the Order does not exclude considerable excesses. This Jesuit was one of the most distinguished writers of the German Province.

What does not the ordinary Catholic layman behold in the Jesuit Order—and indeed in all Orders! And how very different is the reality within their walls!

They—by "they" I mean Catholic circles who see in the Order "the highest state of Christian perfection"—form most exaggerated conceptions of the perfection of its members. In reality they are, and remain, human beings. Only the strict seclusion which they have erected as a wall between themselves and the rest of the world, enables them to produce the impression of something superhuman and specially holy. The virtue of the members of an Order which is surrounded and guarded by hundreds of rules and fences, which knows itself watched at every

step by Argus eyes, and thus has scarcely an opportunity for stumbling and falling, is on that very account far less genuine and robust than the virtue of the man of the world who, in the midstream of life and its temptations, has to preserve it by fighting.

The life of men and women in Orders is easy and pleasant when once the first conflict caused by the parting from family and home is passed, and for many this parting does not even occasion a conflict.

While the Christian of "lower grade," the "man of the world," as he is contemptuously called by the members of the Order, is consumed with anxiety as to the sustenance of himself and his family, the men and women in Orders live a life of ease; everywhere their house is built, their table spread, their bed prepared*; and the quaint irony of the circumstances consists in this—that their house, table, and bed are prepared for them by the charitable offerings of the men of the world who "stand far below them in perfection," and are troubled by all the cares of life.

If only the laity knew the real state of things as regards the convents and their inmates, then no reform by the spiritual authority, nor restrictive legislation by the temporal, would be needed to call forth a truly Christian evangelical perfection in the numerous settlements of the Order, or to bring the parasitical existence of so many hundreds of them to a well-deserved end.

But there is one really dark side to the Jesuit common life.

The system of supervision and espionage which permeates the Order, the mutual denunciation declared to be a rule and duty, make innocent intercourse and comradeship and friendship absolutely impossible. This last,

* From this freedom from care and anxiety I must exempt the nursing orders. They impose severe duties in hospitals and asylums on their members, and often demand heroic sacrifices from them. But here too we may say that countless secular male and female nurses do the same.

indeed, is expressly forbidden. One Jesuit does not show himself to his fellow-Jesuit as he is, but rather as he would like to appear. He has no friend to whom he may freely open his heart. Thus members of the Jesuit Order never approach one another closely, and therefore Jesuit common life knows nothing of intimacy, in which consist the savour and sweetness, the refreshment and strength, of human intercourse.

Discipline prevails in the Jesuit Order, in spite of all human failings and the very comfortable life led there. This discipline is above all manifest in the promptitude with which a Jesuit lets himself be sent hither and thither—literally from one end of the earth to another, sometimes from one day to another. Here readiness for sacrifice and self-denial are displayed in an amazing fashion; every difficulty is overcome, health and life are sacrificed without the slightest demur. Still, even here there is a “but”; I do not wish in any way to minimise the undeniable heroism of the Jesuits, but has not every profession its self-sacrificing and courageous heroes? Are there not “martyrs of science” as there are martyrs of faith, and have not hundreds and thousands of soldiers spilt their heart’s blood as readily for the flag as a missionary for the Cross? If all those are to be canonised and beatified who have held high their ideals in a life of renunciation and sacrifice, or who have sealed with their blood their endeavours and convictions, there would not be room in the world for the necessary altars, on which would stand the images of men and women of all professions, among them hundreds and thousands of such as were not Christians at all, who believed neither in God nor a future life. Therefore, with all due recognition of the heroism shown by Jesuits, and other religious orders too, the rest of the world, believers and unbelievers alike, may say to them, “We too have our heroes.”

It is owing to the narrow education of Catholics that they know scarcely any martyrs and saints except their own; indeed, they object to the expression "martyrs of science." This was my case too for several decades; but when, in later years, I saw before me the heroism of humanity, independent of religion and creed, in heroic men and women, when I observed the numbers of those who had sacrificed themselves for purely human objects and aims, then the haloes around the ecclesiastical saints and martyrs began to pale, and from thence forward I saw in them only men who, like many thousands of others, had sacrificed themselves for their ideals. The comprehension of this truth helped me greatly in my separation from the Church and the Order.

Let us, then, allow the Jesuit Order its heroism, but let us give it the place that it deserves, side by side with the millions of heroic men and women of all professions, all nations, all religions, and even of no religion.

Besides my literary labours, of which I shall have to speak later, I also undertook pastoral work at Exaeten—or, rather, from this place as a centre. In this respect, too, I enjoyed the special confidence of my Superiors. Confession, preaching, giving Exercises, missions, conferences (learned and religious discourse), in short, the whole domain of Jesuit spiritual direction was open to me.

I will give some details. Missions (popular missions) are exercises for the masses. Their momentary but very transitory effect on the people is immense, and in particular the confessionals are besieged. I took part in an unusually large mission at Gelsenkirchen in 1889 or 1890. Fourteen Jesuits were literally occupied day and night; from early morning—four o'clock—till eleven or twelve at night, they heard confessions. The whole town

was in a state of feverish excitement. This religious fever and nervous excitement are special characteristics of a mission. That they also have good effects cannot be denied, but the manner in which these are produced is absolutely opposed to the simple religious spirit of the Gospel. Everything is suggestion—there is no inward and personal contemplation. Externals prevail.

A typical example of the external character of the spiritual direction peculiar to Jesuits is related quite ingenuously by the Jesuit Rist.*

In a report to his Superiors the Jesuit Sarrazin there relates how, when at Erfurt in the winter of 1870-71, he prepared a French prisoner for death:

“All admonitions had been in vain. At last the Jesuit sent word to the sick man, through the Sisters of Mercy, that by acting thus he was providing for himself a funeral without the attendance of a priest.

“‘What! A priest would not then follow my corpse?’

“‘Certainly not; none would be allowed to accompany you.’

“‘Well, then, you may go quickly and fetch the priest.’

“On the very same evening he received the Last Sacraments, and was thus prepared for death, which followed a few days afterwards.”

Such conversions, through purely external means such as the absence of a priest at a funeral, are in complete accord with Jesuit moral teaching, as expounded, for instance, by the Jesuits Le Roux and Slaughter:

“Ivenin thinks that it results from our teaching that a man who has lived a godless life for forty years can, by mere ‘attrition’ (penitence through fear of eternal punishment) receive the sacramental absolution, and

* *Die deutschen Jesuiten auf den Schlachtfeldern und in den Lazaretten*, 1866 und 1870-71.

immediately afterwards lose his reason through a fatal illness, and yet have a right to everlasting salvation, even though he never loved God, not even at the end of his life. To this we unconditionally assent.”*

“It may happen that a man attains salvation who has often transgressed all God’s commands, and has never fulfilled his first command of love—that is, if he receives the Sacrament with mere attrition, and dies immediately afterwards.”†

The contrast between Christianity and Jesuitism can scarcely be more clearly demonstrated. But it is comprehensible that such practice and theory produce great spiritual results, the duration of which is, however, in proportion to the crumbling nature of its foundation.

Thus, as in the case of the Exercises, sermons on death, the judgment and hell are the real centres of gravity of the missions. By these the hearers are belaboured most effectively, and converted through fear.

For the spirit in which the missions are often conducted, a passage from a letter by the Jesuit Johannes Gastel, of March 25, 1685, from the South American Mission, is characteristic :—

“With a view to avenging the death of the above-mentioned Fathers [three Jesuits had been murdered by the Caribs, near the Orinoco], fifty Portuguese soldiers and four hundred Indian bowmen will soon be sent out to kill as many of the Caribs as possible. There is no better method for subduing the savagery of barbaric nations than to drive out tyranny with tyranny, and to inspire fear, so that they may not attempt anything similar in future.”‡

The Jesuit Aloysius Pfeil also relates a circumstance

* Le Roux, S.J.

† Slaughter, S.J. Quoted by Döllinger-Reusch, I., 80.

‡ From the Jesuit papers in the State Archives. Friedrich, *Beiträge*, p. 38.

which reveals a similar lack of the religious and Christian conception of the missionary vocation.

“At that time Portuguese and Indian troops were sent out from San Luiz de Potosi to subdue the tribe of the Tramambases, who inhabit the interior of Maragnon, to Christ and the King of Portugal, if they did not surrender of their own free will. The faithful soldiers who marched into battle were accompanied by Fr. Peter Luiz.”*

That the Jesuit missions were conducted in the same spirit, as regards heretics, is a matter of course, but it is also strikingly demonstrated by a letter from the Jesuit Bobadilla, one of the first comrades of Ignatius Loyola, to the Roman King Ferdinand:—

“But Bobadilla had never been so inwardly glad and happy as when he beheld the Spanish and Italian cavalry who had come to Germany for the Smalkaldic war, for these were the true instructors to convert the heretics.”†

An interesting communication is made by the Jesuit Mundwiler in a treatise on the Jesuit von Waldburg-Zeil, of the noble house of Zeil, who had attained great celebrity in Germany as a popular missionary:—

“The General, Johannes Roothaan, who had been expelled from Rome, summoned the Jesuits scattered throughout Westphalia to a conference in Cologne in the year 1849, when he was on a journey from Trèves to Belgium. There were present, besides the General Roothaan and his companion, the Jesuit Villefort, the Jesuits Minoux, Behrens, Devis, Joseph von Klinkowström, Stoppar, and Burgstahler. Count Joseph zu Stolberg-Stolberg, founder of the St. Boniface Union, himself an ex-Jesuit, also took part in the discussions. They resulted in the decision to revive the Popular Missions, and at the call of the General, Father Roothaan, and the Provincial,

* From the Jesuit papers in the State Archives. Friedrich, *Beiträge*, p. 38.

† The letter is quoted by Druffel, *Beiträge zur Reichsgeschichte*, I. 20.

Father Minoux, the following Jesuits went as missionaries to Germany: Ketterer from England, Max von Klinkowström from Australia, Roh from Belgium, Hasslacher from France, Anderledy and Pottgeisser from America.

“The Jesuit residences at Cologne, Bonn, Coblenz, Mayence, Münster, Paderborn, Ratisbon, Gorheim, which became centres of the missionary network spread over Germany, also owe their origin to the Cologne conference of the year 1849.”*

And in spite of the expulsion of the Jesuit Order from Germany in 1873, the Jesuits continue to the present day in the most various parts of the Empire to carry on their missions undisturbed, and in this way to perform one of the most effective pieces of work conducted by the Order.

I gave Exercises to schoolboys, students, gentlemen, ladies, girls, nuns, in private houses and educational establishments; and in spite of my youth in the Order, I was even designated to give Exercises in the priestly seminaries. The insight I thus obtained into all the circumstances of ultramontane Catholic life, even on its political side, was extremely instructive. But, on account of their religious and confidential character, they cannot be reproduced.

One circumstance in connection with the Exercises (though not given by me) I can communicate, as it was long ago made known to the public. It shows how the essentially religious Exercises may also be utilised for political purposes. It also contains a characteristic picture of Jesuit sentiment.

The Federal Deputy and President of the Senate, Dr. Petri, wrote, on March 17, 1895, to the publisher of the *Deutscher Merkur*: “Shortly before the Convents Debate in the Prussian Lower House I received a letter from the Chief District Judge, F. Beck, dated from Heidel-

* Georg von Waldburg-Zeil, S.J. (Freiburg, 1906), p. 77**et seq.*

berg, May 4, 1875, of which the original is at your service, which contains the following passage:—

“ ‘The Jesuit Roh, in 1851, when directing Exercises at St. Peter’s (in Freiburg), said: “Our ultimate aim is to overthrow the Hohenzollerns—keep that before your eyes. And if you betray it, it will be denied. The convents and ecclesiastical associations will know how to solve this problem.” ’ ”

This was told me by Pastor Napper, who had heard it himself, and pledged his word of honour to its truth.

The only disproof of this credible and well-testified utterance of the Jesuit Roh consists in a statement made by the Episcopal Chancellery in Freiburg, which, however, does not bear on the matter:—

“ In the minutes (!) nothing is to be found about this expression; in view of § 15 of the Prussian Constitution, and the disposition of Frederick William IV., there was not the shadow of an excuse for any expression to the effect communicated; there was no such person as a Dr. Napper, only one called Nopper, who had, however, on one occasion expressed himself as unfriendly to popular missionaries, and, therefore, there could scarcely be a less dependable witness for the Chief District Judge Beck than this man.”

Everywhere and always I tried to give my best to the people who turned to me in their religious difficulties—little as that may have been. But even when my belief was no longer Catholic I endeavoured to maintain the faith of others. As long as I outwardly bore the character of a Jesuit and priest, I had to give those who turned to me, trusting in this character, that which was due to my seeming, and to what they saw in me. That I regarded as my duty.

Only twice in the very last period of my outward adhesion to the Order and the Church did I act differently.

On those occasions I allowed the man in me, and not the scholastic theologian and Jesuit, to find utterance—in relation to a woman who had murdered her child, and a student.

The murderess, who had many years previously, out of shame and despair, killed an illegitimate, prematurely born child, incapable of life, directly after its birth, and whose action had remained undiscovered and without consequences to others, desired, being urged to it by her confessor, to give herself up to justice. Meantime she had contracted a happy marriage, and her denunciation of herself would have brought great suffering and trouble on her own and her husband's highly respected families. I brought her to see that the destruction of this premature birth, which was incapable of life, was no great sin, and that the self-denunciation required by her confessor would have been an absolute crime.*

I freed the student of his belief in an everlasting hell, which was torturing him into despair. Farther on I shall return to this inhuman and irreligious "dogma."

Many a confession have I heard in Germany, Holland, Belgium, England. Obviously I cannot give details here, but a general remark may not be out of place.

Ultramontanism under Jesuit direction has collected for itself out of the religious conception of confession a powerful means for subduing to its own service Catholics of all classes in every relation of life—private and public—

* Many persons may perhaps disapprove of my decision that the murder of this illegitimate child, incapable of life, was no great crime on the mother's part. I could give very good reasons for my opinion, but I avoid doing so, as I have not mentioned this case as a specimen of my ethical and moral views, but only to show that in the last period of my priestly and Jesuit labours the human being who thought freely, if perhaps mistakenly, was beginning to oust the dogmatically trained, unfree Jesuit. The demand of the confessor for self-denunciation is, however, not to be set to the account of ultramontane Catholic moral teaching, but rather to the individual fanaticism and folly of the priest in question; still it shows what harm the influence of an uncritical, inexperienced, and fanatical confessor may bring about.

for its own secular and political aspirations after dominion. That piety also is developed in confession and spiritual consolation supplied is a matter of course, else indeed the confessionals would soon stand empty. But the religious effect of confession has become a secondary matter, although the confessing masses are not aware of it. Its main end is the influencing of men—citizens, politicians, and others.

Reinhold Baumstark has given an effective description of the disastrous influence of the Jesuit Order in this respect.*

And yet, non-religious as confession has become through the methods by which it is carried on, though it actually has become the centre of a state within a state, it yet remains and must remain a *noli me tangere*. The Jesuit Order knows this, and on this knowledge rest the exploitation of confession and spiritual direction for its own governing ends. The final aim of all its missions, exercises, conferences, and prayers, is confession. In this it possesses a lever with which it can move the world, in the first instance the ultramontane Catholic world, along its own lines.

This Jesuit exploitation of confession is as old as the Jesuit Order itself. For this we have the very competent testimony of Pope Clement VIII. (1592–1605):

“I should like to know what they [the Jesuits] do every day for three or four hours in the confessional, with persons who confess every day. I cannot help inferring from their proceedings the truth of the reproach brought against them, that they use confession as a means for obtaining knowledge of events taking place in the world.”†

To my great joy, still vivid within me, I may say that I myself, in spite of the Jesuit ultramontane training, never became a Jesuitical ultramontane confessor. I also

* Cf. my work, *Das Papsttum*, etc., II., 512 *et seq.*

† From J. Friedrich, *Beiträge*, p. 49.

confined confession, as far as possible, to the actual statement of sins; I never tried to use it for penetrating into family and private affairs. All such revelations on the part of penitents were stopped by me with the remark: "The object of confession is the statement of sins."

In other respects too I was an un-Jesuitical confessor. The frequency of confession, carried by Jesuitism beyond all bounds, was energetically combated by me.

Weekly, even daily confessions, have transformed Jesuit piety, and even more the desire of the Order to obtain the rule over men, into a far-spread abuse. The commands of the Church only lay down the duty of confessing once in the year, and are far from advising daily confession. Even though I did not advocate a single annual confession, I did my best to stop too frequent confessions. They are injurious: they make men terribly dependent on their confessors for their religious life, and they foster the whole race of scruple-mongers and bigots who do so much harm to themselves and others.*

I was also employed in spiritual direction within the Order. For a long time I had the office of "giving" to the lay brothers the points for their daily morning meditation. This means that I set the subject of meditation before them, and expounded it. I enjoyed my intercourse with these simple people, and I believe that my manner, too, was congenial to them.

It is one of the most characteristic traits of the Jesuit Order that it deliberately tries to maintain its lay brothers in a state of "simplicity"—that is, in as great a state of ignorance as possible. The Constitutions lay down, in two places:

"The lay brother [*coadjutor temporalis*] is not to learn more than he already knew before he entered the Order."†

* Cf. my remarks on children's confessions in Chapter II.

† Exam. gen., VI. 6.

“None of those who are admitted for the purpose of domestic offices are to learn reading or writing, or, if they have learned already, to continue their studies.”*

It is evident that the Order does not wish to expose those on whose regular and daily work the security and regularity of its outward life depend to the “dangers” of education, which might perhaps introduce unrest into the ranks of these useful serfs.

Another not unimportant spiritual office which was allotted to me was that of confessor at the renewal of vows.

Every Jesuit, until he takes his last vows, whether as formed coadjutor or as professed, must twice a year (usually in February and June) renew his vows. The renewal (*renovatio votorum*) is preceded by a *Triduum* with special spiritual exercises and a general confession covering the period since the last renewal.

For this half-yearly office, special extraordinary confessors are appointed, so that at any rate twice in the year there is a possibility of unburdening the conscience to another than the regularly appointed confessor. Of course, the extraordinary confessor is bound to seek from the Superior the right of absolution for “reservation cases” which may be confessed to him, or else to direct the penitent to seek absolution for his reserved sin from the Superior. Thus the Order here too, in spite of apparent slackening of the reins, maintains control at any rate over the more serious lapses of its members.

But my proper office at Exaeten was, as I have already said, that of Scriptor.

I served my apprenticeship from the lowest stage. I had to correct proofs, and write trial articles, which underwent correction, and so on. For this good training I am sincerely grateful to the Order. But

* Reg. comm. 14.

that I was a good pupil may give the Order less cause for gratitude.

Very soon I was set to independent and scholarly work. Church history, especially that of the Popes, was to be my special subject, and it corresponded in every way to my inclinations.

With what a high conception of the purity, even divinity, of this history did I approach my task! I never suspected at that time that this study would have such terrible consequences for me: the collapse of my faith, its abandonment, separation from Church, Order and the whole of my past life. I call these consequences terrible. For although I recognise the great value that they were in my life, and though I appreciate the light that they kindled within me, yet the conflict I had to endure and the sufferings I had to bear were terrible, and the remembrance of things past, irretrievably lost, is, in spite of all that I have gained, a lasting and ever-painful open wound.

It is impossible to forsake sanctuaries, honoured for decades out of the depths of a believing soul, to burst through bonds which from the home of childhood upwards have been twined round youth and manhood, without the bitterest suffering. And yet I thank the fate, though it seems to have been a blind one, that led me, by the hand of the Jesuit Order, to the road which at last brought me freedom.

Two stages on this road to freedom were of special importance—Brussels and Berlin.

The Jesuit Fähr, my two-fold Superior, sent me to Brussels in order that I might there, with the assistance of the Bollandist Library,* carry on more exact studies in the history of the Papacy than the literary resources

* The Bollandists are, in a sense, a literary republic within the Belgian Province of the Jesuit Order, with their own library and their own establishment; but, of course, they are subject to the general Constitutions, rules, and Superiors of the Order, like all other Jesuits.

at Exaeten would have rendered possible. I also received permission to use the public libraries of the Belgian capital.

In the Jesuit de Smet, at that time Superior of the Bollandists, I found an amiable and ever-ready guide in my studies. That he, as I firmly believed, was a sceptic in no way detracted from his human excellence.

My time at Brussels was but short, but I made good use of it, and the study of historical works, which were not written from the ultramontane Catholic standpoint, but dealt with Church and Papacy in a free spirit, from a purely scholarly point of view, was a revelation to me. At the age of thirty-eight I read such works for the first time! Such things then existed? The Papacy and Church could be approached from another side? Their history consisted not only of light, but even of darkest shadow?

Such questions and thoughts stormed in upon me like a flood, and caused walls to totter which had hitherto blocked out every view of the "other side" of the "Divine" Church and the "Divine" Papacy.

On my return to Exaeten, I hinted to the Jesuit Föh some of the impressions I had received. The serious character of the impressions made on me at Brussels cannot have been quite clear to him—perhaps on account of my very guarded report—for he only made a few casual remarks about "temptation" and "struggle." But very soon temptation and struggle came my way through his agency, though in a very different manner from that meant by Föh.

One day he said to me: "Windthorst wishes the question of the Papal States to be brought forward again; in the first place, the *Laacher Stimmen* are to publish articles on the subject, showing the necessity of the Papal States for the freedom of the Pope. Afterwards the articles are to appear as a pamphlet; set to work at once,

and write the articles. Unlimited space will be at your disposal in the *Laacher Stimmen*."

When I received this order—for an order it was—a tumult had already broken out within me, for my reason and will were fighting on this very subject of the Papacy. Even the dogmatic religious difficulties to which I have before alluded had fallen into the background before the questions: Is the Pope the Vicar of Christ? Is the Papacy of divine origin? Is it an infallible guide in religion and morals? Whether Christ is actually and really present in the consecrated host is a matter of enormous importance for the religious life of the Catholic Christian, and especially of the priest; but, after all, it is a question of faith. But whether the Papacy has played that particular part in the world, whether in religion and morals in the course of centuries that blessing has proceeded from it which its divine origin and its divine mission would of necessity demand—these are questions of history to be solved by historic means.

And I had already looked too deeply into ecclesiastical and Papal history in the Brussels libraries to be able to give a cheerful and unhesitating assent to these questions.

Therefore the order to defend the Papacy, and defend it as a divine institution, which would suffer wrong if it did not also receive the position of a temporal sovereign with territorial possessions, was a hard one for me. I tried to evade the task by pointing to others of better ability and more learning. Fähr, who could be very curt on occasion, would listen to no excuse, and said: "Do you write the articles, and say no more about it."

I lacked the courage to reveal my inner thoughts—it was fortunate that I did, else I should not stand to-day where I do stand—and I wrote the articles. But how? I could say nothing from my own convictions. I therefore took what others had written on the subject. It is only

the arrangement that is my own. These articles, and the pamphlet afterwards, received a great deal of praise. Windthorst, the intellectual author of my production, frequently expressed to me at Berlin his especial appreciation, and the leader of the Centre Party, Dr. Porsch, told me one day at the dinner table of the Berlin Catholic Provost, Jahnel, that at the General Assembly of Catholics at Buchum, the lecturer on the Papacy, Baron von Wendt-Gevelinghausen, had spoken about my Church and State pamphlet.

Even more distressing to me was a second literary task.

My Provincial, the Jesuit Ratgeb, commissioned me to write a pamphlet in defence of the Jesuit Order, with the title, *Why should the Jesuits not return to Germany?* This was after my stay in Berlin. The collapse of my religion had already taken place, and the necessity of leaving the Order and the Church was pressing upon me. In this mood I was to become the official apologist of the Order! I did what I could to escape from this truly terrible command. Ratgeb had told me how effective it would be, if a member of the German nobility belonging to the Jesuit Order were to write this pamphlet. I, therefore, begged him to pass me over, and entrust the work to one of the Jesuits, Prince Radziwill, Count Stolberg-Stolberg, Baron von Hammerstein, or Baron von Geyer-Schweppenbourg, who had been much longer in the Order than myself. In vain—I was said to be the best fitted. Here, again, I dared not reveal myself. I should never have attained to liberty, as I shall explain later. So I accepted, an unwilling slave to obedience, and a hypocrite in my own eyes. And yet I did not want to be a thorough hypocrite. I transported myself back to the years of the novitiate, when I still believed in the excellence of the Order. And I wrote from my heart the faith that I then

had, the ideal of the Order which at that time I had seen before me. I brought about their resurrection, and described them in words. Thus the pamphlet became a confession *d'outré tombe*; a gruesome grave, in which my faith and youthful ideals were mouldering, lay like a dark abyss between the writer and that of which he wrote.

And yet the pamphlet was a piece of hypocrisy. The compulsion in which I was placed explains, but cannot fully justify, my self-deception. I had to choose between writing and retaining the possibility of freedom, or not writing and continuing to lead perhaps a long life in servitude and the most painful captivity.

Before anyone throws a stone at me, he should first find himself in a similar situation, and then cast it, if he still can.

A third and longer pamphlet written by me was called *Christ or Anti-Christ*. It was a result of my stay in Berlin. It was this sojourn that brought me freedom, but it was only long afterwards that I cast off my deep-rooted, because inherited, dogmatic opinions—for instance, the dogma of the metaphysical divine humanity of Christ (the doctrine of the two natures, God and Man). At that time I did not realise that the most prominent Protestant theologians denied this “fundamental dogma of Christianity,” and I thought this denial anti-Christian. And, therefore, in this pamphlet, the composition of which was specially advocated by the Superiors of the Order, I collected passages from all the Protestant theological works in which the divinity of Christ was denied, and opposed to them the traditional proofs of Christ’s divinity.

One piece of literary work which I was specially urged to undertake I did refuse, and I am still glad I did so.

The Jesuit Tilmann Pesch desired that the Provincial should make me his collaborator in his *Flugschriften zur Wehr und Lehr*.

The personality of Pesch, and still more the harshness of his denominational polemics, were so repugnant to me that, even at the risk of having a black mark set against my name, I declined outright, and even acquainted the Provincial Ratgeb with the reason for my refusal.* He made no answer, but Pesch never forgave me for refusing him.

As long as I remained a Jesuit, my literary labours were highly appreciated, both in the Order and outside. Scarcely had I left the Order than they were depreciated by the same persons who had hitherto praised them. This, of course, is the Jesuit ultramontane fashion; there is but a short interval between "Hosanna!" and "Crucify him!" as indeed is the case everywhere.

However, I am quite ready to join myself in the depreciation. The writings of my Jesuit period are poor, both in matter and form. Indeed, they could not be otherwise. For they were composed at a time when all religious enthusiasm was quenched in me, when doubts were gnawing at my religious convictions, and they were written in part against my own conviction, under the influence of Jesuit obedience and distressing outward circumstances. What good thing can flow from such a source?

Soon after I left the Order I publicly repudiated my Jesuit writings, in particular those about the Papal States and in defence of the Order. And I had a right to repudiate them, for I was not morally free when I wrote them.

I must say another not unessential word about my pamphlet, *Why should the Jesuits not return to Germany?*

So far as the facts and historical aspect are concerned, it is very superficial, and full of objective untruths. Still,

* Instead of me, Pesch appointed another amanuensis, the Jesuit Reichmann, who is still carrying on his denominational and quarrelsome activity—anonously and pseudonymously.

the fault was not mine, but the Order's, which, as I have already shown, most carefully conceals the truth about itself and its history from its members and adherents. All that I quote there in defence of the Order is taken from Jesuit writers, and at that time I did not myself know how they falsify the truth. I only came to know the real history of the Order after I left it. Had I known it before composing my pamphlet in its defence nothing—not even the prospect of the most serious consequences—would have kept me from refusing the commission to write it. True, even at that time I had already broken with the Jesuit Order, but on account of my own experience, and because the religious Catholic belief in me had begun to weaken, not because I knew its history. Among a thousand Jesuits there are not two who know it.

To the interesting experiences of my Jesuit period of literary activity belongs the following :

In the year 1889 appeared the work, *History of the Moral - Theological Disputes in the Roman Catholic Church since the Sixteenth Century, with Contributions to the History and Characterisation of the Jesuit Order based on Unpublished Documents*, and published by Ignatius von Döllinger and Fr. Heinrich Reusch,* which supplies a whole arsenal of pointed weapons against the Jesuits. It caused great excitement in the Order. It was feared that disastrous consequences would ensue. The Jesuits, Tilmann Pesch and Pachtler, wanted to write a refutation. They said such attacks could not remain unanswered. The facts revealed must be "set back into their right light." In a conversation between these two Jesuits and the Provincial Ratgeb, at which I was present, the matter was discussed in detail. Ratgeb gave the wise counsel : "Do not answer

* *Geschichte der Moralstreitigkeiten in der römisch-katholischen Kirche seit dem 16ten Jahrhundert, mit Beiträgen zur Geschichte und Charakteristik des Jesuitenordens auf Grund ungedruckter Aktenstücke bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Ignaz von Döllinger und Fr. Heinrich Reusch.*

it; a refutation would give the book importance and a wider circulation, and would draw the attention of the Catholics to it. The arrangement and style of the book are so cumbersomely dreary [very unfortunately Ratgeb was right] that it will lead a neglected existence in libraries, and do us no injury." Ratgeb prophesied truly, and I must make the shameful confession that I only studied the book and recognised its value after I had left the Order.

In Exaeten too I had a second proof of the ridiculous prudery which everywhere scents immorality and temptations to break the seventh commandment (in spite of the official moral-theological studies of sexual things).

A Catholic artist had been commissioned to paint a picture of the patroness of Christian philosophy, St. Catherine of Alexandria, which was to hang in the chief study of the young philosophers of the Order. The picture arrived, and the Provincial, the Jesuit Lohmann, invited some of the Fathers, among whom I was one, to a preliminary view. It was painted in a very "pious" style—in the style of Deger's Madonnas. The face was young and pretty, but expressionless. The Provincial was greatly dissatisfied. He said that she was too pretty and too young. The sight might prove a temptation to the young scholastics; and so St. Catherine had to put up with a few additional strokes of the brush, which made her appear older and not quite so pretty.

A horrible experience, which also throws a strong light on the Christian love of humanity and our neighbours evinced by the Jesuits shall conclude my reminiscences of Exaeten. During my theological studies at Ditton Hall, one of my co-scholastics, Joseph Kreutzer, was dismissed from the Order. His dismissal caused a great sensation. Brother Kreutzer, with whom I had studied philosophy, had always appeared to me a good and zealous member.

We never heard any details about the cause of his dismissal, only general unfavourable comments were spread about him. Then suddenly Kreutzer appeared in the parish of Exaeten, at Baexem, and from there often came to the Consulting Room at Exaeten, to consult with various Jesuits. He had particular confidence in me, though why I do not know. He acquainted me with the history of his troubles. He had been wrongfully dismissed—he had done no wrong. The Superiors, in particular the Provincial, at that time the Jesuit Lohmann, and his Socius, the Jesuit Pütz, had treated him with great harshness. He was now alone in the world, without any means, and on the brink of despair.

As the Jesuit Pütz was also at Exaeten as Socius of Lohmann's successor, the Provincial Ratgeb, I went to him and informed him of Kreutzer's circumstances, and begged his assistance. Pütz would not hear of it. He said Kreutzer had brought his sad fate upon himself. The Order had acted very generously towards him; nothing more could be done for him. When I informed Kreutzer of this, in another and last conversation, the poor fellow was overwhelmed by a storm of despair and discouragement. A few days later he cut his throat with a razor, and bled to death, in a room in the poor village inn where he was staying. He was put away in the churchyard at Baexem as a suicide. A few weeks later I was passing the churchyard with the Jesuit Pütz, and I begged him to go to the neglected grave and say a prayer over the unfortunate departed. His answer was a curt negative.

CHAPTER XXVII

BERLIN*

FROM the lonely Dutch moorland to the cosmopolitan stir of the German Imperial capital !

When in the beginning of May, 1888, after a walk with the Jesuit Spillmann through the corridors at Exaeten, I was returning to my own room, I received an order to go at once to my Provincial, Father Ratgeb. He communicated this astonishing piece of news :

“ You and Father Föh are to go at once to Berlin, until further notice. Father Föh will live in St. Hedwig’s Infirmary, you with the delegate of the Prince Bishop, Provost Jahnel, who has given his consent to this. The object of your Berlin residence is to prepare the ground for a permanent settlement. Whether, and to what extent, you will at once be able to practise any spiritual care there, depends on the goodwill of the Provost and of the Prince Bishop of Breslau, Dr. Kopp. You must, therefore, try to be on good terms with both these personages. In order that your stay in Berlin may lead to no annoyance with the police and other authorities, you are to be matriculated as a student at the University. What lectures you attend is left to your own decision, but I desire that you should occupy yourself in detail with Protestant theology, in order to be able to combat it in your writings. You are to place yourself entirely at the

* In Berlin too I was twice stationed as Jesuit—1888 and 1892. For the reason for which in the previous chapter I recorded the events at Exaeten under one heading, I shall do the same with my Berlin sojourns.

disposal of the leaders of the Centre, and especially Windthorst, who approves of our plan, but without in any way intruding upon them. There is to be no relation of Superior and subordinate between Father Föh and you—all important steps must be discussed by both of you. You are to send me regular reports. I have also another commission for you personally, which requires a good deal of skill. I have been informed by the General that the Prince Bishop Kopp is annoyed with the Jesuits, because he believes that they are opposing his appointment as Cardinal. You are to write to the Prince Bishop that you are commissioned to inform him that we German Jesuits should be very glad to see him made Cardinal, and that you are ready at any time to bring him the expression of our respectful and friendly sentiments. Further [Ratgeb added this at the end as a mere detail], you are first to go to Schurgast, in Upper Silesia, to your relation, Baron Otto von Ketteler, who is dying and desires to confess to you; and after that you are to perform the marriage ceremony for your brother Clement. Meantime, Father Föh will precede you to Berlin.”

Such, not literally but as to their content, were my instructions as a Jesuit ambassador to Berlin. I was greatly agitated by the whole commission. It was a very striking and honourable mark of confidence on the part of the Order. Was I to reply to it by revealing my inner troubles? After a short deliberation I decided “No.” I had a human right to attain a clear decision about the doubts that were troubling me, and only the freedom of study in Berlin could bring me this clearness.

I brought consolation to my former fellow-pupil at Mayence, Otto von Ketteler. I performed the marriage ceremony for my younger brother Clement with the Baroness Kunigunde Raitz von Frenz, in the Chapel of Castle Kellenberg, near Juliers, before a large assembly

of relations, and then I entered the ancient and ugly Provost's house in Berlin [at the present time there is a stately new building], behind St. Hedwig's Church, where an attic, into which came wind and rain but very little light, was assigned me as a dwelling-place.

Soon I was on good terms with Provost Jahnel, whom I learned to value as an intelligent, energetic man, and an organiser of the first rank. He was not exactly well disposed to the Jesuits, but Föh and I got on very well with him. He had no objection to candid speech.

True, he afforded us little opportunity for our pastoral activity.* Föh had to minister in the newly founded pastorate of the Sacred Heart in the Schönhauser Strasse, and I in the parish of Wicksdorf.

Every Saturday evening I went out there, heard confessions, celebrated High Mass, preached and catechised, and returned on Sunday evening to the Provost's house. We also helped with confessions occasionally in St. Hedwig's Church. Besides that there was a pastorate of nuns, which was very uncongenial to me, at St. Hedwig's Infirmary, the Grey Sisters of the Niederwall Strasse, and the Ursuline nuns, in the Linden Strasse.

We always kept in touch with the Centre Party. Windthorst was especially amiable. The deputies, Baron von Franckenstein, Dr. Lieber, Count Praschma, sen., Count Conrad Prensing, Count Galen, sen., frequently visited us, and we were often their guests at the Kaiserhof. On great occasions we always had particularly good places in the President's Tribune of the Imperial and Prussian Parliaments. But apart from occasional discussions about political matters and questions of the day, we were not

* Provost Jahnel visited me again in 1897—two years after my marriage, in my Berlin house at the Kurfürstendamm. He made no attempt to convert me, but only expressed his regret at the step I had taken. He remained over an hour in animated conversation with me. I greatly regretted his early and unexpected death.

employed in politics. We were, in the first instance, only to prepare the ground.

I had some very interesting conversations with Dr. Lieber, leader of the Centre. He had temporary quarters with the Grey Sisters in the Niederwall Strasse, where I also lived on the occasion of my second stay in Berlin. We often dined together there, and we spent many evenings in my room or in his. The insight which Lieber afforded me into his methods of thought and action was not exactly edifying. He was an intriguer and a thoroughly pushing man. It was a matter of annoyance to him that there were other leaders besides himself in the Centre Party, and it was not his fault that he did not become the sole leader. The most important of the numerous conversations was that in which he described to me his relations to Windthorst, and in characterising Windthorst let fall the remark that the unscrupulous Guelph, after the celebrated speech at Cologne on the 6th February, 1887, in which he expressed his views on the intervention of Leo XIII. in the matter of the Septennate, had said:

“On that occasion I lied myself out of the difficulty with the help of God.”

The details, including my own regret at an indiscretion I had committed, and the wording of a statement of Lieber's in the *Germania* of February 20th, 1896, which referred to it, are given in my book, *Rom und das Zentrum*.

At that time Lieber was circulating very zealously a pamphlet printed for private circulation, in which he attacked his colleague of the Centre, Racke. He handed me several copies, with the commission to send them to my Provincial Superior.*

* Lieber, in his declaration, speaks of reminiscences which he had composed, and which were perhaps to appear later. If this were to happen, I should find myself compelled to publish some of Lieber's letters as a complement to the reminiscences. Some of them are addressed to me, and some to a lady, who gave them to me, unasked, for my free disposal.

My commission to the Bishop of Breslau was executed in the following manner :

I wrote to him what the Jesuit Ratgeb had said to me, and asked him whether I might call on him for further explanation. Kopp answered from his castle of Johannsburg in a very diplomatic manner. The difficulties with the Jesuit Order had never been as great, he said, as my Superior seemed to assume. Everything was now in order, so that further steps would be superfluous. And in fact in the year 1893 Kopp attained the goal of his ardent desires and energetic efforts—the Red Hat—and thus became Cardinal by the grace of the Pope and the Jesuit Order.

The main interest in my Berlin stay was concentrated in the University and Library, that is to say, in my studies.

After matriculating (Fäh, who had not passed a school-leaving examination could only attend as a "hearer"*) , I entered my name for Adolf Harnack's "History of Dogma" and Friedrich Paulsen's "History of Modern Philosophy." I refrained from entering for any other theological and philosophical lectures; I wished to acquaint myself with Protestant theology by means of private study.

It has often been asserted that Harnack's lectures caused my secession from Rome. That is incorrect. Harnack and his lectures did not make the smallest impression on my development. I admired his learning, but I was amazed at the ignorance of Catholicism which he frequently evinced, as did also many other University Professors. Harnack did not supply me with a single thought or impulse which could have hastened the separation from my past, far less suggested it. Nor do I think that Harnack is a man who will have a permanent influence. For that—paradoxical as it sounds—he is too clever.

* Only persons who have passed the School-leaving (*Abiturienten*) Examination of a State High School can be matriculated as members of the University. Others may attend as guests (hearers). This is known as *hospitieren*.—*Translator*.

He sees things in too many colours, and from too many points of view. His nature is too conciliatory and, therefore, he delights in theses and antitheses, and in seeking to combine contradictions in a "higher third." For detailed research and minute accuracy Harnack's method furnishes a model, but it has no influence in determining the further development of religious theology. In detailed research Harnack leads the way, but he is no pioneer in his conception of life.

If, therefore, I cannot include the theologian and scholar Harnack among my liberators—and, indeed, was often in later life obliged to oppose him violently in this his double capacity*—I remember with gratitude and pleasure the kindness of the man Harnack, which I also experienced in his hospitable house.

Friedrich Paulsen's lectures were an æsthetic pleasure, both in form and matter. Two visits, also, which I paid to Paulsen in his quiet home among the pine woods of Steglitz, brought me many interesting and stimulating experiences. But even then I perceived what I long afterwards expressed to Paulsen himself, that he was essentially a bookworm, who saw and judged the world and its events only from the standpoint of his student's existence, and not in the light of facts. Paulsen too had no direct or determining influence either as a personality or teacher.

The man who did exercise a powerful influence over me was Heinrich von Treitschke, and it was just his course of lectures for which I had not entered.

My Provincial Ratgeb had, it is true, left me a free hand in the choice of lectures, but his intention was that I should only attend theological and philosophical courses. Had I informed him that I wished also to hear Treitschke's

* *Zeitschrift*, März, 1907; 2 Februarheft, pp. 338-349; *Adolf Harnack über den Katholizismus*.

historical lectures, it would have led to explanations which I desired to avoid.

So I chose the road of somewhat extensive "visiting."* On the very first occasion I heard a diatribe of Treitschke's on the hereditary hostility of Papal Rome towards Germany. The eloquence of his language, though at first difficult to follow, and the passionate patriotism of his irresistible attacks on the foes of his country and enlightenment, carried me away. His burning patriotism kindled in me the yet glowing fire of German sentiment, which for the last decade had been smothered under the ashes of Jesuitism, and now blazed forth once more in a bright flame. Again and again I felt drawn to his lecture room. Ten or twelve times, at least, I must have heard Treitschke without paying my scot.

It is such men that we need in our University chairs, to assist us against Rome and everything Romish, against the foes of civilisation and Fatherland. It is not a clarified knowledge, which is colourless and characterless, but knowledge of flesh and blood, knowledge expressed with individual and daring convictions, which can educate an upright generation.

Besides my public lectures from Harnack and Paulsen, and far exceeding them in importance for me, were my private studies in my attic in the Provost's house, and in the reading room of the Royal Library. I may say that I there made an exhaustive study of the whole newer Protestant theology and philosophy.

Among the philosophers Kant was my leader, whom I now first learned to know in his true character. Through Kant I attained to a recognition of the autonomy of reason, and its right to self-direction. Kant confirmed me infallibly in the consciousness, which had been long, but timidly, dawning within me, of the right and duty of

* *Hospitieren*,

conducting research, free and independent of faith in authority, of being not a mere child in leading strings, but a thinking human being, even in face of the things of the other world. What miserable superficialities my Jesuit Philosophy Professors had repeated to me about Kant's "unemployable" because "illogical" *Critique of Reason!*

If Kant was a liberator of my reason, Schleiermacher, Rothe and Biedermann became my liberators in the domain of religious theology.

I learned to understand the conception of religion, and to value it, apart from ecclesiasticism, and even in opposition to it; I learned to know the Churches for what they are—diseases incidental to religious development; I began to understand that there are no principles or formulas of faith, nor yet can be; that the name of dogma conceals a mass of fabulous and absurd theories (e.g. original sin, the Trinity); that "salvation" cannot be accomplished by blood, not even by the blood of a "God-Man," but by self-purification; I saw that Christianity was not a hieratical organisation, but individual life.

Two other liberators I must also mention with gratitude, neither of them theologians, Ranke and Gregorovius; both showed me the Papacy in its historical, not in its pretended "Divine" aspect; both inspired me to special studies on the social and civilising aspect of the Papacy, which caused me to realise that, though the Papacy is a prominent institution of historic importance and power, it is still thoroughly human, and burdened, like every other long-lived human institution, with an enormous mass of religious and moral error of the most serious nature, the traces of which, in the course of centuries down to the present day, have caused not only blessing and civilisation, but also ruinous destruction and brutal ignorance.

I also learned to know the Ultramontane Papacy and indeed Ultramontanism in general, as a political abuse

of the Catholic religion. I came to know that the Vicars of Christ, in spite of their religious vocation, had gradually become political sovereigns, and continue even to the present day to put forward this claim, absolutely contrary to the doctrine of Christ. Of course, all this was not as clear in my mind at that time as it is when I set it down to-day. My Berlin studies were the beginning, the dawn, of my later clear recognition; they set in motion what was not built up into a mountain, but at first produced a huge abyss which swallowed up all the faith which had accumulated in me for forty years. But I crossed over the abyss, and found my way to heights of world conception worthy of a human being.

The consciousness of the entire sacrifice of one dogma was completed even during my Berlin residence, and strangely enough it was one of my pastoral experiences that brought about this sacrifice.

A student lamented to me that the dogma of everlasting punishment was driving him to despair. This confession of his removed the last check on a resolution that had long been seeking consummation in me. I told him that the belief in everlasting hell was blasphemous, and this one word of deliverance also delivered me from my belief in hell.

Further than this and to the actual denial of hell and a personal devil I did not attain at that time; at any rate, I did not express this opinion, and probably scarcely acknowledged it to myself. It was only the formal breach with the Church and the Order which effected this too.

What did I not suffer from the dogma of eternal punishment, and what have not many millions of souls suffered from it! And yet in the whole history of religion, including the pre- and non-Christian religions, there is no doctrine so brutally blasphemous as this, just on account of its "Christian" premises.

The "Christian" God as the Catholic-Ultramontane, and in part also the orthodox evangelical, dogmatics describe Him, becomes so odious a Being that a reasonable man must turn away with horror from such a God. If there is such a God, then the deepest pessimism and hatred of God is the only thing possible for us, His pitiable creatures, and I confess that from such a God I would not even wish to accept heaven. He would be a hell-God—worse even than the Prince of Hell himself.

For let us realise the Christian doctrine of God and His hell, and the doctrine of the "Divine Grace" required for the avoidance of hell :

(1) The All-knowing, All-good, and All-powerful God, although He foresaw that millions, even milliards, of people would suffer the everlasting pains of hell, yet created the human race, without any compulsion from without or within, and thus Himself, by His own free act, inaugurated the population of hell.

(2) The All-knowing, All-good, and All-powerful God acts in a Divine manner at the procreation of each individual human being by introducing the soul into the embryo, although He foresees that millions of people, called into being by Him, also of His own free will, will become everlastingly wretched in His hell. It is in His power to make the individual act of procreation of no effect by not creating the human soul, but He does create it, with the consciousness and the knowledge: "This soul, which is completely innocent of its earthly existence, which unasked receives its life from Me alone, will become everlastingly wretched, will suffer nameless tortures for ever in the flames of Hell, produced and maintained by Me; therefore, I create a being for everlasting torture." But still He creates it.

(3) No human exertion, however great, can deserve of God the "grace" to resist the temptations of sin, which

will cast him irretrievably into hell. The "effective grace" [*gratia efficax*] which alone enables him to overcome sin, is an absolutely free gift of the All-wise and All-good God, Who refuses it, although, being all-knowing, He knows that this refusal must signify everlasting hell for the man.

What judgment should we pass on a man who would permit even one human being, whose fate lies in his hand, to be wretched in body and soul throughout his whole life? All the rest of mankind would trample such a wretch to pieces. And yet the good God holds the fate of all men so completely in His hand that every other state of dependence is insignificant by comparison. For men are His creation, called into being by Him, unasked, and maintained in being.

Indeed, a man condemned to hell by this "God" might cry into His face: "It is You who should be in hell, not I, for You called me into life unasked, although You foresaw that I should end in hell. It was You who refused me Your grace, although this alone could have saved me from hell."

The dogma of hell is, more than any other, a "priest's dogma"; that is, a dogma invented by a priestly caste, who desired to maintain mankind in fear for its own dominating ends.

Another pastoral labour, the deliverance of a woman from a position of disgrace, in which several of my relations generously assisted me with large sums of money, became many years later, after my breach with Rome, a source of great trouble for myself and my brave wife,* but unfortunately the inviolable seal of confession keeps the whole locked safely from the public gaze.

I shall be easily believed when I say that my whole soul was in a state of turmoil during my Berlin residence. My sleepless nights began again. I suffered so much that

* Cf. my pamphlet, *In eigener Sache und Anderes* (Berlin, H. Walther), pp. 17, 18.

when I returned to Exaeten, in September, my emaciated appearance and my prematurely grey hair attracted attention. But I still struggled against taking the last step and separating myself from my inherited religion. The deeply rooted doctrine, again and again impressed upon me during my life in the Order, of the diabolical origin of religious doubts had even yet not quite perished within me. Above all, the terrible thought of a separation, and the almost complete impossibility of carrying it out, stood before me like a threatening spectre, and an impassable wall seemed erected before my eyes.

My family is one of the oldest and most respected of the Catholic families of Germany, and for centuries has been one of the mainstays of Catholicism. I had an old mother, and brothers and sisters who, with sincere fidelity, clung to their inherited religion, and to whom I was bound by strong and tender bonds of love. That I was a priest and a Jesuit was in their eyes and those of all my relations an honour and a blessing. The suffering I should cause them by my separation from the Church and the Order gave me a sensation of horror. Further, I was no mere faithful layman—I was a priest, the member of an Order. Thus chains were fastened about me which could not be unloosed, but only burst asunder. What scandal should I not occasion to the Catholic world and my family name and my former position, if I fell away from grace! The weight of these thoughts, and their power in checking my final resolution can only be understood by those who have been in a similar position, who, with equal enthusiasm, equal readiness for sacrifice, have adhered to Catholicism and Jesuitism.

The effect on me of these internal struggles may be shown by two circumstances :

A little daughter of my elder brother Wilhelm died of diphtheria in July, 1888. When I received the telegram

with the news of her death, I prayed, with bitter tears and on my knees, to the soul of the child—for at that time I still believed that she could hear me—to obtain from God that I too might die, and thus be saved from ruin, for at that time I regarded as ruin that which lay before me.

I myself fell seriously ill with diphtheria, as the result of confessing an invalid suffering from this disease. I thought that the fulfilment of my wish was near, and I prayed earnestly to God that my illness might lead to death.

But I lived on, and I submitted to the decree of a God whose “kind and Fatherly providence” was still one of my dogmas. But I wished to leave Berlin, and to adopt the last means of subduing, if possible, the turmoil within me. I therefore begged my Provincial, Ratgeb, to send me to the Tertiate. There, in the quiet of a renewed novitiate, the decisive struggle was to be fought to an end. Ratgeb consented to my wish, and in October, 1888, I began my “Third Probationary Year” at Portico, near the English manufacturing town of St. Helens. It was a probationary year in a very different sense from that understood by the Constitutions of the Order. For in it I made trial of my faith.*

* In my place, the Jesuit Frins went to Berlin. He became Windthorst's theological and political legal adviser, and retained this position until his death. My Berlin companion, the Jesuit Föh, remained more than a year longer in the capital; then suddenly very much against his wish and will, he was transferred to Brazil. What the Order desired to attain when it sent Föh and me to Berlin was in fact achieved, and since then numerous Jesuits have been active in Berlin. Their headquarters are at St. Hedwig's Infirmary, in the Grosse Hamburger Strasse. From this centre they carry on the work of their Order in a comprehensive and truly Jesuitical, i.e. untruthful, fashion, in spite of the Jesuit Law. In order to be able to “work” undisturbed, they assume the title of “Professor” or “Doctor” without having the least right to either, and in this wrongful assumption of false titles they are strongly supported by the Central Organ of the Centre Party—the Berlin *Germania*. It publishes innocent announcements, such as: Professor (or Doctor) So-and-So will give an address here or there, or preach a sermon, or give exercises. But these professors or doctors are Jesuits. Sometimes six and more of these professors and doctors are working at the same time in Berlin.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE TERTIATE AND THE END

THE Constitutions of the Order make frequent mention of the Tertiate.*

As the novitiate lays the foundation for the structure of Jesuit asceticism, so the Tertiate is to supply the coping-stone of the building, after the conclusion of the long years of study. The Tertiate is essentially a repetition of the novitiate. It is, therefore, officially designated "Third Probationary Year" (*Tertius annus probationis*), while the novitiate consists of the first two probationary years.

All the exercises and experiments of the novitiate are repeated in the Tertiate. The chief experiment—the Exercises extending over four weeks—are there intensified by the midnight meditation, omitted in the novitiate out of consideration for the youth of the novices and the sleep they require.

The daily instructions given by the Instructor (the official title of the Director of the Tertiate) deal with the Constitutions and the history of the Order.

In my introduction I mentioned that when I left the Order, I left behind the valuable notes I had made on these instructions. The instructions, however, were only valuable in as far as they contained explanations of the Constitutions, the so-called Institute of the Society of Jesus, and even there they concealed more than they

* Exam. gen., I., 12, 18; IV., 16; V., 2—1; X., 7. Cong. VIII., Decret. 9. Cong. XVI., Decret. 34, etc.

revealed. All that they provided of the history of the Order was one huge falsification.

We learned nothing about the inward conflicts, nothing of the abuses which originated in the Order, nothing of its contradiction between words and deeds. The history of the Order was set before us as one great tale of glory, free from stain and reproach.

The Instructor, and also Rector, of the House was the Jesuit Augustine Oswald, whose truly Jesuitical love of gain I have already characterised.

As all Tertiaries are priests, we were utilised a great deal for pastoral work, such as preaching and hearing confessions. Thus I obtained an instructive insight into the religious and social conditions of England. The conditions in the great towns (I speak chiefly of Liverpool and Manchester) were, at any rate at that time, terrible. On the one hand, magnificent churches, equipped with excessive luxury; on the other, terrible misery, both social and religious. Drink caused frightful havoc, and not only in the lowest and lower classes of the population. I was curiously impressed, too, by the systematic exploitation of religion for financial objects. There were, for instance, the charity sermons, where matters were arranged as in a theatre or concert room. The prices of the seats in the church varied according to their position, from 6d. to £1, or even higher, if a particularly celebrated preacher was in the pulpit. The Jesuit Bernard Vaughan, of whom I had seen more than enough at Stonyhurst, was in great request for charity sermons.

In the residences of the English Province (Portico and Ditton Hall, though situated in England, belonged to the German Province of the Order) I was also frequently occupied in pastoral work, and thus had an opportunity of confirming interesting observations no longer new to me; first, the excellent fare in eating and drinking of the

poor Jesuits, and, secondly, the completeness of Jesuit obedience.

At that time the Jesuit Anderledy was General of the Order. He often took very strong measures against abuses. He was particularly anxious to limit luxurious living, and to suppress independent action, which the English Jesuits, in particular, were inclined to adopt. For both these reasons the "German General," as the Swiss Anderledy was called, was hated in the English Province. Once at dinner in the Jesuit residence at St. Helens, when port and claret were circulating, and loosening men's tongues, I heard the most spiteful expressions used about Anderledy—*e.g.* "I wish the man would die soon," which, indeed, did happen.

Here, too, I encountered what appears so often in the history of the Order: theoretical submission, blind obedience to the Superior, who represents God (Pope and General), practical disloyalty as soon as the Vicar of God causes any annoyance.

I had entered the novitiate full of idealism, the strength of which carried me over opposing difficulties, and my idealism had drawn its strength from my firm belief in the divinity of the Catholic Church.

I entered the Tertiate devoid of all idealism, and wounded to death in my belief. But I entered it with the honestly taken resolution if possible there to win back my faith, and through it my idealism.

In accordance with this resolution I worked, suffered and prayed in the Tertiate. Yes, indeed, I prayed. More urgent pleading is seldom sent upwards from the depths of any human soul. For the horrible alternatives stood in dreadful clearness before my eyes day and night. Either I succeed in fighting down my doubts, *i.e.* recognise them as error and temptation, and then I remain, not only a Catholic and a Catholic priest, but also a Jesuit, because in that

case the favourable judgment which the Church pronounces on the Jesuit Order can and will cover my own unfavourable judgment; or, I do not succeed, *i.e.* the doubts are transformed from temptations into truths, into certain recognition; and then I must leave the Church and the Order, must put off my faith and my priesthood.

The troubles I then experienced were dutifully revealed in the Confessions and Statements of Conscience to my Superior and spiritual Director, but even here I did not reveal their real background and true character. I did not tell them that the doubts were no longer merely cruel and grievous temptations to me, but that I had already begun to see in them the truth. I did not tell, in particular, that enthusiasm for the Order was completely extinguished within me, and that my remaining or not remaining in it depended on the fate of my doubts. It was insincerity, or rather a lack of complete sincerity. But even a man unjustly imprisoned does not reveal to his jailers the means of his liberation. Speech and openness would have been forged into locks and bolts which would have made my departure impossible.

And then!—this much was clear to me, even at that time. The Jesuit handling of confession and Jesuit Statement of Conscience are wrong. For confession exists only for the purpose of declaring sins, and the Order has no right to lay bare men's souls by the Statement of Conscience. My silence was therefore justified and comprehensible, from a religious and human standpoint.

When in July, 1890, my Tertiate was at an end, I too was almost at the end of my struggle. Work, suffering, and prayer had produced no change of disposition. My doubts had grown almost into certainty. I left the peaceful house of Portico with the consciousness that the breach must and would be accomplished—that the end was close at hand.

THE END

For more than two years afterwards I still stood at the edge of the precipice, wandering to and fro beside it, and stumbling, before I could summon up determination to take the leap, not into the gulf below, but right across it to the other side where, separated by the deep chasm, I could set firm foot on new ground in a new world.

I refrain from trying to give a psychological explanation of this long hesitation. Perhaps it is altogether inexplicable, and one of the unintelligible things which arise from the lowest depths of the soul, uncomprehended even by the individual himself.

The elements of a possible solution of this apparently insoluble riddle are to be found in the forty years of my Catholic, Ultramontane and Jesuit past, in the thought of my family, and the effect of my exit on the Catholic world; and finally, in my fear of the step to be undertaken, which at that time appeared to me a leap in the dark. For the new land of which I have spoken, on the other side of the abyss, was at that time scarcely perceived by me. True, I longed for it, but I had not yet a hopeful belief in the possibility of reaching it and still less any clear comprehension of its nature.

On some sides I shall be reproached with having so long continued to play the hypocrite by living outwardly as a Catholic and a Jesuit and priest, while inwardly I no longer possessed the religious basis for these three offices.

In the first place, I reply, special spiritual experiences are not so simply disposed of, and it is not possible to take a calendar and watch in one's hand, and determine the day and the hour when Catholic thought and sentiment were finally dismissed, and the opposite views adopted all ready-made. The road of knowledge always winds in curves and spirals, like the mountain roads, which cross

steep passes and climb up to mountain summits. Many years after my breach with Rome had been accomplished, I still discovered in myself Catholic views, and I found it difficult to uproot them from my mind. Our mother's milk remains long with us. Home and education are powerful forces, and fourteen years' membership of the Jesuit Order is an iron clamp which seizes on the innermost depths of the soul.

Even when the will to loosen all bonds and hindrances has long existed, the hesitation as to the time and mode of loosening them is not hypocrisy, but lack of clearness and explicable consideration.

Further, I reply, hypocrisy is a matter which I alone have to settle with my own conscience. It concerns no one else at all. For no one has been in any way wronged by my action. My duty towards others was, as I have already shown, performed up to the last, even though I was a hypocritical priest and a hypocritical Jesuit. For others I was to the very last that which I seemed to them to be.

What this long hesitation cost me I need not say, nor, indeed, can I. The cry of a despairing soul, resounding through thousands of years: "Out of the depths have I cried unto thee, O Lord. Lord, hear my voice!" was constantly on my lips during that last period. And how earnestly I sent it upwards—how I cried and prayed! Words fail to describe the misery in which I lived.

And yet there was no one to whom I could tell my sufferings! For, as I have already explained, silence as to my inner struggles was necessary, else the possibility of freedom would have been cut off. I am absolutely certain that, had I spoken, the gates of a lunatic asylum would have closed on me for life.

During my connection with the Order, numerous members of the German Province disappeared behind the

walls of a lunatic asylum in Belgium, close to the little town of Diest, near Louvain. The institution, the name of which I have forgotten, belonged to a fraternity of "Brothers of Mercy." There was no State control over admission, and thus no difficulty in the way of disposing of inconvenient individuals.

This fact is not altered by the circumstance that many Jesuits leave the Order without being interfered with. My case was a different one. I was a priest; and I wished to leave, not only the Order, but also the Church. Even silent acquiescence in this twofold apostasy would have greatly injured the Order, especially on account of the name which I bore, and the respect that I had already attained in wide Catholic circles. The Jesuit Order has never been soft-hearted, and in order to maintain its reputation, it shrinks from nothing; its ethical principles would have found no objection to declaring me insane on account of my opinions, and the logical consequences would have resulted: that conveniently open Belgian lunatic asylum would have housed me for the rest of my life. Such prospects for the future were bound to close my lips.

It was, therefore, impossible for me to leave the Order in a so-called legitimate fashion; that is, to ask for dismissal in the usual manner. Only the illegitimate road remained open.

For this road I required the means of subsistence, and was obliged to have money. In spite of the vow of poverty and the renunciation of fortune, I was still, even according to canonical right, the owner of my share of our patrimony, which was managed by my elder brother. Legally I was therefore entitled to a fortune, and I was certain of its actual possession for the future, but for the moment I could not touch my property; for the day I revealed myself to my family, the Order would at once have been

acquainted with it. Besides this, as my mother and family were so well disposed to Ultramontaniam and the Jesuits, they would have made the greatest difficulties, and a long-drawn-out conflict would have resulted, to which at that time my nerves were not equal. The explanation with my family, as well as the financial arrangements, could only take place after the decisive step had been taken.

Three accidents came to my aid.

When the Jesuit Föh, with whom, as far as was possible in the Order, a kind of friendly relation connected me, was transferred to Brazil, he begged me to collect some money from relations and acquaintances to purchase books for the Brazilian Settlement. Some hundreds of marks (between 400 and 500) had been collected by me, and I had deposited them, as I was bound to do, with the Procurator of the German Province, the Jesuit Caduff. This sum I must now make use of. As I was certain that I could repay it afterwards out of my own fortune, I felt myself entirely justified in using it in my necessity. Certainly I did it with a necessary lie, by telling the Jesuit Caduff that I was now able to buy books with that sum. Without this lie I should not have got the money. But I never even came into the position of having to use other people's money. The second accident enabled me to put my hand on my own.

I was ordered to Blyenbeck, in order to hold a discourse in the little town of Goch, on the Lower Rhine, situated quite close to that place. It was my last public appearance in Catholic circles, by the side of Lieber, the leader of the Centre Party. I found it difficult enough. But it appeared to me a fortunate circumstance. For Blyenbeck was my father's property. There was my brother's exchequer, where I could draw money from my own property which was standing at my brother's account;

this could be taken into consideration afterwards when we settled our accounts, and subtracted from the total belonging to me; which, as a matter of fact, was done. But now I already had the money collected for the Jesuit Föh. I dared not give it back to the Procurator. My inner excitement and disturbance were so great that the slightest circumstance and the smallest intervention might lead to the discovery of my condition and my intentions. And it was my freedom from life-long servitude that was at stake. So I did not give back the money in person, but placed it in an envelope, wrote upon it "For the Brazilian Mission," and left it, on my departure, with all the rest of my papers, in the open drawer of my writing table.*

I now had the means for attaining freedom. But how could I hasten on its hour? The third accident came to my aid.

A few days before Christmas, 1892, I received a commission to render assistance to the pastor of a parish not far from München-Gladbach. This was the desired opportunity for leaving Exaeten openly. To escape secretly in the night, perhaps through a window, was repugnant to me; not to mention that I might easily have been discovered, and then my fate would have been sealed. So on the 16th December, 1892 (I think this was the day, but am not quite certain), I stepped across the threshold

* Ultramontane Jesuit calumny many years ago spread the report that I had taken away the money and failed to return it. It is possible this lie may again be revived. It is, of course, impossible for me to refute it, if the Jesuits assert that after my departure the money was not found among my papers. Those who can believe me capable of stealing a few hundred marks will not be convinced by me. But two facts may be adduced: 1. As soon as I obtained possession of my property I sent the Procurator of the Order, the Jesuit Caduff, 150 marks from Berlin, as compensation for the old clothes I was wearing, and obliged to take away with me from Exaeten. 2. In 1896, three years after I left the Order, the Jesuit Föh wrote me a very friendly letter from Brazil, in which he thanked me for collecting money for his mission, and said that it had been spent on books for him.

of Exaeten in broad daylight, apparently on a commission for the Order—in reality trampling it and its laws underfoot.

I went to Cologne. I revealed myself to a lawyer there. I gave him letters to the Order, and to my mother, in which I declared the irrevocability of my step, since I had lost my faith in the truth of the Catholic doctrine; bound him over to keep my address in a foreign country secret; and, after exchanging the garb of a secular priest for a suit of lay clothes, bought ready-made, set out for Paris. But, first of all, I had to set the mind of the priest, to whom I had been sent, at rest about my non-appearance, so that he might not perhaps send a telegram to Exaeten, and thus make known my flight before I had crossed the frontier and the letters handed to the lawyer for delivery had reached their destination. So I telegraphed to the priest that the promised supply could not come, and in order to arouse no suspicion, I signed the telegram with the name of the Jesuit Superior Fischer, who had promised to send the supply.

The crime of forging the telegram I gladly admit, and rejoice, even at this day, that I boldly tore through a little wire thread (the consideration of sending off such a telegram with a false signature), else this thread might easily have grown into an iron fetter.

I remained in Paris under an *alias* taken from one of my father's estates until I received the news that my family was ready to arrange the money matters. The provisional settlement took place at the beginning of January, 1893, in Cologne, with the assistance of the Bank of Deichmann.

I took up my residence at first at Frankfort-on-the-Main. There the final settlement of property took place, when I handed over to my younger brother a capital of forty thousand marks (£2,000), which he declared

Fourteen Years a Jesuit

he could no longer do without. He had owned it ever since my entrance into the Order, with my consent, on the assumption that I should remain permanently in the Order, and regarded and treated it as his own property.

The terrible excitement of this last period brought on a long and serious illness, of which I was only cured by a residence of some months in Heligoland, from May to August, 1893. Returned from Heligoland, I took up my permanent residence in Berlin.

How often have I been reproached, publicly and privately, by Catholic Ultramontanes, who say: "You broke your vows; you committed perjury." Even evangelical circles have manifested their disapproval of the "apostate Jesuit," the "recreant priest."

It is surely more than obvious that after fourteen years of conscientious life in the Order and six years' priesthood, the questions of apostasy, recreancy, and perjury should have occurred seriously to myself. But I took little time to decide them, so simple are they.

The vows of an Order, and the state of the priesthood, are adopted in the belief of serving God and thus entering into a specially close relation to Him. When this belief is recognised to be erroneous, in that same moment the vows of the Order and the priesthood are cancelled. They were errors, just as the foundation on which they were based was itself an error, and a man is fully entitled to cast such errors away.

That evangelical circles too are often subject to such prejudices, is due to their contemptible traditional dependence on the Catholic ultramontane point of view. The fact of the apostate monk and recreant priest, Luther, strangely enough, seems to make no impression on such evangelicals.

CHAPTER XXIX

GENERAL VERDICT ON THE JESUIT ORDER

AN appreciation of the Jesuit Order must proceed from two different standpoints: the Order as a religious ultramontane institution must be judged from the religious point of view, and the association of men to attain certain ends here on earth, independent of religion, must be judged from the human point of view. To distinguish sharply between the two is not easy, but as far as possible it should be done. Since the whole ultramontane Catholic system of orders, with its vows and its special state of an order, must be designated as a departure from Christianity and a distortion of its religious outlines, this general verdict applies also to the Jesuit Order. Indeed, it applies specially here, for the Jesuit Order has peculiarities which are reprehensible even from the Catholic standpoint.

Its blind obedience, its "Statement of Conscience," its system of espionage and levelling, its training to denunciation, its misuse of confession, and many other peculiarities, are immoral institutions which Catholic Christianity too should repudiate, and in former times would doubtless have repudiated. That the Jesuit Order, which came into being in the sixteenth century, was not so repudiated, that, on the contrary, its Constitutions, though abounding in such immoralities, were approved by the Popes, is a proof to what extent at that time and, indeed, much earlier, the Papacy and Church were infected and dominated by Ultramontaniam.

The monasticism of the Theban and Libyan deserts knew none of these things, nor yet did Benedict of Nursia, the first founder of the Western convents. The more recent founders of orders, St. Dominic and St. Francis, did not introduce into their foundations this intellectual and religious slavery and bondage, enveloped in a garb of religious Christianity. To make these the basis of Christian perfection was left to the Jesuit Order. By its example and agency the innumerable later foundations of male and, above all, female orders were equipped with these monstrous excrescences. The plague of an anti-Christian dependence, which rages there in devastating fashion, and deprives many thousands of their inherited and divinely appointed freedom, the "freedom of Christianity," is of Jesuit origin.

In another essential point too the Jesuit Order differs in religious matters unfavourably from the old Catholic Orders, the Benedictines, Augustinians, Franciscans, and Dominicans.

While among these the original religious enthusiasm mounted upwards in a brightly flaming fire to heaven at their foundation, while evangelical poverty and evangelical chastity—their celebrated triumphs, which surpassed human nature and violated Christianity, but for all that were heroic—were maintained for decades, almost centuries, in a state of "first youth," while their ecstatic zeal never grew cold, and the "first fruits of the Spirit," even though falsely understood, never ceased to mature, in the Jesuit Order from the very beginning everything was attuned to sobriety and calculation; there was no "first youth," no "first fruits of the Spirit."

The founder of the Jesuit Order, Ignatius Loyola, though as a man and a saint he was a visionary and hysterical enthusiast, was prudence personified as the founder of an order. The Constitutions, written, at any

General Verdict on the Jesuit Order 425

rate for the greater part, by him, are calculated from beginning to end for temporal success, power, and influence over men. Ecstatic impetus, inward enthusiasm and religious warmth are lacking. Where they appear to be present, they are merely external adornment, applied in order to disguise the calculated sobriety.

The Scripture saying, "By their fruits ye shall know them," condemns the Jesuit Order as a religious institution. The blessing of God, which according to the faithful Catholic conception—the conception which is decisive in judging the religious side of the Jesuit Order—must rest on the work of a divinely sanctioned Order, does not rest on the work of the Society of Jesus.

I have already, in the chapter on the Jesuit System of Education, referred to the absence of permanent results—a proof, surely, of the absence of God's blessing—in the main activity of the Order, the education of youth. Outward splendour and useless show are the main fruits of Jesuit activity, but, like everything external, the splendour and show soon fade away. The words of Piaget's criticism* should be read, too, for it shows clearly the fiasco of the Jesuit Order.

Again, the words of the Jesuit Cordara, already quoted,

* *Essai sur l'Organisation de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Paris, 1893), pp. 235 et seq. After commenting on the failure of the Jesuits to achieve any lasting results in their missions to the heathen, and their efforts to check the spread of Protestantism, Piaget asks this question: "What is the cause of this failure at the end of so much apparent success? I may be mistaken, but it seems to me that Jesuitism was nowhere a true religious awakening, a revival of sincere piety, which alone could have supplied a lasting foundation for its work." In regard to the revival of pious works, to be attributed to the influence of Jesuit confessors, he asks: "But did the overwhelming influence they attained lessen or even check the loose morality of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? Must we not rather say that immorality made way in those very classes of the population which were trained in their schools? Strangely enough, it was the very generation that was trained up by the Jesuits which rose against them and procured their suppression." The complete passage is quoted in the chapter on the "Suppression of the Order" in the German edition of this book.

on the arrogance of the Order are a strong indictment of the chief cause of Jesuit failure.

Cordara's criticism was written at the end of the eighteenth century, when the Order had had two hundred and fifty years of work, including its best period, and he designated the suppression of the Society of Jesus as a Divine judgment on the pride which is so hateful to God. It would be impossible to bring a more serious indictment against the worth of a religious order. And from a purely human standpoint it is natural that the Jesuits should in part suppress and in part falsify the words of their distinguished fellow-Jesuit. For their undeniable failure they can find other causes than the rejection by God as a punishment for arrogance. The malice of men! It is just because the Jesuit Order is so holy, so well-pleasing to God, that it suffers in a special degree the fate of all saints, "the hatred and persecution of godless men." The Society of Jesus fares as did Jesus Himself—how often have I heard this said!—"The servant is not greater than his master. If they have persecuted Me, they will also persecute you."

Not one single *Mea Culpa* is to be found in the four hundred years' history of the Jesuit Order. For that uttered by Cordara was not official, nor meant for publicity, not even for the Order itself. It was recorded after the suppression of the Order in the secrecy of a document intended only for his brother.

The very fact that the Jesuit Order proclaims its absolute immaculacy in so bombastic and boastful a fashion, transcending the bounds of the permissible (as shown, for instance, in the work *Imago primi saeculi*), as though it were enunciating a dogma, is so un-Christian, so irreligious, that it alone would suffice to condemn the Order as a religious and Christian institution. For the words placed by Christ in the mouth of the Pharisee,

“God, I thank thee that I am not as other men are, or even as this publican,” should express the strongest contrast to the religious and moral conception of Christ. Yet these very words are the fundamental note of all the manifestations of the Society of Jesus.

Strong contrasts to the teaching of Jesus are also to be found in other important points, particularly in the domain of morals. Some of these I have discussed in the chapter on Jesuit Morality.

Further, what could be more irreligious and, therefore, unchristian than the Jesuit piety of the Exercises, which sets aside the individual and substitutes for it a mechanical type? This is one of the greatest crimes which the Jesuit Order commits against the human being, as I have already shown.

Thus Jesus and the Society of Jesus, religion and the Jesuit Order, stand in sharpest contrast to one another. Only the ignorance of Catholics, and their bias in favour of ultramontane Jesuit views, explain the fact that the strong contrasts are not recognised. The light which has dawned on individual Catholics must dawn on all. But the first condition of this is to subdue Ultramontaniam in the hierarchy. For this ultramontanised Papacy and Episcopacy supply the strongest support for Jesuitism, because in its turn Jesuitism is also the bulwark of Ultramontaniam and its hierarchy; and this brings us to the consideration of the Jesuit Order as an association of human beings destined to pursue here on earth purely human aims which, however much they may be embellished by religion and Christianity, are in reality far removed from both.

When the Jesuit Order came into being, a fatal hour had struck for the Papacy. The movement originated by Luther, in connection with other causes, had caused the ship of St. Peter to rock dangerously. A world with a

new philosophy of life was coming into view, which no longer recognised the Pope-God of the Middle Ages, the sovereign Lord of the whole world in that capacity. Ultramontanism which, since Gregory VII., had been firmly established in its seat, and was ruling the world, in particular the political world, from Rome, under religious forms, felt the onset of the new age, whence the cry, "Free from Rome," was already resounding.

Then the threatened Papacy found in the Jesuit Order an ultramontane auxiliary regiment of extraordinary power and pertinacity. The Papal dominion was to be re-established. The ultramontane system, with its secular and political kernel disguised under a garb of religion, was concentrated, as it were, in the Constitutions of the Jesuit Order, and even more in its well calculated labours directed from central points. Words and deeds, teaching and example, of the new Order, were a single great propaganda for the ultramontane Papacy. The doctrine of the "direct"—that is, the immediate dominion of the Vicar of Christ over the whole world—had become untenable; the Jesuit Order (*e.g.* Bellarmin and Suarez) replaced it completely by the doctrine of the "indirect" power.

There is not the least fraction of religion in this doctrine. Everything in it is irreligious and anti-Christian, but it is quite specially calculated for religious display, for it makes a pretence of God's Kingdom, which embraces this world and the next, which tolerates only one supreme ruler—God and His Vicar—and thus makes this comprehensive political universal dominion an acceptable, even desirable, religious demand in the eyes of Catholics. The love of dominion implanted in the Jesuit Order finds the greatest possibility of development in this doctrine, hence its never-resting zeal in trying to raise the indirect power of the Papacy to a fundamental dogma of Church

General Verdict on the Jesuit Order 429

policy. The Order, as such, cannot openly aspire to universal dominion ; however powerful its equipment may be, it must always appear as a mere auxiliary member, a subordinate part of the Catholic whole, the Papal Church ; the more it furthers the temporal political power of Rome and extends the religious belief in its justification among men, the more political power will it attain itself ; the Papacy and its indirect power serve but as a screen behind which are concealed the Jesuit Order and its aspirations for power. By its zeal and skill it becomes an indispensable servant of the Papacy, and thus acquires direct dominion over the wearers of the Papal crown, and through them indirect dominion over the whole world.

Hence the continuous and detailed occupation with politics, forbidden by the Constitutions as unreligious, but which became its most comprehensive sphere of activity by the religious road of confession.

It was this very political activity of the Order which let loose the storm against it. And, as I have already shown, it was in the first instance the Catholic courts, at which the Jesuit confessor had carried on his religious activity for centuries, which demanded more and more eagerly the suppression of the Order, and finally attained it from Clement XIV. They felt that here, in the Jesuit Order, a power was rising which would gain the mastery over them. Claudius Acquaviva, the fifth General, gave to this political power, working in the religious atmosphere of the confessional, the form still valid at the present day, by means of a secret Instruction, which, as its discoverer, the Benedictine Dudik says, "shows quite clearly the ultimate aim the Jesuits tried to attain through their confessors—dominion over the Catholic Church, such as Gregory and Innocent and Boniface strove to attain."

But has the Jesuit Order not performed conspicuous

services for the Catholic religion? Are not the successes of the counter-Reformation in the main its work? There, surely, it was not a question of universal dominion, but of universal religion.

Doubtless the counter-Reformation was in the main the work of the Jesuit Order, but for that very reason it also bears the stamp of its spirit, and is characterised by measures of violence, even by blood and iron. The lost Papal dominion was to be restored. Religion took a second place, or rather supplied the cloak which was to conceal the craving for rule, and to sanctify the use of violent measures. We need only remember the words of the Jesuit Bobadilla,* one of the trusted comrades of Ignatius Loyola, to understand the nature and goal of the counter-Reformation, as conducted by the Jesuit Order.

The Jesuit Order, therefore, stands before us as the embodiment of a system which aims at temporal political dominion through temporal political means, embellished by religion, which assigns to the head of the Catholic religion—the Roman Pope—the rôle of a temporal overlord, and under shelter of the Pope-King, and using him as an instrument, desires itself to attain the dominion over the whole world.

That opinion is not only mine—that of the renegade, the apostate Jesuit—good Catholics too, who otherwise praise the Jesuit Order, advocate it strongly.

Thus, for instance, Reinhold Baumstark says: “For beyond all facts stands the decisive circumstance that Jesuitism cannot rise above one point of view, that of the temporal political power and external compulsion.”†

From these efforts, directed for its own benefit and

* P. 383.

† *Schicksale eines deutschen Katholiken* (Strassburg, 1885), Second Ed., p. 91. Baumstark was for many years Leader of the Baden Catholics in the Second Chamber at Karlsruhe. He died in 1900 as President of the Provincial Court at Mannheim.

towards its own power, may be explained the twofold attitude of the Jesuit Order towards the Papacy; loudly emphasised submission which even takes the form of a special vow,* and harsh insubordination as soon as the Papacy opposes the special interests of the Order, above all, its attempt at rule. Then, as a matter of course, the reverence for bishops and cardinals also disappears. If the Vicar of Christ be set on one side, how should any regard be paid to the "successors of the Apostles"?

The Jesuit greed for power also explains another phenomenon, conspicuous through the whole history of the Order—its incessant quarrels with other religious organisations. Wherever the Order sets its foot, there peace ends and the struggle for existence begins. Its own churches are to be full, its own confessionals besieged, its own teachings in dogma and morality are to give the lead—in short, it desires to rule alone. The immeasurable arrogance, the inconsiderate and contemptible attitude towards other orders, those truly irreligious peculiarities of the Order which the Jesuit Cordara designated as the causes of its rejection by God, are the natural consequences of its unbridled greed for dominion.

The Jesuit Order has attained many successes by its temporal political efforts. The courts of Vienna, Munich, Paris, Madrid, Lisbon, and for a time of London too, to say nothing of smaller ones, were for a long time completely subject to it. But even these purely worldly successes lacked endurance and magnitude. Through the Jesuit confessors of the German Emperor and the French, Spanish and Portuguese Kings in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and their almost unlimited influence, the whole of Europe might have been subjected for generations to the Order. Instead of this, the political influence of the confessors is frittered away in a variety

* In the vow taken by the Professed of four vows.

of intrigues, in small disputes which, though all directed to the increase of Jesuit power and dominion, still universally lack statesmanship on a large scale and effective unity. The Jesuit confessors have always been political intriguers, never and nowhere statesmen. Therefore, in influential positions held continuously for several centuries, they have caused disturbance, confusion, and breaches of peace; they have increased the outward splendour and glory of their Order and filled its coffers, but they cannot point to a single political action with an effect on the present and the future, nor a single far-reaching successful undertaking in the domain of universal politics, in the centre of which they carried on their labours. The Jesuit Order has always fished in troubled waters, and harvested the small gains connected with small undertakings; the results that can only be attained in the clearness of great endeavour are completely missing in its political ledger, although the most powerful rulers of their day are entered there as its devoted and politically obedient penitents.

Whence comes this failure? In the first place, from the same cause which led to its religious failures.

The politics of the Order did not penetrate far enough. They were directed too much towards securing quickly attainable momentary successes which should shed fresh glory around the external position of the Order. Here too it was appearance, and not reality. But the deeper reason is the following, which at the same time reveals the weakness and strength of the Order in general.

The Jesuit Order does not train men to independent thought and independent action. It trains machines, which let themselves be used without reason and will, like corpses and sticks. The Jesuit aim, in the education of the members of its Order and others, is the destruction of the individual, the levelling away of all originality. Its Exercises, to which it subjects men of all classes, are

General Verdict on the Jesuit Order 433

the great planing machines through which human beings are enslaved in their minds and made dependent. The sinew of individuality there receives a fatal blow, and that not only in religious respects, but in general.

I have already described the effect of the Jesuit educational system on the Jesuit himself, and shown how it produces mechanical routine and easy mobility, and thus turns the individual into a smoothly gliding ball which yields silently to every impulse. But this deprives the Jesuit of the first condition for successful and permanent work—the impetus of his individual peculiarity. His work is all on the surface. Smoothly gliding balls trace no deep furrows, they leave only light, easily effaceable marks. The possibility of enormous activity in the most varied fields, of quick movement hither and thither, of incessant beginning and ceasing, now here, now there, is supplied by the pliable routine of the individual Jesuit. And as the history of the Order shows, this possibility has, in the most conspicuous manner, become a fact. No other institution has given so much cause for discussion in so comparatively short a time, nor been active in so many different directions. All Europe, half Asia and America, have become the field of its activity. In all possible positions and offices we see Jesuits employed. But nowhere has even a single Jesuit shown himself a truly great man, with a far-seeing outlook and enduring activity. And for this reason—because every Jesuit lacks personality—he is a wheel of a machine, not a human being thinking freely, acting freely, and creating values of his own.

This is true of all ranks of the Order, of the General and the Superiors as well as the lower spiritual and temporal coadjutors.

This complete lack of personality, the deliberate and necessary consequence of Jesuit education, is not balanced

by the heroic devotion to definite tasks, which is certainly not lacking in the Jesuit. For Jesuit devotion and self-sacrifice is and remains the devotion and self-sacrifice of a machine, which also wears itself out, which does its duty and lets itself be used to the very last of its powers, but which in all this performs no individual, but only a mechanical task. The Jesuit does not devote himself to his allotted labours in the first instance from the interest he feels in them—the ascetic discipline of his Order enjoins on him sacred indifference in regard to every kind of work—no, he acts, and acts in this particular way, because he constitutes this particular wheel in the great machine which perhaps in the very next hour will be changed for another by the hand of the Superior; he works zealously, because obedience for the moment has set him at this particular point of the machine's activity, which he will perhaps have to exchange to-morrow for another. "One foot in the air," as my Novice-Master, the Jesuit Meschler, used to characterise the fundamental attitude of a Jesuit at work, does not assist us to accomplish anything great and permanent in any domain. For this we require permanence of place and the possibility of striking root, absorption in the occupation and, above all, the consciousness of being set tasks for life, not merely temporary experiments which at any moment if it seem good to the Superior, must be exchanged for another occupation.

As a Jesuit is unfitted even by his education in the Order to become a powerful implement for lasting and individual labours, the lack of aptitude is transferred, if not in so marked a degree, to all who submit to his influence, all whom he educates. They too suffer more or less in their individuality, lose a good part of their independence and power of decision. The many thousands who, in all classes and professions, are attached to the Jesuit Order,

General Verdict on the Jesuit Order 435

are pliant implements in its hand, but for that very reason lack the requisites for great and enduring results—initiative and independence.

It is undeniable that we here meet with the weakness of the Order, and it appears conspicuously in the notorious lack of enduring success, in spite of favourable opportunities, in the history of the Order.

But here also lies the strength of the Jesuit Order. Its education produces a similarity among its members, a uniformity of activity which cannot be surpassed, and which is a guarantee for those results which can be attained through its mechanical and automatic methods.

The ball can roll in any direction, into any corner, however small; the Jesuit, with no will of his own, but obeying blindly, can adapt himself without difficulty; he changes his place again and again, and brings to all the same trained and superficial skill. I have often spoken of the Jesuit mass; here we find it. Human beings with their individual differences have vanished; a light and mobile army, battalions drawn up in rank and file, march in equal step in their place. The persons who stand outside the Order but submit to its guidance belong also to the Jesuit mass—they are a column that can be directed by a single word.

Thus the Jesuit mass permeates the whole world, young and old, men and women, untold, innumerable “congregations.” It is clear that this is a cause of strength, in spite of the weakness which in another direction is combined with it. Indeed the strength is far greater than the weakness. For mankind cannot tolerate continuous violent rule and violent impressions for ever. For them the commonplace is the rule, controlled by the smooth working of small events and impressions. Those who understand how to guide men silently and quietly, to put them in leading strings without their noticing it,

become their masters more certainly than the revolutionary warrior or statesman.

That brings us to the question: Is the Jesuit Order dangerous, and to what extent?

Here is my answer: For the individual human being, for State and Religion (I purposely do not say "Church," for it is not only not harmful to the Church, but even very useful), the Jesuit Order is one of the most dangerous institutions which has ever existed. For it destroys that which is most valuable in men—moral and intellectual independence. After what I have already said, there is no need to explain this in further detail.

In this system of dependence lies the danger that threatens true religion and genuine Christianity from the Jesuit Order. The reproach that is brought against the Romish Church in general, that it sets its official hierarchical personages and its sacraments and sacramental offices and ceremonies between God and man, that it has elevated religious tutelage into a dogma—in short, tries to check free intercourse between man and God as far as possible: this worst of all religious reproaches is incurred in the strongest manner by the Jesuit system. The Jesuit and the man who submits to Jesuit direction are in reality slaves, who approach the world beyond and God—that is, may only take part in religion—in the way in which the piety and asceticism of the Order permits. They must renounce even the last remnant of religious freedom. They must be accessible, to the very depths of their soul, not to God, but to the Superior of their Order, and to him alone. This too requires no further proof after the detailed expositions I have given on the subject.

What about the danger of the Jesuit Order to the State? It is many-sided and far-reaching.

In the first place, we must remember the fundamental constitutional dogma of the Jesuit Order—complete

General Verdict on the Jesuit Order 437

dependence of the State on the Church; its obligation to fashion itself and its life according to the laws of the Church. Numerous quotations from Jesuit authorities,* and among them the present General of the Order, go to prove that from this fundamental dogma may be deduced the doctrine that it is permissible and meritorious to disobey the laws of the State which are opposed to the laws of the Church, and in case of punishment for such breaches of law to be indemnified from the State Treasury.

Even active resistance to Government officials is permitted. And the most simple circumstance which throws a strong light on the danger to the State of such doctrines is, that they are to be found in books which expressly serve as directions for attending the confessional. The fact that their chief advocate is the German Jesuit Lehmkühl, the political theological councillor of the Centre Party, gives them an increased importance for Germany.†

* Some of these are given in the chapter on Jesuit Morality.

† It is right, however, to emphasise the fact that Lehmkühl's theses are the hereditary doctrines of the Jesuit Order: the twentieth century in them meets the sixteenth and seventeenth. I have already referred to the Jesuits Bellarmín and Suarez as the most celebrated theoretical advocates of the indirect power of the Church over the State. Two other Jesuits, also belonging to the early days of the Order, and among the members most actively concerned in politics, whom we have already encountered in this activity—Parsons and Garnet—may also be mentioned, because the teaching of one almost coincides with that of Lehmkühl.

“One necessary condition required in every law is that it be just; for, if this condition be wanting, that the law be unjust, then it is, *ipso facto*, void and of no force, neither hath it any power to oblige any. . . . Hereupon ensueth that no power on earth can forbid or punish any action, which we are bound unto by the law of God, so that the laws against recusants [the English Oath of Allegiance was in question], against receiving of priests, against mass, and other rites of Catholic religion are to be esteemed as no laws by such as steadfastly believe these to be necessary observances of the true religion. . . . Being asked what I meant by ‘true treason,’ I answer, that is a true treason which is made treason by any just law; and that is no treason at all which is made treason by an unjust law.”—Jardine, p. 235.

And the Jesuit Parsons, of many names and devices, in his book, *Elizabethæ Angliæ Reginae hæresim Calvinianum propugnantis sævissimum in Catholicos sui regni edictum*, says: “The universal school of Catholic theologians and canonists hold (and it is certain and of faith) that any Christian prince who manifestly

But even this attitude towards the authority and sovereignty of the State does not satisfy them. The Jesuit Order is the sworn foe of the modern State and all its educational functions.

This is surely and strikingly demonstrated in the 12th decree of the 23rd General Congregation, of the year 1883. Here the Order asserts that it abides by the Encyclical of Pius IX., *Quanta cura*, of December 8th, 1864, and the Syllabus of the same date, and emphatically designates as "plagues" the "errors" condemned in these two documents. But this Encyclical *Quanta cura* and the Syllabus are the most comprehensive declarations of war against all the foundations and achievements of the modern State education and civilisation. Since, then, the Jesuit Order does not content itself with giving its silent assent to the Papal ultramontane declaration of war, "which would be a matter of course for every ultramontane Catholic," but gives it in the most solemn manner through its General Congregation, it expresses its deadly hatred towards the modern State in a specially ostentatious manner, within twenty years after the publication of the Encyclical and Syllabus. Like the ultramontane Papacy in the Syllabus, the Jesuit Order too says: "I cannot be reconciled, nor agree with, progress, liberalism, and modern civilisation."

True, the Jesuit Order makes use of the attainments of progress, liberalism, and civilisation. True, it clothes itself in modern garb, and apparently takes part in all domains of civilisation; but under its modern garb is

swerves from the Catholic religion, and wishes to call others from it, falls at once from all power and dignity, both by divine right, and before any sentence can be passed against him by the supreme pastor and judge (the Pope); and his subjects are free from the obligation of any oath of allegiance which they had taken to him as a legitimate prince; they may and should (if they have power), expel from his sovereignty over Christians such a man as an apostate, a heretic. . . . Now this, the certain, defined and undoubted opinion of the most learned is clearly conformable and in agreement with the apostolic doctrine."—Taunton, 148, 149.

hidden the bitter opponent, who hates with intensity that progress the advantages of which he utilises for his own purposes. So deep, so universal, is the Jesuit hatred for our modern civilisation that we encounter it even where we should least expect it, and sometimes in the most grotesque form. Here is an instance :

The Jesuit Meschler, a former Novice-Master, Rector, Provincial, and Assistant to the General, consequently a prominent Jesuit, in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, for October, 1909 (page 568), publishes an article on St. Ludgerus, first Bishop of Münster, in the eighth century. His article ends with this characteristic sentiment :

“ The civilisation of St. Ludger built hospitals, churches, and convents ; the civilisation of our day builds barracks, lunatic asylums, and prisons.” Away then with the civilisation of the twentieth and let us return to that of the eighth century !

Special hostility is shown by the Jesuit Order to one of the sources of civilisation, and one of the most important institutions of the State as a civilising agent—I mean the State school.

The Jesuits Wernz (the present General), Laurentius, Cathrein, von Hammerstein, etc., in their widely read books and articles, set up the most unlimited demands in regard to the suzerainty of the Church over the State schools, and in so doing pour the most opprobrious abuse on the State and its schools. Thus, for instance, the Jesuit von Hammerstein writes :

“ The idea of State and school, as conceived and handled by the modern State and embodied for the last centuries in a large amount of legislation, is unjust, and that not only in the most general sense of unfairness, but unjust in the truest signification of the word—that is, the laws in question lack the foundation of justice in a great part of their content. They are null and void,

just as a Socialistic decree, issued by a democratic State, abolishing all private property, would be null and void. Not only does the modern school idea deserve the designations 'unpractical' and 'unjust'—it also unquestionably merits the further reproach of being un-Christian. . . . On closer examination, we are indeed actually compelled to bring the reproach of immorality and dishonesty against the modern school." "If the State abides in future by its modern school idea, we do not know how we can acquit it of the reproach of inaugurating a system of hypocrisy on a large scale. Such a system must in time become the grave of fidelity, faith, and morality for our youth and the whole people." "The apex of the Prussian school pyramid is the ministry and minister of public worship and instruction (*Kultusminister*). Even the mere notion of a minister for spiritual affairs on the lines of the modern school idea is felt to be a declaration of war against the Catholic Church, and a manifesto in favour of Protestantism."*

Four sections are devoted by Hammerstein to the question: "Can Catholics be expected to entrust their sons to Prussian State Gymnasias?" Of course, he answers "No." †

Thus writes the same Jesuit in another book: "We should like to set over the gateway of every school which is not genuinely a Church school these words as the brand of Cain:

'Through me the way is to the city dolent;
Through me the way is to eternal dole;
Through me the way among the people lost. ‡
Hate of the Godhead called me into being.'

Side by side with this school hatred goes denominational hatred.§

The fundamental condition of civilisation is peaceful dwelling together, and tolerant collaboration among

* *Das preussische Schulmonopol*, pp. 127, 139, 162, 163.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 165-224.

‡ Longfellow's translation of the *Inferno*.

§ *Die Schulfrage*, p. 125.

General Verdict on the Jesuit Order 441

different denominations, which the modern State has admitted into its constitutions as toleration and religious equality ; * but this is regarded by the Jesuit Order as an "abuse," a "disease." I have already given many proofs of this Jesuit quarrelsomeness. They show that "the seeds of hatred are inborn" [in the Jesuit Order towards those of other faith], as the *Imago primi saeculi* so characteristically expresses it.

Then, finally, there is the doctrine of Tyrannicide which, as is proved by numerous writings of individual members approved by the Order, has gained a firm footing in the Jesuit Order. Even the very ambiguous attitude of General Acquaviva towards these doctrines gives cause for serious consideration.

My assertion is therefore justified : The constitutional and political educational doctrines of the Jesuit Order are the destruction of the modern State, and its destruction is intended by the Jesuit Order.

Now the danger from such teaching and intention would in itself not be so very great. What dangerous theories and intentions has the world not witnessed, and yet it has continued to proceed on its own course ! But here, when the Jesuit Order represents these ideas, matters are entirely different. Here the danger is imminent because it is founded on the dangerousness of the Order as such.

Very erroneous ideas are held as to this dangerousness. It has been sought where it is non-existent, or in but a small degree ; where it is actually present it has been overlooked.

The dangerousness of the Order, and its powerful influence, do not consist in the prominent intelligence of its members, not even in that of its leaders, the Superiors. Fourteen years' intimate acquaintance with members and

* *Parität.*

leaders has taught me that neither class exceeds the average. Indeed, in some of the Superiors (Rectors and Provincials) I learned to know men of but moderate intelligence who, had they stood alone and not been supported and guided by the traditions and ordinances, and by an organisation spread over the whole world, would of themselves have achieved nothing worthy of note.

I have already characterised in detail the deliberately fostered dependence of the individual Jesuit as the main weakness of the Order. But I have shown that this weakness also constitutes its strength, and this strength is essentially increased by the manner in which the Order exercises its activity. This manner, combined with the marvellous organisation of the Order, is the nucleus of its power and also of its dangerousness.

In the first instance, the Order utilises the same most effective means as Ultramontaniam. "Religion" is the fair wide cloak with which Jesuitism covers everything, in which it clothes everything, and which wins for it easy admission into the heads and hearts of Catholics. By means of this illusion, the Jesuit Order has reached an unexampled mastery. There is nothing so earthly, so worldly, so political, there is no attack on State and civilisation, which the Jesuit system does not represent, plausibly too, as "religious," as "lying within the sphere of religion." By means of this untruth it replaces its own weakness, due to its mechanical methods, by the gigantic force of these religious passions of its adherents. Jesuits need then only fan the flame which has been already kindled. But this can be done even by men of inferior gifts, who have lost their individuality, especially if they are assisted by a well-planned and far-reaching organisation.

This is greatly assisted by the secrecy of Jesuit activity.

General Verdict on the Jesuit Order 443

It is excessively cunning, and by no means confined to the secrecy of the confessional, in which Ultramontanism too possesses a mighty lever for work in politics and against enlightenment, carried on under the shelter of darkness.

True, the Jesuit Order has, more than any other ultramontane institution, contrived to make confession subserve its own ends; it has succeeded in attaching troops of the faithful to its own confessionals. But its furtive activity extends far beyond the Church and the confessional.

The Jesuit has become a popular, indispensable spiritual director in the families of the upper classes, above all with the women. In this position the most secret activity becomes easy and safe for him. If we asked the Catholic families among the nobility of Germany, France, England, Austria, Spain, Portugal, Italy, as well as numerous families of the upper ten thousand, which of them has not a Jesuit as a permanent or occasional spiritual director, we shall find the number of these to be extremely small. Although from my youth upwards I was accustomed to "domestic Jesuits," yet when I myself belonged to the Order and had an insight into its activity, even I was surprised at the extent of this "domestic" activity of the Order.

In this must also be included its educational activity, although this apparently is not carried on in secret, since the numerous "German" educational establishments (Feldkirch, Kalksburg, Freinberg, Stonyhurst, Ordrupshoj, etc.) stand broad and clear in the light of day, and although the Jesuit boarding-school presupposes the separation from home and family, yet a strong and secret influence penetrates thence into both home and family. For the Jesuit boarding-schools transform their pupils into the "Jesuit mass," which continues to work silently and imperceptibly in the families themselves. In the Jesuit

boarding-schools the pupils are planed and polished who, when they grow up, extend the Jesuit spirit and thought. Here too a circular letter to ultramontane editors, members of Parliament, writers, officials, and so on, would produce the remarkable result that about 80 per cent. among them are old Jesuit pupils. The same applies to numerous landed proprietors in the Rhinelands, Westphalia, Silesia, Bavaria, Baden, and Württemberg. Many officers, too, have been educated in Jesuit institutions, especially at Feldkirch and Kalksburg (both in Austria).

If we add to these the many thousands of Congreganists in all classes and professions, these genuinely and organically co-ordinated "affiliates" of the Order, we see the gigantic nexus of circles spread over the whole world, from the centres of which the Jesuit Order pursues its activity silently, but with certainty of success. And in this activity, which sets in motion a pliable mass, permeated with Jesuit conceptions, lies the power of the Order.

This power is the greater, because the Jesuit Order is surrounded by a special halo, since it clothes itself in an atmosphere of glory which raises it in the estimation of the Catholic masses far above all similar religious institutions. For the Catholic outside the orders knows even less than the Jesuit himself of the true history of the Order. He only knows the bright immaculate picture which he encounters in the innumerable books and writings published, *in majorem Societatis Jesu gloriam*. Therefore he honours in the Jesuit Order, and in the individual Jesuits, the acme and the highest attainment of Christianity. The Jesuit Order works by fascination—that is the right word to use. And this gives it one of the most effective means for the maintenance and increase of its influence. Sober consideration certainly deprives the Order of the false adornments and pretended glory with which it has surrounded itself. Unfalsified history repre-

General Verdict on the Jesuit Order 445

sents it as an organisation injurious to religion, politics, society, and civilisation, which endeavours with inconsiderate egotism to make mankind serviceable to its selfish ends, and is directed towards their material exploitation and intellectual suppression. But there are great difficulties in the way of introducing the sober historical points of view into those circles where the truth about Jesuitism is most needed, *i.e.* the Catholic circles; and the Jesuit Order has succeeded in transforming these difficulties into almost insuperable obstacles.

The method employed for the purpose reveals the whole extent of its unscrupulousness, its cunning, and therefore its dangerousness.

The belief in the almost immaculate excellence of all institutions of religious orders and the like, sanctioned by the Church, is still unshaken among Catholics. This belief is utilised unscrupulously by the Jesuit Order for its own advantage, by systematically falsifying history, and also all the products of free thought. For it is sure of its public. In these circles everything which the Jesuit Order sends into the world marked with its stamp is regarded as indubitable truth—as good and true.

Thus the Order can boldly add calumny to falsification. Perhaps the only saying of Jesus which the Society of Jesus realises is this: "He who is not with Me is against Me." It shrinks from no means for making its opponents harmless. Falsehood and physical violence, calumny and cunning, are its weapons, which deal fatal blows from its ambush.

By depriving all kinds of critics and opponents of their power to injure, unhindered by any qualms of conscience, the Jesuit Order in the course of centuries has piled up a discreditable account such as could not be rivalled in the whole history of Christian civilisation: it tramples under foot truth and right; it steps over the lives, the happiness

and the freedom of men, and goes on its way, thus proving itself to be one of the most dangerous enemies of mankind in the realm of truth and justice and of civilisation.

The Jesuit Order is an international organisation which most profoundly and skilfully, in hundreds of disguises, excavates religion and State, knowledge and civilisation, in order to fill the gap with its own spirit. And this spirit is a spirit of lust and power, of lying and deceit, of immoderate self-seeking, of greed for the possessions of mankind, and even more for their freedom and independence—the spirit of irreligion and anti-Christianity.

CHAPTER XXX

FROM THEN TILL NOW

My account of the past is ended. But a few lines must still be given to the present and the road by which I reached it.

If a tree uprooted by the storm could speak, it would express what I felt after the breach with the Church and the Order was accomplished. I had been torn away from soil that had supplied the origin and sustenance of my whole being, physical, moral and religious. In a sense I was face to face with nothingness, and my blood seemed to be flowing from a thousand open wounds, just as the tangled roots of the tree would also pour forth their sap.

What was to become of me? I had formed no definite plan when I left the old world behind. My step, so weighty with consequences, had been a leap in the dark, for I had burnt my ships behind me. Should I succeed in reaching with new ships a better shore that I dreamed of rather than saw, enveloped in mist and clouds? Not even these thoughts presented themselves to me at that time clearly and distinctly. To escape from bondage, from the yoke which threatened to suffocate my independence and my individuality, to be rid of fetters which held my soul tightly compressed—this was all that I then desired. All else was but one mighty question.

The separation from the Order could have been endured with comparative ease. This wound, if wound indeed I may call it, was soon closed, for, in spite of my fourteen

years of membership, I had never been a true Jesuit. My mind never assimilated the Jesuit spirit.

But the separation from my religion! It was flesh and blood to me; I was united to it by the bonds of centuries; every human possession that had hitherto been mine was included in it—father, mother, brothers and sisters. I could not even imagine them except in and with my religion; my thoughts and feelings had for nearly forty years been permeated by Catholicism. And now! Such deeply rooted conceptions cannot be cast aside like a coat. True, my outward connection with the Catholic Church had been sundered by a single blow, for I had recognised the erroneousness of some of the fundamental dogmas of the Catholic faith. And I had deliberately thrown aside the priestly cassock and the Jesuit's garb because I could no longer regard the priesthood and the Order as Christian and religious.

But these violent steps did not avail to set aside and destroy the innumerable Catholic feelings, emotions, sentiments and opinions which in a life of forty years had grown along with the innermost parts of my being, with my whole body and soul. True, I felt that they too must go. But for the present they were still there, torturing, troubling, frightening me. My whole being was in a state of chaos. I no longer believed in the God of ultramontane Catholic dogma. That Church in which I had been born and educated, in which I had lived for more than a generation, had fallen to ruins in my sight, and I never even thought of any other Church. My soul resembled a vessel without mast, sail or rudder, tossed hither and thither by mountainous waves, and I, its pilot, had no compass, saw no star shining overhead.

Nor could I tell what to do, or how to find occupation. I have now been for several years occupied in a definite and systematic fight against the most dangerous and

strongest of all powers—ultramontane Rome. To-day I know what I want; at that time I never thought of taking up such a position, and knew neither what I wanted nor what I ought to do, a state of torture which several times suggested to me the thought of suicide.

Then a chance occurrence helped to disperse the clouds. I had imagined that my secession from the Jesuit Order, and my breach with the Church, had attracted no attention; for my part I did nothing to make them known. And yet they were known. A hand was extended to me from a side to which I am now almost as sharply opposed as to Ultramontaniam.

I received a letter from the Court Chaplain, Dr. Adolf Stöcker, inviting me to write something about—*i.e.* against—the Jesuit Order for the *Kreuzzeitung* of his friend, Baron von Hammerstein. I wrote a short feuilleton article, but did not sign it, so little did I at that time think of publicity and attack. The little article aroused interest. The editor of the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, Professor Delbrück, placed his review at my disposal. And so, in the spring of 1893, I wrote for the *Preussische Jahrbücher* my first series of long articles above my own name. They bore the title "*Mein Austritt aus dem Jesuitenorden*," and were afterwards reprinted as a pamphlet.

Thus was the road opened to me which was to lead me to my life's work: the enlightening of men on the ultramontane danger. My first steps along this road were but timid, probably because I was not yet fully conscious of that work. Anyone who should compare that first pamphlet with this book would notice no considerable differences. In spite of the condemnation of the Jesuit Order expressed in the pamphlet, I was comparatively mild in this first work of mine. There is some uncertainty about it; it utters no direct challenge. With

each fresh book this has gradually changed and improved, because knowledge has arisen or been strengthened in me, bringing about a clarity and certainty of will which could only find expression in blows of the hammer.

In Heligoland I made the acquaintance of a member of the Upper House, Count Karl von Finckenstein. I paid frequent visits to his estate of Madlitz. The Master of Madlitz was a thoroughly orthodox Protestant and Conservative. Through him I was brought into touch with his religious and political circles, and this contact gradually matured in me a distinct religious and political attitude, though opposed to his.

My inborn inclination towards political liberalism and religious free thought, which had been the point of departure for my liberation from ultramontane Catholic servitude, revolted against the orthodox and conservative routine mould. Truly I had not broken with Rome in order to cast myself into the arms of the Chief Consistory or the *Kreuzzeitung*. But here too, I had slowly and gradually to feel my way towards my new point of view, for it must be remembered that after fourteen years' seclusion from the world I was an absolute stranger to the religious and political currents of its life. I re-entered them at the age of forty with almost child-like inexperience. How could I have come quickly and easily to a decision?

There was one person who helped my views to mature, but who afterwards took little pleasure in the fruits.

Scarcely had I settled down in Berlin when Dr. Adolf Stöcker, who had suggested the writing of my first anti-Jesuit article, tried to bring me over to his side. He often visited me, and also invited me. Only on one occasion did I accept his invitation, in order to avoid the appearance of discourtesy; and then I met, among a fairly large party, his "friend," Baron Wilhelm von

Hammerstein. At our very first meeting Stöcker made an unpleasant impression on me. He appeared to me the type of the domineering and—with all his gifts—narrow-minded parson. With and for him: never! Of that I was determined at the outset. There are “ Jesuits,” too, among the “ orthodox ” Protestants, and Stöcker was their General. What I found particularly repugnant in Stöcker was his hatred of Catholicism (which was afterwards modified through his greed for political power), combined with a boundless ignorance of the subject. I had left the Catholic religion, but I did not hate it then, nor do I now. How, indeed, would it have been possible, when throughout my life I had found in it so much that was fair and good? It was absolutely revolting to my feelings to find such hatred, inflamed by ignorance, poured forth by a weighty representative of Christianity.

Yet Stöcker’s ignorance of Catholicism is a fundamental fault of all Protestant circles, in particular of the “ Orthodox ” section.

Once I was visiting one of our leading Protestant dignitaries. The late Provost von der Göltz was also present. The two men discussed their experiences at Bonn, and the conversation turned on the Catholic Church. Their statements could have been proved by any Catholic schoolboy in the Second Class to be foolish distortion and misunderstanding. At that time I was still very reserved and shy, though happily I have since thrown off my shyness, and therefore I did not undertake to play the schoolboy’s part, but entered into an animated conversation with the hostess, a charming lady, whom death unfortunately claimed all too soon.

These people do not know how injurious are the effects of ignorance, how greatly it widens the gulf between the denominations. Things are beginning to improve in this respect in Liberal Protestant circles. But even they are

still overshadowed by a dense cloud of ignorance. And the worst of it is that both Orthodox Protestants and Liberals are as convinced of their accurate knowledge of Catholicism as the Pope of his infallibility. I have often observed this with sorrow and dismay at the central committee meetings of the "Evangelischer Bund." There I saw leaders of the Liberal and Orthodox theology, who thought themselves much better informed about Catholicism than I, who had belonged to the Roman Church for forty years. The ignorance of Protestantism among Catholics is not nearly so great. The saying, *Catholica non leguntur*, is unfortunately often true; while, on the other side, *Protestantica* are very carefully studied.

In February, 1895, I joined the Protestant State Church. Dr. Dryander, at that time pastor of the Holy Trinity Church, admitted me to communion. I had also attended his preparatory course, but found little satisfaction in it. Dryander's diplomatic theological manner, which gives no decided answer to any question, neither was nor is congenial to me.

What was it that induced me to join the Protestant community? Certainly not my love of the State Church. After living for forty years in a Church community, I was growing weary of my religious wanderings, which had continued since the end of 1892, and as the delusion that Church and religion were necessarily connected was not yet extinguished in me, I was easily induced, by the gentle pressure brought by various acquaintances, to formal and outward adhesion. But I never left Dryander in doubt as to my want of enthusiasm for the step.

At this day I should no longer take the step, but neither do I retract it.

Church and religion—Church and Christianity—are different, often antagonistic, ideas. This I have learnt with certainty. All Churches are merely the work of man;

in the fewest cases are they the outcome of religious needs ; far oftener they spring from a greed for power. And further, the Prussian State Church is a very imperfect human institution which, both inwardly and outwardly, has lost much of its religious Christian character, and assumed instead that of bureaucratic formalism combined with dependence on State and Court.

The "religious" Head of the State Church, its *summus episcopus*, is the lord of the land, who at the same time is Head of the Army and Navy, and commander of such and such foreign regiments ; the dignitaries of the State Church (the Head of the Consistory, the Consistories, General Superintendents, Superintendents, Pastors), are State officials in the pay of the State. A mere glance at the Scriptures, and the position there occupied by the Christian dignitaries, the "episcopi" and "presbyters," must show that the Archbishop and the authorities of the State Church have not the slightest connection with Christianity. State and religion, State and Christianity, are eccentric circles ; they can only be made concentric through the sacrifice of religion and Christianity.

But its unnatural relation to the State is not the only thing in the State Church which is unchristian and unreligious. Their dependence on the Court is as much to be condemned. The whole system of Court chaplains is—to speak openly for once—a system of Court flunkeyism, far removed from the point of view of the Christian religion. Of course, I do not speak of the Court preachers in their character as men. I refer to Court chaplains and Court chaplaincies as conceptions and State institutions.

The Court chaplains are part of the *staffage* at Court ceremonies ; they bear courtly titles such as Your Excellency ; they have to preach at the time and place prescribed by the wearer of the crown, and from texts chosen by him, often at festivals, such as the Conferment of Orders, which

are absolutely opposed to the essence of Christianity—and, indeed, of religion.* What room is there left for a trace of religion and Christianity?

State and Church, bureaucracy and formalism, have almost completely estranged the State Church from the people, and that is another of its fundamental abuses. It is believed that by elaborate Church edifices “the religion of the people will be maintained,” that Christianity can be supported and popularised by meaningless externalities (such as an elaborate consecration ceremony of the Cathedral and a ceremonious expedition to Palestine), but the recognition seems lacking that such things have very little to do with popularising, and nothing at all with Christianity and religion. In the midst of the numerous unchristian externalities of the State Church, God, religion and Christianity have become a mere cover to hide a mass of vanity and self-glorification. And it is a serious delusion to imagine that the “people” are not aware of it.

The more a Church is built up, both within and without, on sincerity and simplicity, the closer it adheres to the impressive simplicity of the model afforded by the community of Christ and the Apostles as depicted in the Bible, the larger will be the circles of the masses it encompasses, the deeper its impression on humanity and its power to ennoble and raise them.

In addition to all this, there is in the State Church an unevangelical lack of freedom, which takes the form of compulsory belief, trials for heresy, laws against heresy, and all the other fine things which call themselves Christian, and yet are so human that they must be included among the darker aspects of human activity, those which owe

* The right text for a sermon on the occasion of conferring orders was once suggested by the old Court Chaplain Büchsel with delightful outspokenness and ironical reflection on himself: “When they saw the star, they rejoiced with exceeding great joy.”

their origin not to religion, but to a truly unreligious lust for power and dominion.

Such a Church cannot inspire love, nor even much respect. For the good it does in the social or educational domain, to balance its failure in the domain of religion and Christianity, cannot be taken into account when estimating its value as a Christian Church and community. This is done much better by other non-religious associations.

And yet, as I have said, I shall not retract the step I took in February, 1895, for by leaving a Church we forfeit the right to share in its deliberations and help in the work of reform.

Again and again have I been asked, often in most indiscreet fashion, "What is your religious standpoint?" The question is quite unjustifiable, for religion is an absolutely private matter which concerns no one, least of all the general public or the curious and sensation-mongers. "When thou prayest," thus spoke the most religious of all men, Jesus Christ, "enter into thy closet," *i.e.* keep the public out. And in my view prayer is not *one* of the main functions of religion, but *the* main function.

The inquiry as to my religious attitude is, therefore, unjustifiable; but still in this, the book of my life, I will say a few words in answer.

The point at which I now stand has been reached by a process of slow development, a road of curves and spirals. The development is, strictly speaking, as old as my power of thinking. Vague doubts dawned even in my childish soul; in later years they often became tormenting temptations, until at last Catholic faith and Catholic Christianity collapsed within me. The result was my secession from the Church and the Jesuit Order.

What new edifice did I erect on these gigantic ruins of

religion and Christianity? A small one, for I have learnt to be modest in my religious demands.

First of all, I do not include in religion such externals as dogmas, sacraments, creeds, symbols, liturgies, ceremonies. They may be of less or greater religious value to individuals, but in themselves they are not part of religion; at most and at best they supply to many thousands useful, perhaps even necessary, outward manifestations of their religious impulses and feelings. But religion is the inward relation of the individual, based on subjective and individual recognition and the personal conscience, to God, that Being beyond this world, Whose existence is demanded by reason as the origin and final aim of the physical and spiritual world.*

Now, what is the character of this relation of man to God? This question is answered by Christ, Who thus steps into the foreground as the founder, even creator, of a religion.

It is He Who has set mankind in the filial relation to God, Who gave him God as a Father. The age of religious servitude which saw in God and gods only lords, kings and tyrants, who worshipped God and gods in fear and trembling, has gone by. From henceforth the wondrous saying of Christ has become the basis of religion: "Our Father, which art in Heaven."

The proclamation of the Fatherhood of God by Christ is not without precedent in the history of religion. Buddha had already set mankind on the road of heartfelt love and communion with God, but never yet had the relation of father and child, between God and man, been so clearly expressed and so comprehensively represented as by Christ.

This is the characteristic of the whole of Christianity;

* The man whose reason does not demand the existence of such a supernatural Being possesses no religion, but is not on that account bad, if his life is in harmony with innate natural laws and the ethical principles universally recognised in civilised countries; and sooner or later he, too, will attain to God.

it comprises its whole contents as a religion. Everything else which the Scriptures lay down as the teaching of Christ is either a development of this fundamental idea or an injunction for the conduct of men towards one another. Dogmas and creeds (the divine humanity of Christ, the Trinity, etc.) are the products of a subtilising theology which has lost the immediate characteristic of religious feeling—are systems more or less subtle which satisfy the desire of men for abstract sophistry, for fashioning according to types and by means of catalogues, but which are entirely opposed to the notion of religion. It is on the recognition of this fact that my Christianity is based, and in this I find the satisfaction of my religious needs.

Not that there are not a number of world riddles and obscure questions—as, for instance, What is the nature of God? (Even the fact of His existence cannot be mathematically demonstrated.) What happens after death? and many other problems.

But such questions and riddles have nothing to do with religion. Religion and its true meaning consist in the saying: “I am God’s child and God is my Father.” Those who cannot fashion their religion and their religious attitude out of this thought will not be furthered in their religion by creeds, symbols, dogmas, liturgies, and sermons.

In the thought of God’s Fatherhood lies also the impulse to that religious activity which I regard as the main sinew of religion, without which all religious apparatus lacks religion, and with which everything is religion, even without any apparatus—I mean, our intercourse with God the Father in prayer.

The idea of God’s Fatherhood is an endless source of immeasurable confidence. The Being Whom I call God, the final Aim and End of the world and its happenings, must be endlessly wise, good, powerful, just. And this unending Being is my Father. There is neither weakness

nor sin nor error which does not vanish into nothingness in the face of such unending nature. God my Father is the Author of my being; He has placed me in the world, unasked, therefore He must also, some time—when, where and how I know not—become the Perfecter of my happiness. The saying, often frivolously applied, *Tout comprendre, c'est tout pardonner*, has the deepest religious and genuine God-like meaning.

This religious meaning has been revealed to me by Christ, and, therefore, it is the foundation and cornerstone of my religion. Therefore I am a Christian.

Would this recognition have been impossible without Christ? Certainly not. Therefore Christ is, to speak theoretically, not the indispensable founder of religion. But because He actually drew forth this recognition from the existing religious confusion, and placed it before our eyes in its grand simplicity, therefore, in the light of history, He is the greatest religious founder.

Thus Christianity is also the world-religion, for thus it comprises all religions, and leads them, as long as they are not opposed to natural laws, upwards into a higher unity. Divine Manhood, and the doctrine of the Two Natures, transform Christ into an unnatural hybrid, and plunge Him so deeply into the heathen mythology of demi-gods and the offspring of gods as to remove Him entirely from healthy human comprehension, which must be at the basis of every religious sentiment.

And thus Christ, Who on the cross became a martyr to His religious ideas, has arisen from the grave, not in the body, but in the Spirit; He lives, not in flesh and blood, but in Spirit and in Truth, in Power, and in the effects of His teachings and works.

The small and limited literary activity described above by no means satisfied my desire for work. In

particular, I missed a regular fixed occupation, which was the natural result of the training I had had ever since my childhood. I hoped to find it in the Government service. Before I entered the Jesuit Order I had been a Royal Prussian *Referendar*, and, as an irreproachable citizen, I thought that I had the right to re-appointment. How greatly was I to be undeceived!

What I am about to write here is not stated from any sensational motives. I register facts which constitute a piece of not uninteresting contemporary history, and which, under the stage direction of the Centre Party, were enacted behind the scenes.

Count Finckenstein-Madlitz, whom I have already mentioned, had been kind enough, in the summer of 1894, to go to the Imperial Chancellor, Count Caprivi, and ask him to re-appoint me to the Prussian State service. Caprivi, with a movement of distinct alarm, gave the remarkable answer: "What would the Holy Father in Rome and the Centre Party say, if we were to employ Count Hoensbroech in the State service?" That settled the request of a German and Prussian citizen for a State appointment, as far as the German Imperial Chancellor and Prussian Minister-President was concerned. But there was a sequel to that story.

In February, 1895, I suddenly, without any action on my part, received "by Imperial command" an invitation to a small Court ball. The Kaiser desired to make my acquaintance. For more than half an hour on the evening of February 13th, 1895, William II. conversed with me in the White Hall of the Berlin Castle, to the great annoyance of the Centre leader, Lieber, who was also present and, because the Kaiser was so long conversing with me, missed the opportunity of being presented. To the Kaiser's question as to what I intended to do, I replied that it was my wish to re-enter the State service, but

there were great difficulties in the way of its fulfilment. And I informed him about the utterance of Caprivi. The Kaiser took a step back, put his hand on his sword, and said excitedly: "What! Did Caprivi say that to you?" "Yes, your Majesty." "Well, my dear Count, then I assure you that from this time forward I shall take your affairs into my own hands."

I asked him for a private audience, to enable me to give him further information, for the long conversation with the Kaiser was causing universal sensation—Miquel was circling fox-like round the Kaiser and me—and therefore it appeared to me undiplomatic. The Kaiser graciously consented, with the remark that I was to inform Lukanus, saying: "There he stands." Then he dismissed me with a friendly and hearty handshake. I immediately informed Lukanus of the granting of the private audience, and asked him to assign a time for it. Lukanus received my communication with an expression of ill-concealed annoyance, but in face of the wish of his master he could not avoid assuring me that he would "in due time" inform me of the day and hour of the audience.

For the next few days the leading organs of the Centre Party (*Germania* and *Kölnische Volkszeitung*) contained violent articles inspired by the Centre leader, Lieber, about the "extraordinary circumstance" of the Kaiser's invitation to me, and the distinction he conferred on me by our long interview.

The whole attitude of the Kaiser had convinced me that the promised audience would soon be granted. Weeks and months went by, but I saw and heard nothing. Several questions addressed in letters to Lukanus were answered evasively. As the Kaiser had promised me a post as Head of a District (*Landrat*), and only a province with a preponderance of Protestants could be under consideration, the then Minister of the Interior, von Köller, had advised

me to take up my residence in Kiel, in order to become acquainted with the conditions there. Therefore, in October, 1895, I migrated to Kiel with my wife, for I had married in August of that year. But her severe illness, which necessitated an operation, forced me to return to Berlin in December.

During my residence in Kiel, I several times visited the General Field-Marshal, Count Waldersee, with whom I was acquainted, who at that time was General in command of the 9th Army Corps at Altona. On one of these occasions I informed Waldersee of my still unsatisfied claim for an audience. I had long ago given up all hope of it, on account of the information I had in the meantime received about the influence of the Centre Party on the Kaiser; but I did not want to be so curtly set aside. I desired that my right to an audience, founded on the Imperial promise, should be recognised.

Waldersee said, with a peculiar expression on his face, "Yes, yes; that fox Lukanus," and proposed that I should give him a memorial to the Kaiser, who was expected at Altona in the next few days for an inspection and would be lunching with him. He would choose a favourable moment for presenting my memorial to the Kaiser and enforcing its claim. "Then we shall have disposed of Lukanus." I sat down at Waldersee's writing-table, and wrote the petition, and after a little while I was informed by Waldersee: "Everything has gone off satisfactorily; I hope you will soon get your audience." Again weeks went by; then, at the end of January, 1896, when I lay ill in bed with influenza, I received a telegram, signed by the Chief Court-Marshal Eulenberg, from the New Palace, which invited me to an audience, "to-morrow at 11 o'clock." One of the Imperial carriages would fetch me from Wildpark.

My first impulse was to telegraph a refusal on account

of my illness, but then I thought, "The opportunity may never recur"; and so I put in an appearance punctually at the New Palace, in a high state of fever, without even considering that I was exposing the Kaiser to the risk of infection. Lukanus conducted me to the Kaiser, and remained present during the audience, which lasted for more than an hour. The Kaiser received me very graciously. After a sympathetic inquiry about the health of my wife, who was ill in a nursing-home, he opened the conversation with the words: "I have asked you here to learn your opinion about the attitude of my Government to the Centre Party." Of course, I cannot repeat the contents of our interview; it gave me the opportunity for an interesting insight into the Kaiser's psychology and into public affairs. But there was not a word about personal matters, of a State appointment, nor of his promise to take my affairs into his own hands. Only, quite at the end, when he dismissed me in a friendly manner, the Emperor said: "Everything else Lukanus will tell you"; but after the audience I informed Lukanus that I set little value on "everything else" which he would have to tell me; that I should only come to him in order to carry out the wish of the Kaiser. In the interview which then took place with Lukanus I curtly rejected his proposals, which contained next to nothing tangible: a position as *Landrat* or anything else of the kind had become "impossible," but there was nothing to prevent my returning to the State service as *Referendar* at Frankfurt-on-the-Oder!

Soon afterwards I was told by a well-informed authority that the Centre had told the Minister of War that if I received a State appointment, the Party would close its ranks, and vote against the next naval estimates. And when the Minister reported this to the Kaiser, he let fall the remark: "If matters stand thus, I shall let the

man drop." In this way I and my affairs slipped through the fingers of his Majesty which, according to his Imperial promise, were to hold and lead me on. The pressure from the Centre Party had compelled the Imperial hand to let me go.

Of course it was not the matter of my own personality which induced the Centre Party to take up this attitude. It was a fundamental principle for which it was fighting: the rebel against the Roman Church must not make his way in Prussia. And yet the Centre emphatically advocates "civic toleration" and "religious equality."

A good friend of mine in the Ministry of Public Instruction, the late Count Andreas Bernsdorff, had suggested to me the idea of taking up an academic career, and settling down at the University of Berlin, or some other Prussian University, as a lecturer (*Privatdozent*) on Church history. He procured me an interview with the Minister of Public Instruction, Dr. Bosse.

Bosse received me with overwhelming amiability: that was an excellent idea, and quite in accordance with his own wishes, etc., etc., but the consideration which he was obliged to take for the powerful Centre Party unfortunately rendered the execution of this excellent plan impossible. "What a storm the Centre would raise in Parliament were I to consent to your appointment as lecturer, or even advocate it!" This panic-mongering caused my gall to overflow; I rose and took my leave with the words: "Your Excellency, until to-day I should not have thought that a Minister in a land of religious equality like Prussia, would thus give way before the troops of Rome."*

In Prussia accordingly the doors of all appointments were closed to me. Would they stand open in the Empire?

* Bosse was speechless at the time; it was not till years later that he recovered his voice, when he happened once to sit next me at dinner after his resignation. Then he said to me: "At that time you treated me very badly"; to which I replied: "And you treated me and yourself even worse."

A request to the Imperial Chancellor, Prince Hohenlohe, for admission to the diplomatic service met with a polite refusal.

These are some reminiscences from the dark days of my rebellion against the Church, whose arm is long. They belong to the same time when I was warned by the Foreign Office only to go there after dark, and with great precautions (I used often to go there to visit one of the Reporting Councillors), for the Centre Party had set detectives to watch my goings to and fro.*

Still, I regard it as providential that everything turned out thus. How could I, as a State official or a diplomat, have carried on my life's task: to spread enlightenment about Ultramontanism, and stir up a conflict against it?

In the fulfilment of this difficult task I have found contentment and success, but also many a disappointment.

It is impossible in this place to develop my ultramontane programme. For this I refer to my writings: *Ultramontanism: its Nature and how to Attack It*; † *The Modern State and the Romish Church*; *Rome and the Centre*. ‡

I will say only a few words about my disappointments, because they are characteristic of our internal politics.

The wrongly conducted *Kulturkampf* of the 'seventies, with its unfortunate issue, had greatly damped the desire to attack Ultramontanism, and also increased immeasurably the political force which Ultramontanism possesses in the Centre. The Government parties and the Press,

* I do not propose to enter into the violent personal attacks to which I and my family were exposed. My book, *In eigener Sache und Anderes*, gives information on the subject.

† It afforded me great satisfaction that Bismarck had read this book with considerable interest. It stood among other much-used books in his reference library. There I saw it, full of book-markers, when I visited Friedrichsruhe soon after the death of the great man.

‡ *Der Ultramontanismus, sein Wesen und seine Bekämpfung* (Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel), *Modernier Staat und Römische Kirche* (Berlin, E. N. Schwetschke und Sohn), *Rom und das Zentrum* (Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel).

unable to distinguish the wrongful methods of the old struggle from its rightful aims, were powerless in face of their great antagonist. On the other hand, the Centre had offered its Parliamentary collaboration. The Government parties and the Press were overcome by the desire for compromise; they forgot that in the Centre is embodied the ultramontane view of life, that it is the deadly enemy of the modern State and the development of its civilisation, and saw in it only the party whose numerous members could give decisive votes for their legislation. Added to this was their fear of social democracy. "Better black than red," they used to say at that time!

Each year the Centre became a more convenient ally. Shallow opportunism and Miquel's "collective policy" did their part. No one would hear of a new and better conducted *Kulturkampf*. The circles that set the tone regarded a *Kulturkampf* as a struggle between denominational passions. The recognition that Ultramontanism is historically and actually separable from the Catholic religion, that therefore the struggle against it must be, not a denominational but a political struggle on behalf of civilisation—this recognition, which is the alpha and omega of a *Kulturkampf* with any prospect of success, had not yet dawned upon them. Therefore my rallying cry against Ultramontanism fell on deaf ears. I was included among the stirrers up of denominational strife.*

* Every association with a distinctly denominational tendency (such as the "Evangelischer Bund," the "Gustav Adolf Verein," etc.) is, as far as its tendency is anti-ultramontane, harmful, for it arouses denominational counter-passions, and thus supplies Ultramontanism with a weapon which makes it invincible, the calling of religion into the field for its own purposes. The only right method in combating Ultramontanism is pursued by the "Anti-ultramontaner Reichsverband" (President, Admiral von Knorr; Office, Berlin, S.W., Wilhelmstrasse 122a). Here denominationalism and religion are excluded by the constitutions. It attacks its opponents on those domains where alone it is open to attack and capable of defeat—that is, politics and education. All who recognise the threatening danger of ultramontane Jesuitism should join this Association.

In spite of the greatest hindrances, and often of the severest disappointments, increased by ultramontane attacks and accusations, I held out, in the consciousness that I was on the right road. And my work of enlightenment, in spoken words and in writings, has not been in vain. Slowly the wheel began to swing round, and a characteristic proof of this is that, in great part through my labours on behalf of enlightenment, the saying, "Rather black than red" has been changed for the opposite, "Rather red than black." Still there is an immense deal yet to be done. Above all, the highest standpoint is still lacking: the consciousness that the struggle with Ultramontanism has a background and a significance in universal history; that in reality the existence or non-existence of a modern state of civilisation depends on the result of this struggle. And only this recognition can produce the joy and determination for combat which are guarantees of victory.

This book proves beyond refutation that at the present moment the driving force of Ultramontanism is Jesuitism. In Jesuitism are concentrated all the intolerance, reaction, fanaticism, irreligion, and hostility to progress which in the course of centuries have sprung from ultramontane soil. And these forces, with their hostility to human nature, have been set in motion by Jesuitism with a cunning and unscrupulous daring unexampled in the history of the Christian era. Thus the sum total of my book may be compressed into the saying of the great French statesman and patriot, Gambetta, with an addition, "*Le Cléricalisme*"—Clericalism is Ultramontanism—" *et le Jésuitisme, voilà l'ennemi!*"

Yet my book shall close with a more peaceful note and a happier outlook.

Those who fight against Jesuitism and Ultramontanism fight for the religious liberation of many, many millions

of Catholics. But the Catholic religion conceals, in spite of terrible human weaknesses—and in what creed are these lacking?—forcible and profound elements of edification and civilisation. They are held down and misused by the violation of their true nature through ultramontane Jesuit tyranny. What a task for a liberator, after subduing Ultramontanism and Jesuitism, to allow these seeds to germinate!

Wide horizons and possibilities of religious and educational development open up before us. We seem to hear the bells ringing for peace, and their sound proclaims the coming of a better day.

For humanity needs religion, and will always need it. But men must refrain from religious strife and denominational bitterness.

Let us allow religions to develop themselves, only let us root out ignorance from them, and destroy it!

Concord—and unity too—comprehension and toleration will result and bring blessing.

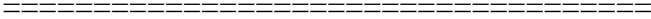
THROUGH CONFLICT TO PEACE.

In the original book this is a

BLANK PAGE

and this page is included

to keep page numbering consistent.



The Bank of Wisdom reproduces the best of scholarly, Philosophical, Scientific, Religious and Freethought books produced by the great thinkers and doers throughout human history. It is our duty and our pleasure to do this necessary work.

The Bank of wisdom is always looking for lost, suppressed, and unusual old books, sets, pamphlets, magazines, manuscripts and other information that needs to be preserved and reproduced for future generations. If you have such old works please contact the Bank of Wisdom, we would be interested in obtaining this information either by buying or borrowing the book(s), or in obtaining a good clear copy of all pages.

Help us help your children find a better tomorrow.

Emmett F. Fields
Bank of Wisdom

Bank of Wisdom
P.O. Box 926
Louisville, KY 40201
U.S.A.

INDEX

- Aachen, relics at the Cathedral of, i. 324-5; author's pilgrimage to, ii. 212
- Aalbeck, Jesuit villa at, ii. 77
- Abiturienten* at Berlin University, ii. 403 (*note*)
- Absolution, question of, in reserved cases, i. 363
- Academy, purpose of the Jesuit, i. 125; exclusion from, as a means of pressure, 177
- Acolyte, misuse of the post of, in Jesuit schools, i. 161
- Acquaviva, Claudius, drafts the *Ratio Studiorum*, i. 63; condemns Jesuit neglect of Latin, 101-2; approves Marian Congregations, 176; Commission of Studies in Germany instituted by, 190; on the unchastity of the Order, 204, ii. 71, 107 (*note*); enjoins the reading of Loyola's letter on obedience, i. 337; deprecates the reluctance to make a "statement" of conscience, 347; advises the omission of references to confession from annual reports, 366; concerning women and the Exercises, 383-4; completes the organisation of the Society of Jesus, 407; advises reserve in political matters, ii. 10; his instructions as to the confessing of women, 124, 125, 126; enjoins surveillance of priests and the size of confessionals, 127-8; his crafty hint to confessors of princes, 137; his Ordinance on the confessing of sovereigns, 169-70; his secret instructions touching the confessing of sovereigns, 172-3, 429; sanctions the publication of Mariana's book approving tyrannicide, 328; obliged to condemn this doctrine, 333-4
- Admonitor, duties of, i. 352, 420, 422, 424
- Adultery, Jesuit condonation of, ii. 305, 309; on sinning to avoid, 323-5
- Advocatus Diaboli*, duties of, ii. 86 (*note*)
- Aehrenthal, Baron Luis von, i. 244
- Aesthetics, Jesuit conception of, i. 124
- Affiliates of the Society of Jesus, ii. 13-21; Loyola's recognition of, 16-17
- Agnus Dei*, as used by Jesuit students, i. 182; in Bavaria, 319
- Agricola, Father, records the existence of some curious relics, i. 313; gives an instance of demoniac possession, 322
- Aguirre, Cardinal, on Jesuit morals, ii. 291-2
- Aix-la-Chapelle, great relics at, i. 324-5; author's pilgrimage to, ii. 212
- Alexander III., Tsar, ii. 167
- Alexander VII., Pope, the *Exercitium spirituale* of, used at Jesuit schools, i. 181; supports the designs of the Jesuits in Hungary, ii. 145; condemns Jesuit teaching on morals, 292
- Alexander VIII., Pope, condemns Jesuit teaching on morals, ii. 292
- Algiers, author visits, i. 261-2
- Allen, Cardinal, ii. 151
- Aloysius of Gonzaga, an objectionable "angelic" boy, i. 208, 386, 400; an example to the young, ii. 111; supports the Virgin in a vision of her Descent, 112
- Aloysius, St., Congregations of, i. 164
- Altona, Count Waldersee at, ii. 461
- Alvarez, Father Balthasar, i. 370
- Alvarez, Emanuel, "Latin Grammar" of, i. 70-2
- Ambiguity, Jesuit doctrine of, ii. 304-7
- America, Province of, Bishop Palafox's report of Jesuit wealth in, ii. 87-8
- Anatomia anatomiae Societatis Jesu*, ii. 9
- Anderledy, General of the Jesuit Order, influence of, over the Marchioness of Hoensbroech, i. 33; admits the Jesuit control of the Marian Congregations, 171; examples of his mental dexterity, 174; approves of the author's conduct during novitiate, 403; declines to stop the ostracism of Leo XIII., ii. 67; his diploma to the Marchioness of Hoensbroech, 129; attitude of, towards General Boulanger, 165; unpopularity of, among Jesuits, 414
- André on Jesuit morality, ii. 299
- Angelic Doctor (Aquinas), ii. 253
- Angelita, Canon John Marcell, on the death of Cardinal Tournon, ii. 54
- Angelus Bell, Jesuit students and, i. 121
- Angelus Custos, the duties of, i. 271, 355
- Anti-ultramontaner Reichsverband, ii. 465 (*note*)
- Antonio, Father Francisco, on the post of princes' confessor, ii. 195
- Apparitions, Catholic belief in, encouraged, i. 26 *et seq.*; instances of pseudo-mystical, 299 *et seq.*
- Appiani, Antonio, alleges that Cardinal Tournon was poisoned, ii. 54-5; persecuted by the Jesuits, 61, 63
- Aquinas, Thomas, authority of, in theology, ii. 253-6
- Arcana Societatis Jesu*, ii. 10
- Aristocracy, Jesuit subservience to, i. 145-6, ii. 372
- Aristotle, supremacy of, in the Jesuit philosophy schools, ii. 250-3
- Arminia, the Catholic Students' Union at Bonn, i. 245
- Arnauld, Antoine, Jesuit forgeries in the name of, ii. 315-7

- Arnoux, Father, Confessor of Louis XIII., intrigues of, ii. 183, 184 (*note*)
- Arraignment of the Society of Jesus, ii. 105-23
- Art, doctrine of the Catholic Church concerning, i. 46-7; Jesuit teaching about, 124-5
- Artaut, Adrien, ii. 93
- Asceticism of the Jesuit Order, i. 326 *et seqq.*; as distinct from piety, 295; Jesuit ascetic discipline considered, 326-90; Jesuit asceticism compared with Christian, 326; its end and the means to it, *id.*; maintained by blind obedience, 326-40; how it compels to sin, 335-6; dependence on the Superior the rule of practice of, 341; the Statement of Conscience as a mainstay of, 342-8; fostered by denunciation, espionage and uniformity, 348-61; greatly supported by confession, 361-9; observances of the Exercises complete the discipline of, 369-84; fruits of, 384-90; instances of what has been done as a result of, 386-90
- Assistancies of the Jesuit Order, i. 416
- Assistants to the General of the Society of Jesus, i. 422
- Attrition, doctrine of, ii. 300, 381-2
- Auersperg, Prince, ii. 146-7
- Austria, education in, shaped by the Jesuits, i. 70-2; the El Dorado of the Jesuits, 93; the Jesuits and the war with Prussia in 1866, 210-14, ii. 37-8; wealth of the Jesuits in, at the date of the suppression of the Order, 85
- Avaux, Claude Mesmes, Count d', ii. 160
- "Ave, Maria," Latin and German texts, i. 5
- Aveiro, Duke of, ii. 336
- Bachem, A., on the Marian Congregations, i. 170
- Bachem, Karl, on the German Centre Party's indebtedness to Jesuit guidance, ii. 344 (*note*)
- Baexem, Suicide's grave at, ii. 398
- Bagshawe, Christopher, on Jesuits of Elizabeth's reign, ii. 46
- Balde, Jacob, Jesuit poet, ii. 160; held up to admiration, 229
- Ballerini on the use of equivocations, ii. 307
- Bamberg, the Jesuit gymnasium in, in 1742, i. 114
- Barat, Madeleine, Mother, foundress of the female Congregation of the Sacred Heart, i. 307
- Bartoli, Father, on the necessity of blind obedience, i. 339
- Baumgartner, his criticism of Schiller, ii. 234-6; his tirade on Goethe, 236-45; his real literary convictions, 244; required to alter his monograph on Goethe, 244-5; his character transformed, 245 (*note*), 372
- Baumstark, Reinhold, on Jesuit morality, ii. 294; on Jesuit influence through confession, 387; his condemnation of the Order, 430; death of, 430 (*note*)
- Bavaria, Jesuit schools in, condemned by Government, i. 193-4; effects of Jesuit piety in, 319; wealth of the Jesuit Order in, ii. 83-4
- Bazaine, Marshal, i. 232
- Beauty, perverted Catholic ideas of, i. 46-8
- Becanus, Father, activity of, in Austrian public affairs, ii. 181; on the doing of a lesser sin to avoid a greater, 321
- Beck, Chief District Judge, and the Jesuit designs against the Hohenzollerns, ii. 384-5
- Beck, Theoderich, i. 207, ii. 71
- Beckx, Peter, General of the Jesuit Order, maintains the reactionary system of education in Austria, i. 71; the author visits, at Rome, 263; his advice, 264; approves of the author's conduct during novitiate, 403; provides for the supremacy of the General Congregation, 423; a confessor of princes, ii. 135 (*note*); pleased with the author's "progress in virtue," 209; on modern philosophy, 251-2; instruction of, establishing literary censorship, 264-6
- Bedburg, the Catholic aristocratic academy at, i. 229
- Behrens, Provincial Superior of the German Jesuit province, character of, i. 33; his influence over the author's sister Antonia, 211; misrepresents the facts of the Franco-German war, 233; his power paramount with the author's mother, 234 and *note*; disciplinary notions of, 389
- Beissel, Stephan, and the relics at Aix-la-Chapelle, i. 324-5; edits the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, 345
- Bellarmin, Cardinal, saves Loyola's letter from condemnation by the Inquisition, i. 336; a famous Jesuit theologian, ii. 111; on the supremacy of Church over State, 338; teaches the "indirect" power of the Pope, 428
- Benedict, St., the founder of monachism, ii. 424
- Benedict XIII., Pope, and the Jesuit Memorial touching the Chinese Mission, ii. 60-1 (*note*); refrains from publishing Innocent XI.'s decree against the Jesuits, 65
- Benedict, XIV., Pope, and the Marian Congregations, i. 165; asserts the Jesuit right to control them, 170; repealed the decree of Innocent X. as to the holding of General Congregations, 424; reminds the Jesuits of the obedience they owe the Pope, ii. 66
- Benedictines, Jesuit opposition to, at Magdeburg, ii. 98; free from the stains of the Jesuits, 424
- Bennigsen, Rudolf, and the suspension of the German laws against the Jesuits, ii. 345 (*note*)
- Berchmanns, Johannes, wonders wrought by, i. 308, 309-10; canonised by Leo XIII., 309; legends of, ii. 111-2
- Berge-Borbeck, railway accident at, i. 250
- Berlin, author joins the First Dragoon Guards at, i. 253-4; author prepares for the Jesuit settlement at, ii. 399-411; author attends university at, 403; result of the author's studies

- in, 407; author makes his residence in, 422
- Berling, Jesuits convert the wealthy widow of, ii. 166-7
- Berlingske Tidende*, ii. 167
- Bermudez, Father, character of, ii. 188
- Bernard, St., his contempt of the human body, i. 391-2
- Bernsdorff, Count Andreas, ii. 463
- Berruyer, Father Joseph, the Pope condemns the book by, ii. 52
- Berti, Giovanni, on Jesuit versatility, ii. 291
- Bethmann-Hollweg, Von, German Chancellor, ii. 85 (note)
- Beyschlag, Professor, ridiculed by the Jesuit Pesch, ii. 361; his private life to be investigated, 375
- Bible, Catholic neglect of the, i. 14; disregarded in Jesuit education, 318; neglect of, in the Exercises, 382
- Bieczynski, Father Stanislaus, i. 140-1
- Biedermann, influence of, on the author, ii. 406
- Biedermann, Father Jacob, celebrates the pity and love of Father Rem, i. 311
- Bien Public*, *Le*, i. 6; supports Papal infallibility, 222
- Billet, Father Karl, tries to induce the author to enter the Jesuit Order, i. 217
- Bishops, Catholic, status of, i. 272
- Bismarck, Prince, as a sort of Diocletian, i. 16; antagonism of the author's parents to, 16-7; Cohen-Blind's and Kullmann's attempts on the life of, 212; "not wanted even by the devil," *ib.*; his blunder over the *Kulturkampf*, 255-6; forged documents to be used against, ii. 167; a student of the author's book on Ultramontaniam, 464 (note)
- Bissel, Father, ii. 160-1
- Biasius, St., feast of, at Kevelaer, i. 32
- Blessed (*Beatus*), a title preliminary to Saint (*Sanctus*), ii. 310 (note)
- Blvenbeck Castle, offered to exiled German Jesuits, i. 248; ceremonial reception of exiles at, 249; set aside for the students in philosophy, 287; a "magister" meal at, ii. 76; the author's residence at, 214-6; the author reads his first Mass at, 222; becomes the seat of the novitiate, 369
- Blassem, Father, on Jesuit political activity at Graz, ii. 140; equivocation of his report to General Acquaviva, 141-2; his use of pseudonyms, 142
- Boarding-house system advocated by the Jesuits, i. 130; lack of supervision in, 185
- Bobadilla, ii. 383
- Bodler, John, on Jesuit wirepulling in Poland, ii. 146-8
- Boeselager, Baron Karl von, urges the author to join the Jesuits, i. 248
- Böger, Dr., pronounces the author contemptive, i. 254
- Bohemia, Jesuits support the war against, ii. 159-60
- Bollandists, the compilers of the *Acta Sanctorum*, i. 300 (note); library of, ii. 390; a literary republic, 390 (note)
- Bollandus, John, ii. 114
- Bombay, German Jesuit mission at, i. 85
- Bone, Heinrich, anthologies compiled by, favoured of the Jesuits, i. 108; Director of the Mayence Gymnasium, 220; teacher at the Catholic Academy at Bedburg, 229
- Bongart, Baron von dem, gives the Jesuits the use of his estate of Wynandsrade, i. 287
- Boniface VIII., Pope, on the relation between Church and State, ii. 339, 340
- Bonn University, the author attends, i. 122, 243; the Arminia at, 245; the Union boycotted by German high-class students, 246
- Bonucci on the persecution of Gonzalez, ii. 295 (note)
- Borgia, Francis, i. 400; canonised, ii. 16, 111
- Bosse, Dr., surrenders to Rome, ii. 463 and note
- Bossuet attacked by Father La Chaise, ii. 185
- Boulanger, General, supported by the Jesuits, ii. 164-6
- Bourdaloue, Father, duplicity of, ii. 185, 186 (note)
- Bramante y Guzman, Gaspar de, Count of Peñaranda, Catholic ambassador at Münster, ii. 160
- Brazil, German Jesuit mission at, i. 85; Father Fähr transferred to, ii. 411 (note); the author collects money for, 419
- Breiting, work of, on the Deluge condemned, ii. 268; is rusticated to Ordrupshøj, *ib.*
- Breisgau, in the Austrian Borderlands, ii. 40
- Brentano, as a German classic, i. 108
- Breaciani, Antonio, novels of, approved by Jesuit teachers, i. 153-4
- Brischar, Father, Professor of History at Wynandsrade, i. 121
- Britto, Father, ii. 64-5
- Brühl, Pastor of Guelders, i. 43
- Brussels, the De Buck lawsuit at, ii. 99-100; the author's studies in, 390-1
- Buchberger, Professor, i. 311
- Büchsel, Court Chaplain, ii. 454 (note)
- Buchum, General Assembly of Catholics at, ii. 393
- Buck, De, lawsuit at Brussels, i. 99-100
- Buddha and his teaching, ii. 456
- Buffalo, German Jesuit mission at, i. 85
- Bulls: *Omnipotentis Dei*, i. 165; *Regimini militantis ecclesiae*, 407, 413; *Exposcit debitum*, 413; *Ascendente Domino*, 417; of Urban VIII., canonising Ignatius Loyola, ii. 21-2; of Clement XI., excommunicating the Bishop of Macao, 59; *unigenitus*, 189; *Unam sanctam*, 312, 340
- Buonvisi, Francisco, Cardinal, on Jesuit morality, ii. 291
- Busch, Father, i. 121
- Busenbaum, a leading Jesuit casuist, ii. 287; on calumnation, 308
- Cabarassi, Sebastian, i. 164
- Cabralius, Jesuit ambassador of Portugal to the Pope, ii. 144
- Caduff, Procurator, the author's lie to,

- ii. 419; the author restores the money to, 420
- Calumniation from the Jesuit standpoint, ii. 308
- Camargo on Jesuit morality, ii. 298-9
- Campian, Father Edmund, the English Jesuit preacher, ii. 111; and the excommunication of Queen Elizabeth, 312
- Campmüller, Father, violates the confession of Maria Theresa, ii. 175-6
- Canada, lay members of the Society of Jesus in, ii. 19
- Canaye, French Ambassador at Venice, on Jesuits and confession, i. 367
- Candlemas Day, why so named, i. 402 (note)
- Canisius, Peter, the "Hammer of Heretics," ii. 111
- Canossa, the Kulturkampf sends Germany to, i. 256
- Canrobert, Marshal, i. 232
- Canterbury, Boulanger activity in the Jesuit College at, ii. 164-5
- Caprivi, Count, ii. 459
- Capuchins, Jesuit opposition to, at Colmar, ii. 97
- Carafa, Vincent, enjoins teaching on all Jesuit students, i. 87-8; intervenes on behalf of the other Orders at Vienna University, ii. 45; his crafty device of the "Conscience" formula, 170-1
- Cardenas on justifiable equivocation, ii. 304-5
- Carissimus, the use of this title in a Jesuit society, i. 271
- Casaubon, Isaac, on the Mayence reprint of Mariana's book, ii. 332-3
- Castropalao on the justifiable connivance at sin, ii. 322-6
- Casuists, the chief, among the Jesuits, ii. 288
- Catalogues, the two Jesuit, i. 354; character of the second, 354-5
- Catherine of Alexandria, St., ii. 397
- Catholic League and the German Jesuits, ii. 161
- Catholic Students' Unions boycotted by Catholics of "blood," i. 246
- Catholicism, force of tradition in, i. 4-6; grandeur of and superstition in, 12-13; neglect of the Bible by, 14; character of the German Catholic priests, 23; teaches faith in guardian angels, ghosts and devils, 26-7; requires early confession, and why, 34 *et seq.*; "morality" of, 39, 40; the three fundamental practices of piety compulsory, 159; erroneously alleged to have been beaten at Königgrätz and Sedan, 233; affected by the force of Christian idealism, 277 *et seq.*; morality of, dominated by Jesuitism, 286-8; dogma of, dominated by Ultramontanism, 287-8; condemned by its toleration of Jesuitism, 423; the only hope for, 467
- Cathrein reflects on Leo XIII., ii. 67; his appearance of scholarship, 277; juggles with the Jesuit approval of Mariana's book on tyrannicide, 328 (note), 331 (note); his view of religious toleration, 353-4; his hostility to State schools, 439
- Caussin, Nicholas, on Jesuit influence in politics, ii. 170; protests against violation of confession of sovereigns, 174
- Celibacy, the question of, i. 275
- Censorship, Jesuit, ii. 264-9
- Centre Party in German politics, a strong ultramontane force, i. 246; created by the Kulturkampf, 256; Jesuit leaders of, ii. 165-6; under Jesuit guidance, 344 and note; involved in the Jesuit settlement in Berlin, 401, 402; power of, in Parliament, 459; hostility of, to the author, 460, 464; influence of, with the Kaiser, 461-3; the predominant force in German politics of the day, 463-4; "better black than red," 465; "rather red than black," 466
- Chanones, Loyola's confessor at Montserrat, i. 371
- Charity, commercial aspect of, ii. 413
- Chastity, the vow of, i. 273; the counsel of chastity examined, 275; violation of, by the Jesuits, ii. 67-71; Jesuit boastfulness of their, 109
- Chatel, John, attempts to murder Henry IV. of France, ii. 335
- Cheminet, Father, discreditable conduct of, ii. 190
- China, wealth of the Jesuits in, ii. 88-9
- Chinese rites and missions, the struggle between Rome and the Jesuits about, ii. 53-66
- "Chocolate" for the General of the Society of Jesus, ii. 104
- Christ, the work He accomplished for humanity, ii. 456-8
- "Christ, or Anti-Christ," the author's pamphlet, ii. 394
- Christianity, the real nature of, ii. 406; the root idea of, 456-8
- Christians, classification of, by the Ultramontane Catholic Church, ii. 272
- Christmas crèche before the High Altar, i. 160-1; midnight Mass on Christmas Eve at Feldkirch, 201-2
- Church and State considered, ii. 452-5; a National Church a branch of the Civil Service, 453
- Churches, Jesuit, decoration of, i. 160; music in, *ib.*; theatrical representations in, *ib.*
- Cienfuegos, Cardinal, relates how the Virgin interceded for a dead Jesuit, i. 404-5; extravagance of, ii. 78
- Cilicium, use of, i. 395
- Circulus (Circle) disputation, ii. 248-9
- Cisneros, Garcia de, i. 371
- Cistercians, Jesuit opposition to, at Magdeburg, ii. 98
- Civitta cattolica*, the mouthpiece of the Vatican, ii. 340 and note; on the subordination of the State to the Church, 340-2
- Cleanliness not always next to godliness, i. 289; lack of, during the novitiate, 392-3
- Clement VIII., Pope, and the Marian Congregations, i. 165; on abuse of confession, ii. 387
- Clement IX., Pope, prohibits the Orders from carrying on commerce, ii. 99 and note
- Clement XI., Pope, Gonzalez appeals to, ii. 51; flagrantly scouted by the Jesuits, 53-65

- Clement XIII., Pope, confirms the condemnation of Berruyer's book, i. 52
- Clement XIV., Pope, suppresses the Jesuit Order, ii. 22, 66
- Clément, Jacques, murders Henry III. of France, ii. 328-9
- Clermont, the Jesuit College authorities at, and the attempt to murder Henry IV. of France, ii. 335
- Cleves, the author takes the State oath at, i. 265
- Coadjutors. (See Formed Coadjutors)
- Coblenz, anecdote of a nunnery at, i. 8
- Cohen-Blind attempts the life of Bismarck, i. 212
- Colleges of Jesuits, i. 78 (note), 79, 80
- Colmar, trading practices of the Jesuits of, ii. 94-8
- Cologne, the Jesuits settle at, i. 33; Archbishop Melchers in his cell at, 257; the author studies for the law at, 261; ascetic practices at, 387; the author visits, ii. 421
- Commerce and trade, Jesuit success in, ii. 91-9
- Communion, compulsory, in Jesuit schools, i. 159; the author's first communion, 197-200
- Compositio loci* in the Exercises, i. 373
- Concertation, nature of, i. 97; conduct of, 143
- Cocina, Daniel, on Jesuit morality, ii. 292-3; Jesuit plot against, 317
- Confession, mischief of early, i. 34 *et seq.*; how it destroys the young conscience, 36-9; the monstrosity of early confession, 43; frequency of confession enjoined, and why, 44; mechanical and compulsory, 137, 159; detrimental effect of general confession in Jesuit schools, 162, 163; as practised at Jesuit schools, 183, 198-9; wickedness of confession in the confessor's bedroom, 202-3; as an essential of ascetic discipline, 361-9; freedom of confession denied to the Jesuit, 361; used as a disciplinary scourge, 362; disregards of Jesuit commands as to, may be starved, 362-3; of reserved sins, 363-4; impropriety of a repeated confession, 364; seal of, violated, 365-7; aided by the practice of conscience-searching, 368-9; the Particular Examination, *ib.*; Jesuit instructions on the confession of women and nuns, ii. 124-5; Jesuit violation of the confession of sovereigns, 174-8; priestly qualification to hear, 192 (note); how abused, 197, 387; veiled under the term Moral Theology, 286; Jesuit exploitation of, 386-7; real object of, 388
- "Confession-Book for Children," cited, i. 36 *et seq.*
- Confessionals, General Acquaviva's instructions as to the position and size of, for women, ii. 128
- Congregations, Marian, i. 163-180; of the Guardian Angels, 164; of St. Aloysius (see Marian Congregations); of the Society of Jesus, 423-5 (see also General Congregation, Procuratorial Congregation, Provincial Congregation); Lazarist Missionary Congregation, ii. 55; *Mémoires de la Congrégation de la Mission*, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59-65
- Conscience weakened and destroyed by confession, i. 36 *et seq.*; what the "Statement of Conscience" implies, 228; the sense of personal responsibility ruined by the "statement," 296-7; the "statement" of first rate importance, 342-8; how the "statement" is effected, 344-5; frequency of the "statement," 345; abuses of the "statement," 346-8; degradation of, by the Jesuits in their dealings with sovereigns, 170-1; the use of "conscience cases," 346 (note); liberty of, an absurd doctrine, 351
- Conscience-searching, ordinary and particular, i. 368-9
- Consecration, the power of, 221-2
- Constance, university at, established, ii. 42
- Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, touching scholars and other such matters, i. 78; concerning the final importance of obedience, 326 *et seq.*; on the "Statement of Conscience," 342-4; on denunciation, 348-9; on the means of reporting (espionage), 352; on compulsory frequent confession to specified confessors, 362; sanction violation of confession, 366; on the use of, 383; experiments prescribed by, 392-3; on penances, 395; authorship of, 407-8; summary of the ten parts of, 408-11; quintessence of, contained in the *Formula Instituti*, 413; are the Constitutions complete? ii. 1 *et seq.*; obscurity respecting, intentional, 3; non-Christian character of, 30-2; cosmopolitanism of, 32; on the vow of chastity, 67; on the scope of the vow of poverty, 71-2; the theory and practice of, compared and contrasted, 105-32; on the confessing of women, 124-5; forbid interference in politics and State affairs, 133-4; prohibit Jesuits from acting as the confessors of statesmen, 168; on the Humanities, 229; on tyrannicide, 334; on keeping the Jesuit lay brother in ignorance, 388-9; approved by the Papacy, 423; cold and calculating regulations, 424-5
- Consultors, the duties of, i. 352, 353, 424
- Contemplation, a great feature of Jesuit upbringing, i. 297
- Contemplations of the Exercises, i. 373-5; effect of, on sensitive natures, 381
- Contzen, Professor Adam, ii. 314
- Convents, the spirit that fills, i. 278; difficulties which prevent adherents from leaving, 279
- Cordara, Julius Cæsar, on the Chinese and Indian Mission, ii. 58, 65; on the Jesuit "cooking" of accounts, 89; on the avarice imputed to Jesuits, 102; his conversation with the King of Sardinia on the boundless wealth of the Jesuits, 103; on Jesuit effeminacy, 103-4; on the overweening pride of the Jesuit Society, 106-9, 426; on Jesuit influence at the Courts of Europe, 168; his *Mémoires* under a ban at Ditton Hall, 225-6
- Cornely, Father, and the affair Tournon, ii. 56, 57
- Cornova on the compulsory teaching of Jesuits, i. 86-7; on Jesuit neglect

- of German, 110; condemns neglect of poor scholars, 147; admits that Jesuits proselytise at their schools, 158; defends the Jesuit system of education, 192
- Corporal punishment, futility of, i. 45-6; how Jesuits inflict, 148-50
- Correspondence of pupils, mischievous supervision of, at Jesuit schools, i. 141-2; grossly abused, 145
- Cosmopolitanism of the Jesuit Order, ii. 32 *et seqq.*; the heart of, 38
- Coton, Father, ii. 183
- Court chaplains, the *status* of, ii. 453
- Court confessors, Jesuit, ii. 172-98; the salaries of, 193
- Crasset, Jean, ii. 198
- Creighton, accomplice in the Jesuit plot against Queen Elizabeth, ii. 149; confessions of, 149-50; his book in favour of the succession of the King of Scotland, 313-4
- Créneau-Joly on the discovery of MSS. of the *Monita* at Prague and Paderborn, ii. 9 (*note*); admits Jesuit hostility to heresy, 22; admits the enormous wealth of the Jesuits in France in 1773, 89; on the political activity of Edward Petre, 157; justifies Jesuit activity in politics, 197-8; on Liguori's teaching, 287
- Cross of Ashes at Kevelaer, ceremony of, i. 32
- Crucifix, as used by Jesuit students, i. 182
- Cyprian, Father Francis, the strange case of, i. 303-4
- Dackazat, John, i. 87
- Dashbach, his safe challenge, ii. 320
- D'Aubanton, betrayal of a confession of Philip V.'s by, ii. 178; alleged author of the Bull *unigenitus*, 189; his evil influence at the Spanish Court, *ib.*; salary of, as confessor to the King, 193
- Declarations of the Constitutions, i. 78 (*note*), 80
- Decurio, duties of, i. 138-41
- Deger's "Madonnas," i. 124, ii. 397
- Delatio, or Denunciation, i. 348 *et seqq.*
- Delbrück, Professor, commissions the author to write for the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, ii. 449
- Delrio, Professor, on permissible falsehood, ii. 302-3
- Deluge, Jesuit view of the, ii. 268
- Demoniac possession, how to exorcise it, i. 320-1; instances of, 321-3
- Denbigh, the Earl of, i. 242
- Denmark, Jesuit activity in, ii. 166-7
- Denunciation in the Jesuit system of education, i. 139-41; expounded by the Constitutions, 348-9; a wholesale secret detective agency, 349-51; underhand method of securing the consent of young students to, 350; training in, 351-2; system of secret reporting used in, 352-4; misery entailed by the practice of, ii. 378-9
- "Deo gratias" at the Stella Matutina, i. 55
- Deposition of Bishops, i. 257
- Desertion from the Army, Jesuit opinion of, ii. 346
- Devil, Jesuit belief in the, i. 226; the Devil at Babylon, 375; in Romish dogma, 381, ii. 208-9
- Devils, belief in, a feature of Jesuit piety, i. 319-23; how to exorcise them, 320-1; instances of possession, 321-3; names of the chief possessing devils, 322
- Dickens, Charles, as a classic at Stonyhurst, i. 242
- Diel, Father, i. 120
- Diest, the asylum at, ii. 418
- Discipline, the Master of, at Jesuit schools, i. 149-50; thoroughness of, within the Jesuit Order, ii. 379
- Discretion, doctrine of, i. 34
- Disputation, importance of, in the scheme of Jesuit study, ii. 248-50; various kinds of, 248-9; form of, 249; use of Latin in, compulsory, 250; specimen of the conduct of a, 258-60; examples of subjects chosen for, at Freiburg, 280-1
- Ditton Hall, set aside for Jesuit students of theology, i. 287; an experience of the author's at, 323; the "table" at, ii. 75; mysterious messages from, 101; the author's stay at, for theology, 216-22, 413; the terrible environment of the Hall, 216; the author is consecrated to the priesthood at, 222
- Dogma, falseness of the Jesuit conception of, ii. 406
- Döllinger, Dr., records instances of grotesque miracles, i. 312-13; discovers documents reproaching the Jesuits with their great wealth, ii. 102; Vol. III. of his "Beiträge" creates a temporary sensation at Ditton Hall, 225; his "History of the Moral-Theological Disputes" in the Catholic Church, 396-7
- Domenech, Abbot, ii. 16
- Dominic, St., ii. 424
- Dominican Orders, i. 164 and *note*; Jesuit dealings with the Dominicans at Colmar, ii. 96; alleged tyranny of, 103 (*note*); arrogance of the Jesuits towards, 108-9; Dominican nuns and the Jesuit Order, 131; clear of the flaws of the Jesuits, 424
- Donat, Professor Josef, ii. 272-4
- Donnés, a class of affiliate Jesuits, ii. 20
- Doss, von Adolf, compositions of, preferred by Jesuits in Church service, i. 160; Superior of the Jesuit settlement at Mayence, 220; his appearance, 225; becomes the author's confessor, 226; his foolish views about Goethe and the German classics, 227-8; force of his influence, 229; terrible interview with, at Marxheim, 249-50
- Douai, Jesuit plot against the Catholic College at, ii. 315-16
- Drecker, Father, i. 121
- Dreves, Guido Maria, ii. 371 (*note*)
- Droste-Vischering-Erdroste, Count, and Catholic students' unions, i. 246
- Dryander, Dr., receives the author into the Protestant State Church, ii. 452
- Dudik on the confessing of sovereigns, ii. 172
- Dufrene, Father Maximilian, i. 111
- Duhr, B., explains how the Jesuit system of education resembles that of the

- "Brothers of the Common Life" at Liège, i. 63; misleading criticism of, ancient Jesuit scholars and externs, 84; approves of use of Latin for ordinary conversation, 99; disingenuous assertions of, as to free education of the Jesuits, 115-17; tries to minimise the effect of the publication of the *Daily Routine*, 183 (*note*); his "Studienordnung der Gesellschaft Jesu," 184; on witch persecution by the Jesuits, 319 and *note*; on the genuineness of the *Monita*, ii. 8, 9; on the existence of affiliates, 20; defends the Jesuits in the affair Tournon, 56, 57; his insinuations against Bishop Palafox, 86-7; defends Jesuit political activity against the Protestants of Graz in the sixteenth century, 142-3; his defence of Edward Petre, 155-7; on the violation of the confession of Maria Theresa, 175-6; instances of his untrustworthiness, 283-5
- Du Lac, supports Boulanger, ii. 164-5
- Duplicia feasts among the Jesuits, ii. 75 (*note*)
- Ebenhöch, Karl, the tragedy of, ii. 100-2
- Ebner, E., answers Kelle's criticism of the standard of Latin Grammar in Jesuit schools, i. 69 (*note*); tries to depreciate the Declarations of the Jesuit Constitutions, 78; praises the practice of Latin composition, 98; his views about German classics, 110; ineffective reply to Jesuit strictures on Jesuit education, 189 (*note*); his notions of modern philosophy, ii. 252; a surprise for, 281
- Education, Jesuit, international, to destroy patriotism and nationality, i. 50-1; produces a "common" type of man and woman, *ib.*; crushes independence of thought and keeps the mind in bondage, 51-2; quality of actual instruction behind the times, 52; description of the administration and routine at the Stella Matutina, Feldkirch, 54-60; eulogy of Jesuit teaching greatly overdone, 61; lacks the creative spirit, 63; practically unchanged during three centuries, 64; the *Ratio Studiorum*, 63-111; reactionary methods in Austria, 70-2; the teachers poorly equipped, 72-4; grudging concessions to public opinion, 74; retrograde features of the Scheme of Study, 75; the lost chances of Jesuit education, 76-7; egotism and selfishness of the system, 77-84; *Nostri* considered always, the externs casually, 77, 79-80; limited attention to externs, 81; one brand of teaching for all countries, 83; a system to last for centuries, *ib.*; cardinal defect in Jesuit conception of teaching as a profession, 84-6; the end of teaching, 85; regulations as to training of teachers disregarded, 95-6; special favour shown to the study of Latin, 96-114; an educational farce, 99; neglect of the German tongue, 104; disregard of the world's classics, 107; can show no world classic in German and other tongues, 114; on the alleged gratuitous teaching of the Jesuits, 115-6; why Jesuit teaching fails, 117; weighed by the author and found wanting, 126; its real aim, 129; number of educational establishments in the Order in 1762, 129 (*note*); the so-called celebrated pupils, 130; represses family life, 130-1; as authorised by the *Ratio Studiorum*, 135 *et seqq.*; police-like supervision, 137-42; espionage and tale-bearing encouraged, 138-41; worship of wealth and aristocracy, 145-6; treatment of poor scholars, 147; likeness and unlikeness between Jesuit schools and English public schools, 148 (*note*); Jesuits and corporal punishment, 148-50; and expulsion from school, 151; on the prohibition of friendships, 151-2; "good" pupils make bad scholars, 152; encourages superstition, 154-5; proselytising at school, 157-8; piety in the school, 158-63; use and influence of Marian Congregations, 163-80; the daily routine at a Jesuit school, 181-4; espionage enjoined, 183; Jesuit strictures on the systems of instruction and education, 184-95; the question of unchastity, 203-8; why their education always must fail, ii. 432-4
- Eichendorf as a German classic, i. 108
- Elizabeth, Queen, Parsons' plot to murder, ii. 149-53; excommunicated by Pius V., 311
- Elizalde, Michael de, on Jesuit morality, ii. 297-8; his work on Probabilism rejected by the Order, 298; threatened by General Oliva, *ib.*
- Encyclicals, Papal, the real source of, ii. 255
- Encyclopædists in France overcome Jesuitism, i. 128
- "End sanctifies the means, the," ii. 320-7; Jesuit attitude to the maxim, 320; lawsuits regarding it, *ib.*
- England, Parsons' plot to depose Elizabeth from the throne of, ii. 149-53
- Epping's lectures on astronomy at Blyenbeck, ii. 248
- Equivocation, use of, ii. 302-3; Jesuit justification of, 304-5
- Erfurt, how the French prisoner at, made his peace with the Church, ii. 381
- Espionage. (*See* Denunciation)
- Esseivz, Father Joseph, illustrates General Anderledy's mental gymnastics, i. 174
- Etiquette in the Jesuit Order, i. 356-7
- Eulenberg, Court Marshal, ii. 461
- Evangelical Alliance of Germany, as seen through Jesuit glasses, ii. 361; ignorance of Catholicism among the members of, 452; mistaken tactics of, against Ultramontaniam, 465 (*note*)
- Exacten, the author enters the novitiate at, for a few days, i. 259; enters again, 270; reserved originally for the novices, 288; hardship and discomfort of life at, 288-9; seclusion of, 292; devils at, 323; reading aloud at meals, 394; the author leaves, 406; its villa at Oosen, ii. 77; the author appointed

- Scriptor at, 244, 270; becomes the seat of the Philosophate, 369-70; headquarters of the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach* and *Die Katholischen Missionen*, 369, 370; the structural improvements at, 369-70; the author quits, for Portico, 411; the author leaves, for ever, 420
- Examen generale*, craft of the, i. 351; summary of the, 411; *E. rigorosum*, ii. 369
- Examination, Particular, i. 368-9; pulling the "particular examination chain," 369
- Exercises, spiritual, effect of, on Jesuit pupils, i. 162-3; nervous excitement caused by, 162; the end and aim of, 163; used to win recruits for the Jesuit priesthood, 214-5; terror in the young inspired by melodramatic addresses in the, 227; the authorship of, ascribed to the Virgin and to God, 370; duration of, 371; summary of the contents of, 371-6; criticism of, 377-84; actual object of, 378; two main characteristics of, 378-82; make every Jesuit everywhere of a uniform pattern, 379; Director of, and his duties, 380; pseudo-mysticism of, 380-2; high fees charged for the Exercises, etc., ii. 80; value of the Exercises in popular missions, 382; utilised for political purposes, 384-5
- Experiments during the novitiate, i. 392-3
- Expulsion from school, how effected by Jesuits, i. 151
- Externals, attention paid to, in Jesuit labours, ii. 381-2
- Eyre, Father, i. 240-1
- Faber, Frederick William, ii. 31
- Fäh, Father Jacob, i. 171; consults with Windthorst in Berlin, ii. 165; editor-in-chief of the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach* and *Die Katholischen Missionen*, 244, 370; character of, 371; sends the author to Brussels for research work in history, 390; ignores the author's hints as to the effect of his studies, 391; is despatched to Berlin to prepare for a Jesuit settlement there, 399-400; is transferred to Brazil, 411 (note)
- Falk, Dr., ii. 231
- Faller, Father, General Prefect at Feldkirch, i. 197; his attempts to induce the author to enter the Jesuit Order, 217; annoyance at their temporary failure, 218
- Falsification of the text, a Jesuit method of embellishment, ii. 284 (note), 285
- Family life and the Jesuit system of education, i. 130-1
- Farnese, Margaret Duchess of, ii. 129
- Fatherhood of God the basis of true religion, ii. 456-8
- Feldkirch, the Jesuit school at, i. 49; description of the buildings, administration, daily routine, 54-60; fees at, 116; Government grants at, *ib.*; why the system of education at, was a failure, 117-9; teachers at, in the author's time, 118; improvement in teaching at, due to State pressure, 119; negative results of the education at, 129; mixed nationality of the teaching staff at, 132; jubilee of, 133, 148; how wealth and rank were favoured at, 146; punishment at, 150; the best scholars were the day boys, 152; the library at, 153; curious "atmosphere" at, 155-7; gluttony tacitly encouraged, 156; sports at, *ib.*; game of "running the gauntlet," 156-7; Marian observances at, 161; foolish rites in honour of the Virgin at, 179; midnight Mass on Christmas Eve at, 201-2; the author's confessors and teachers at, 202-10; atmosphere of, 208
- Fénélon denounces Father La Chaise, ii. 183-4
- Ferdinand I. and the Jesuit Professors of Theology at Vienna, ii. 32-3
- Ferdinand II., under the influence of the Jesuits, ii. 40; and the Chancellorship of Prague University, 52-3; a ready tool of the Jesuits, 159; an instance in which he withstood his confessor, 182
- Fessler, Ignatius, and the discovery of the confessions of eminent persons, ii. 177
- Fessler, Joseph, i. 200
- Feuerbach, Anselm, records a priest's confession of murder, ii. 366-7
- Fiesole, Jesuit headquarters at, i. 264
- Filling, Father Jacob, his fondness for the author, i. 205; his feats in pre-variation, 213; tries to persuade the author to become a Jesuit, 217
- Finckenstein, Count Karl von, on the author's recantation, i. 6; introduces the author to Orthodoxy and Conservatism, ii. 450; applies for a post in the State service for the author, 459
- Flores mariani, i. 161
- Flugschriften zur Wehr und Lehr*, ii. 361
- Foley, his free and easy manner of dealing with history, ii. 284 (note)
- Forer, repudiation of the *Monita* by, ii. 9
- Formed coadjutors of the Society of Jesus, i. 415; simple vows of, 417; final vows of, 418
- Formula Instituti*, text of, i. 413-4; contents of, ii. 3-4
- Formula scribendi*, i. 352 *et seqq.*
- Forsler, Emerich, on Jesuit political activity at Graz, ii. 178
- Fox's Commentary on Demosthenes' *de Corona*, a "classic" of Jesuit scholarship, ii. 229
- France, favoured by the Jesuits in the war of 1870-1, i. 233-4; Cardinal Reischach's prophecy regarding, 238; the "patriotism" of German Jesuits as evidenced in the war of 1870-1, ii. 36-8; Boulanger's plot against, supported by the Jesuits, 164-5
- Francis, St., how he assisted justice, ii. 304, 305; a wiser man than Loyola, 424
- Franciscan Orders, i. 164 and *note*; Jesuit *hauteur* towards, ii. 108; Franciscan nuns and the Jesuit Order, 131; cannot be condemned as can the Jesuits, 424
- Franco-German war of 1870-1, i. 232-3;

- Jesuit hatred of Prussia, *ib.*; the Prussian victories, 232; the war misrepresented, 232-3
- Frankfort-on-the-Main, the author's residence at, *ii.* 421
- Frankfort-on-the-Oder, County Court judgeship at, offered to the author, *ii.* 462
- Franzelin, Cardinal, on mental reservation, *i.* 264-5
- Frederick, Cardinal, of Hesse, the immoral confessor of, *i.* 207
- Frederick II., the Great, as seen through Jesuit glasses, *i.* 122
- Frederick William IV. and the author's father, *i.* 7
- Freemasonry, denounced and misrepresented by Jesuits, *i.* 154; attitude of Ultramontanes to, 224
- Free thinker, the, who is governed by morals is not far from God, *ii.* 456 (*note*)
- Frehner's revolt, *ii.* 281
- Freiburg, Latin Grammar in the Jesuit College of St. Michael at, *i.* 69; Jesuit intrigues at the University of, *ii.* 40-2; low state of Jesuit learning at, 280-1
- French League supported by the Jesuits, *ii.* 161-2
- Frick's "Manual on Logic for the use of Schools," *ii.* 257-8
- Friday, specially sacred to the Heart of Jesus, *i.* 307
- Friedrich, Professor J., on the soul-destroying effect of Jesuit teaching on the German students at Rome, *i.* 342; and the report of the poisoning of Cardinal Tournon, *ii.* 55
- Friendships at school, Jesuit objections to, *i.* 151-2; Father Link recognises their value, 210; friendship forbidden within the Jesuit Order, *ii.* 378-9
- Frins, Professor Victor, a constant adviser of Windthorst, *ii.* 166, 411 (*note*); his opinion about Protestant girls, 367; succeeds the author in Berlin, 411 (*note*)
- Froment, Chancellor of the University of Paris, on Jesuit self-aggrandisement, *ii.* 47-8
- Fürstenberg, Baron Klemens von, on the German Jesuits and the war of 1870-1, *i.* 233
- Fürstenberg, Count Wratisslaw von, intrigues of, *ii.* 183
- Galen, Count Ferdinand von, *i.* 238
- Galen, Count Max von, *i.* 227
- Garnet, Father Henry, involved in Jesuit activity in England, *ii.* 46, 111; friendship with Lady Anne Vaux, 128; concerned in Parsons' plot against Queen Elizabeth, 152; freely employs equivocation, 309-11; a learned and saintly man, 311; his views touching the killing of the king, 336; on just and unjust laws, 437 (*note*)
- Gastel, Johannes, on effective Jesuit vengeance, *ii.* 382
- Gauntlet-running at Jesuit schools, *i.* 156-7
- Gelsenkirchen, scenes during the mission at, *ii.* 380-1
- Genelli, opinion of, as to Jesuit chastity, *ii.* 67
- General Congregation, the highest court of the Society of Jesus, *i.* 422-3; how often held, 423; powers of, *ib.*; summoned by, *ib.*; composition of, *ib.*; voting power of, *ib.*; the Decrees of, carefully edited for publication, *ii.* 5
- General of the Society of Jesus, Head of the Order, *i.* 419; elected *aut vitam aut culpam*, 419-20; qualifications for, *ib.*; powers of, *ib.*; supervision over, 420-1; deposition of, 421-2; activity of, 422; subordination of, to the General Congregation, 422-3
- Gerard, Father John, secures money for the Order, *ii.* 11-2, 90-1; how he acknowledged Elizabeth as Queen of England, 311
- German tongue, Jesuit neglect of the, *i.* 104; nominally adopted as a subject of study, 105; this reform compulsory, 106; Jesuit ordinance anent German classics, 109; great German classics denounced by von Doss, 227-8; by von Hammerstein, *ii.* 230-4; by Baumgartner, 234-45
- Germania, character of, *ii.* 376; organ of the Centre Party, 411 (*note*); attacks the author, 460
- Germany, unity of, the real object of the war of 1870-1, *i.* 232-3; Jesuit hatred of the idea, 233-4; strong ultramontane sentiment in the Centre Party, 246-7; sent to Canossa by the Kulturkampf, 256; Jesuit scheme to subjugate, *ii.* 158-9; return of the Jesuits to, 166; activity of Jesuits in, 384; dominated by the Centre Party, 462; unfortunate results to, of the Kulturkampf, 464-5; danger of Jesuitism to, 466
- Gertt, Reinhold, condemns the secret drinking in Jesuit settlements, *i.* 188
- Gfrörer ascribes the Thirty Years' War to the Jesuits, *ii.* 158-9
- Ghosts, Catholic belief in, and fear of, *i.* 26-8; cruelty of the doctrine to the young, 28; haunted houses at Zeil and Müffendorf, 27-8
- Gindely's account of the Jesuit proceedings against Wallenstein, *ii.* 179-80; records an instance of Ferdinand II.'s resistance to the Jesuits, 182; as garbled by Duhr, 283
- Günzel, Canon, anent the violation of the confession of Maria Theresa, *ii.* 175-6
- Giphanius, Professor, on Jesuit intrigue at Ingolstadt, *ii.* 39
- Goch, the author's momentous discourse at, *ii.* 419
- "God" as conceived by Catholic theology and in part also by Protestant, *ii.* 408-9; the Fatherhood of God the basis of true religion, 456-8
- Goethe, Jesuit opinion of, *i.* 109; Jesuit ordinance concerning German classics issued in the year of Goethe's death, *ib.*; Von Doss on the over-rated renown of, 227; "Behold the man whom thou didst worship!" 228; von Hammerstein's appreciation of, *ii.* 230-2; Baumgartner's tirade on, 236-45
- Goldie, Francis, records Alonzo Rodriguez's senseless literalism, *i.* 329

- Göltz, Provost von der, shares the too common Protestant ignorance of things Catholic, ii. 451
- Gonzalez, Thyrsus, author of a missing Decree, ii. 5; Pope approves of his work against Probabilism, 50-1; forbids the teaching of modern philosophy, 253; condemns Jesuit teaching on morals, 292; Jesuit persecution of, 295 and note; his statement of the position, 296; real reason why Jesuits attack him, 297
- Gosler, von, ii. 231
- Gotthein, wrongs of, concerning Loyola's asceticism and piety, i. 299 (note)
- Göttingen, author attends lectures at, i. 122; parents' reluctance to allow him, 251; complexion of his stay there, 252; studies for the Law at, 261
- Gottlieb, the pen-name of Tilmann Pesch, ii. 357
- Grand National at Liverpool, Stonyhurst students at, i. 241
- Granderath defends capital punishment for heretics, ii. 356
- Graz, Jesuit political activity at, ii. 140-3, 179
- Greenway, connection of, with the Gunpowder Plot, ii. 310
- Gregorovius, influence of, on the author, ii. 406
- Gregory XIII., Pope, confirms the Marian Congregation at Rome, i. 165, 169; sanctions purchases for profit by the Society of Jesus, 413; ordains that the Jesuit's simple vows constitute an impediment to marriage, 417; concerned in Parsons' plot against Queen Elizabeth, ii. 149; confirms the deposition of Elizabeth, 312
- Gregory XV., Pope, and the Marian Congregations, i. 165
- Gregory XVI., Pope, canonises Liguori, ii. 286
- Gretser is instructed to refute the *Monita*, ii. 7
- Grimm, Father Leopold, on the custom of confessing boys in the confessor's bedroom, i. 203
- Guardian angels, Catholic teaching about, i. 26; Congregations of the, 164; use of the guardian angel (*angelus custos*) in the novitiate, 355
- Guignard hanged for complicity in the attempt to murder Henry IV. of France, ii. 335
- Guise, Duke of, involved in Parsons' plot against Queen Elizabeth, ii. 149-51
- Gunpowder Plot, Duhr's tenderness for the, i. 284; Garnet's connection with the, ii. 309, 310
- Gury, prevalence of his textbook of Moral Theology, ii. 288; his teaching on adultery, ii. 309
- Gustav Adolf Verein, mistaken tactics of, against Ultramontaniam, ii. 465 (note)
- Gustavus Adolphus, the three "L's" whom he wished to see hanged, ii. 183
- Gymnasium, superiority of the education at the State, over that of the Jesuits, i. 118-9, 124
- Haag Castle, i. 1
- Habsburg, inordinate ambition of the House of, ii. 159
- Hahn-Hahn, Countess Ida, novels by, approved by the Jesuits, i. 153; composes the "Cradle Song of a Polish Mother," 211
- Hahn's book on Saint Teresa censored, ii. 269
- Haller, Father, the dangers of Jesuit political activity in Austria, ii. 139
- Hammerstein, Baron Ludwig von, on the German classics, ii. 230-4; his appreciation of Goethe, 230-2; of Schiller, 232; of Lessing, 232-3; on the predominance of the Church over the State, 342-4; on the evil of religious toleration, 352; his hostility to State schools, 439-40
- Hammerstein, Baron Wilhelm von, proprietor of the *Kreuzzeitung*, ii. 449; the author meets him, 450-1
- Harnack, Adolf, and the genuineness of the *Monita*, ii. 7; his lectures on dogma at Berlin University, 403; what his influence lacks, 403-4
- Harrach, Cardinal von, struggle of, at Prague, against the Jesuits, ii. 52-3
- Hartmann, Father, lawsuit at Straubing, ii. 100-2
- Hatzfeld, Countess Sophie, i. 245
- Hausherr, Father, becomes confessor of the author's mother, i. 234 (note); his influence, 249
- Helfert, Alexander von, reproaches the Jesuits for their addiction to a dead language not properly understood, i. 104; condemns Jesuit neglect of German literature, 110; criticises the abuses of the Jesuit system of education, 192-3
- Heligoland, the author's stay in, ii. 422; his acquaintance with Count Karl von Finckenstein in, 450
- Hell, Abbé, as a Professor of Astronomy, ii. 280
- Hell, as portrayed in the Exercises, i. 372-3; monstrosity of the belief in, ii. 407; the hell dogma a priest's dogma, 409
- Helten, Father, considers Goethe a heathen, i. 109; Professor of Greek, German and *Æsthetics* at Wyznandsrade, 121; astonished at his pupils' excellent Greek exercises, 123-4
- Henry III. of France, murder of, approved by the Jesuit Mariana, ii. 144; demands the support of the Jesuits, 161-2; murder of, justified by the Jesuit Mariana and the Society, 328-9
- Heresy, especially attacked by Jesuits, fict with the Jesuits, ii. 191; murder of, by Ravallac, 335; public fury at the murder, and its effect on the Jesuit Society, *ib.*; Chatel's attempt to murder, 335
- Heresy, especially attacked by Jesuits, ii. 21 et *seqq.*; absolutely condemned by the *Imago*, 350; Jesuit defence of the capital punishment of heretics, 354-7; the various punishments for, 356
- Heroism of the Jesuits, ii. 379; of humanity, 380
- Hertling, Baron von, president of the Görresgesellschaft, i. 224

- Hilgers on the need for and usefulness of the Index Expurgatorius, ii. 274-5
- Hoensbroech Castle, i. 2
- Hoensbroech, Adrian, Count of, the author's brother, attends the Jesuit school at Feldkirch, i. 49; death of, 253
- Hoensbroech, Antonia von, the author's sister, bitterly hostile to Prussia, i. 211; her anger with the author about the German victories in 1870, i. 233; marriage to Count Franz Xavier Korff-Schmising-Kerssenbroock, i. 252; death of, *ib.*; entirely subjugated by her Jesuit confessors, ii. 130
- Hoensbroech, Clement, Count of, the author's brother, attends Feldkirch and the State Gymnasium, i. 118; marriage of, ii. 400
- Hoensbroech, Franz Egon, Marquis of, the author's father, character of, i. 3; his blindness, *ib.*; his view of religion, 4-5; his politics, 6-7; relations to the king, 7-8; his career, 10; makes a pilgrimage to La Salette, but is not cured, 28-9; before the shrine at Kevelaer, 31; induced to sanction Jesuit influence in his home, 33; his coldness to Prussia in the war with Austria, 210; death of, 252
- Hoensbroech, Lothar, Count von, the author's brother, death of, i. 253
- Hoensbroech, Luise, Countess of, the author's sister, takes the veil, i. 48; urges the author to join the Jesuit Order, 247
- Hoensbroech, Marie, Countess von, the author's sister, engagement of, to Count Franz zu Stolberg-Stolberg, i. 242-3; a marriage of *convenience*, 243; urges the author to enter into the Jesuit Order, 247; leads the first German pilgrimage to Lourdes, 253; goes to Algiers for her health, 261; birth of her daughter, Monica, 265; death of, 269
- Hoensbroech, Matilda, Marchioness of, the author's mother, i. 3; nobility of her character, 10-11; devotion to her husband, 10; in religion a "whole" Catholic, 12-14; depth of her credulity, 13-14; her curious indifference to the Bible, 14; her fervour and fanaticism, 15; her dislike of the Protestant dynasty of Prussia, 15-17; her hatred of Prince Bismarck, 16-17; undertakes a pilgrimage to La Salette, 28; her faith superior to her disappointment, 29; her frequent devotions at the shrine at Kevelaer, 31; comes wholly under Jesuit influence, 33, ii. 129-30; her anti-Prussian bitterness, i. 210-2; quarrels with her brother about Prince Bismarck, 212; her fanatical faith in infallibility, 222; coolness with the Bishop of Mayence, *ib.*; punishes the author for defending the Bishop, *ib.*; entirely under the control of Father Behrens, her confessor, 234; makes over part of her fortune to the Jesuits, *ib.* (*note*); lives in widowed seclusion at Bäckelwitz, 234 (*note*); strongly opposes the author's delay to enter into the Jesuit Order, 236; hands over Blyenbeck Castle in Holland as a retreat for the exiled Jesuits, 248; is endowed with all the graces and dispensations of the Order, ii. 129
- Hoensbroech, Paul, Count of, the author, birth of, i. 3; parentage of, 3-17; anecdote about the Latin and German text of the "Ave, Maria," 5; routine of home life, 18-20; religion the dominant note of his education, 20-1; suffered from denominational exclusiveness, 20; taught to minister at Mass, 22; plays the Mass-game, 22-3; how his early piety was fostered, 24 *et seqq.*; steeped in sham mysticism and asceticism, 25 *et seqq.*; terrified by ghosts, 28; his frequent visits to the shrine at Kevelaer, 29 *et seqq.*; degrading effect of the superstition, 32; comes under Jesuit influence, 34; his first confession, *ib.*; realises the horrors of ultramontane "morality," 36 *et seqq.*; the general run of his education, 46; doubts and criticism repelled, *ib.*; is subjected to corporal punishment, 45-6; defects of his education, 46-8; is sent to Feldkirch, 49, 53; account of his school, 54-60; describes the "O Sanctissima," 57; nearly loses his life, 58; concludes that the Jesuit system of instruction is bad, 61; discovers the Jesuit teachers were poorly equipped, 73; learns how Latin verses were composed, 99; his "guardian angel," 100; on the scant attention paid at school to German, *ib.*; never saw a Latin play at Feldkirch, 106; rebuked for admiring Goethe, 109; why his education at Feldkirch was comparatively a failure, 117-9; the entrance examination at Mayence Gymnasium, 118; attends the college at Wynandsrade, 119-24; had already practised law, 120; his course at Bonn and Göttingen, 122; is reprimanded for plain speaking, 123; his summary of Jesuit instruction as he found it, 126; is sent to arrange a difficulty concerning a Marian Congregation at Cologne, 171-2; his years as a member of the Marian Congregation, 179; reminiscences of Feldkirch, 196-218; cured of home-sickness, 197; his first Communion, 197-200; how midnight Mass was celebrated at Feldkirch on Christmas Eve, 201-2; his confessors at, 202-6, 208-10; offends his family by his sympathies with Prussia, 211-3; efforts made to entice him into the Jesuit Order, 216-8; attends the Gymnasium at Mayence, 219-20; defends the Bishop of Mayence and incurs his mother's censure, 222; under the strange spell of Adolf von Doss, 226-7; German essay and its fateful motto, 230; a change silently at work in his mind, 231; his invincible patriotism, 232-3; his youthful love for his cousin and its effect on him, 235-6; postpones entering on his novitiate, 236; interviews Manning, 239; attends Stonyhurst College, 240-2; disgusted at the

laxity of the students' morals, 240-1; the courses in Latin and philosophy both poor, 240-2; studies law at Bonn, 243-4; some of his fellow-students, 244; abets the Jesuit insolence towards the Old Catholics, 244-5; joins the Catholic Students' Union, 246; his cousin takes the veil, 250; he is haunted with the thought, "End of my love; entrance into the Order," *ib.*; narrow escape from death in a railway accident, *ib.*; a dilemma of Divine Providence, 250-1; is disqualified purposely for the army, 253-4; the reason why, 254; disastrous effect of the Kulturkampf, 256; he joins the German pilgrimage to Lourdes, 258-9; enters the novitiate at Exaeten, 259; the mental agony he suffered, 260-1; visits Algiers, 261-2; visits Rome, 262-3; acquires some of the Pope's cast-off garments as relics, 263; as county court judge takes the oath at Cleves with mental reservation, 265; beseeches the intercession of Leo XIII. for his sister Marie, 268; sees his cousin at Frankfurt and his love for her is revived, 269; enters Exaeten again, 270; is examined as a postulant, 282; becomes a novice, 285; gratitude to Jesuits for teaching him self-control, 385; his practical duties during novitiate, 392-3; examples of his self-mortification, 393-4; how he acquired clear enunciation, 394; his experience of penitential practices, 394-5; his sense of repugnance to the Jesuit Order, 395 *et seqq.*; his simple faith in the system, 396-7; he is repelled by the rule requiring separation from and renunciation of parents, 398 *et seqq.*; how he trod his mother underfoot, 401; his zealous effort to become a complete Jesuit, 402; may take the devotional vows, 402-3; he receives a belated letter before leaving Exaeten, 405; becomes a scholastic, 406; extract from *Austritt* to show how the Jesuits crush patriotism, *ii.* 34-6; his experience of the effects of poverty, 73-80; tells the painful story of Karl Ebenhöch's deathbed, 100-2; is intended to be the confessor of aristocratic women because of his social rank, 130; is the victim of Tilmann Pesch's jealousy, 131-2; discovers that the Jesuits support Boulanger's designs on France, 164-5; years at Wynandsrade for Humanity and Rhetoric, 201-14; assailed by doubts about the Order and the Church, 202-9; his Parthian victory, 209; ascetic life at Wynandsrade, 210-11; sufferings at Aix-la-Chapelle, 212; goes to Blyenbeck for Philosophy, 214-6; renounces his property, 215; takes the first step to the priesthood, 215; goes to Ditton Hall for Theology, 216-22; is consecrated to the priesthood, 222; his mental agony on the occasion of the reading of his first Mass, 222-3; his experience of swallowing the host, 223; is troubled by the doctrines of the Trinity and Original Sin, 224;

becomes Scriptor at Exaeten, 244, 270; his progress in Philosophy and Theology officially approved, 269; his insanity hinted at, *ib.*; his discussion about the Creation, 281-2; is shocked at the atmosphere of falsehood in which the Jesuit students are trained, 318-19; tests at law the maxim "The end sanctifies the means," 320-1; his sentiments on taking up residence at Exaeten as Scriptor, 370; assistant editor of the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach* and *Die Katholischen Missionen*, *ib.*; his relations with Fäh, the chief editor, 371; his intimacy with the Provincial of the German Province and its close, 372-4; declines the post of tutor to the sons of the Austrian Ambassador, 374; assists at the Mayence Conference that founded the National Union for Catholic Germany, 375; undertakes all manner of pastoral work, 380, 384-6; how he absolved a murderess, 386 and *note*; his practice in the matter of confession, 388; specialises in the history of the Church and the Papacy, 390; the consequences of his studies of this subject, *ib.*; visits Brussels for research, 390-1; learns that there are two sides to the Papacy, 391; is instructed to defend the Papacy, 392; success of his pamphlet on Church and State, 393; is commissioned to write in defence of the Jesuit Order, 393; his pamphlet "Why should the Jesuits not return to Germany?" 393-4; his pamphlet "Christ, or Anti-Christ," 394; declines to collaborate with Tilmann Pesch, 394-5; his literary labours appreciated and depreciated by the same people, 395; is despatched to Berlin to prepare for a Jesuit settlement, 399; his instructions how to act as a Jesuit ambassador, 399-400; marries his brother, 400; attends lectures in Berlin University, 403-4; Treitschke's influence on, 405; patriotism reawakes, *ib.*; the liberators of the mind of, 405-7; revolts at the chief Catholic dogmas, 407-9; agony of his mental conflict, 409-11; decides to enter the tertiate, 411; is ill with diphtheria, *ib.*; experience as a tertiary, 412-5; his mental sufferings as the tertiate closed, 414-5; takes the final decision and leaves the Order and the Church, 416-22; the accidents that enabled him to leave the Order undetected, 419-22; the question of his temporary use of the money he collected for Brazil, 419-20, 420 (*note*); sojourns at Cologne, Paris and Frankfurt-on-Main, 421; falls ill, 422; takes up his permanent residence in Berlin, *ib.*; the question of apostacy, *ib.*; the wrench from Catholicism, 448; his first commissions for the Press, 449; discovers his life-work in exposing Ultramontaniam, *ib.*; gravitates towards Liberalism and free-thought, 450; joins the Protestant State Church, 452; his objections to any connection between State and

- Church, 452-5; statement of his present religious position, 455-8; unconsciously alarms Count Caprivi, 459; his long conversation with Wilhelm II., 459; the Kaiser's promise, 460; goes to Kiel to qualify for the post of *Landrat*, 460-1; is married, 461; his wife's severe illness, 461-2; Count Waldersee intervenes on his behalf, 461; further interview with the Kaiser and what came of it, 462-3; is refused a lectureship at a University, 463; and also denied the diplomatic service, 464; develops his future life-work, 464; his labours not in vain, 466; encouraged by hope for the future of the race, 467
- Hoensbroech, William, Count of, the author's brother, at Feldkirch, i. 49; found the equipment imperfect compared with that at the State Gymnasium, 118; visits Algiers, 261; marriage of, 266; how the death of a daughter of William's affects the author, ii. 410-11
- Hofhaus, Paul, on Jesuit vice in the Upper German Province, ii. 69-70; deploras the growing luxury of the Order, 81; deploras Jesuit interference in politics, 193-4
- Hohenlohe, Prince, refuses the author admission into the diplomatic service, ii. 464
- Hohenzollerns, Jesuit designs against, ii. 385
- Homonna, ascetic practices at the College of, i. 386
- Hompesch, Count, i. 8
- Hospitieren at Berlin University, ii. 403 (note), 405
- Houses of Jesuits, i. 78 (note)
- Hövel, Father, receives the author at Exaeten, i. 259, 270; approves of the author's conduct as a novice, 403; Rector at Ditton Hall, ii. 217
- Humanistic studies of the scholasticate, ii. 228-45
- Humility of the Jesuit Order, ii. 105-6
- Hungary, Jesuit political activity in 1655 in, ii. 144-6
- Ibañez on the Jesuits in Paraguay, ii. 6
- Ignatius Day, St., i. 291
- Imago primi saeculi Societatis Jesu* on the authorship of the Constitutions, i. 408; on the Jesuits' undying hatred of heretics and heresy, ii. 24-5; a centennial memorial of the work of the Order, 112, 113; its boastfulness an annoyance to the Order, *ib.*; the Jesuits attempt to ascribe it to "young scholastics," 112-14; alleged to have been written by Bollandus, 114; description of the pictures in, 115-18; summary of the contents of the six books, 119-22; its self-glorification revolting, 122-3; on Jesuit morality, 301; explicitly condemns heresy, 350
- "Immaculate Conception, The," at Lourdes, i. 258
- Imprimatur, the Jesuit, ii. 266
- Index of Forbidden Books, Jesuit plea for, ii. 274-5
- Indies, East, Jesuit trading in the, ii. 91
- Indifferents of the Society of Jesus, i. 416
- Individuality rigorously repressed by Jesuit discipline, i. 296 *et seqq.*; effaced by asceticism, 326; the instruments whereby Jesuitism murders the will, 342-84
- Infallibility of the Pope, i. 221; the doctrine the occasion of controversy in the author's family, 223; German bishops' unconditional acceptance of, 223-4
- Informations, based on espionage, obtained about nominees to posts in the Society of Jesus, i. 425-7
- Ingolstadt, morbid excesses of Jesuit scholars at, i. 178; Jesuit intrigues at University of, ii. 38-40
- Innocent III., Pope, and the apparition of a virgin, i. 305
- Innocent X., Pope, attempts to reform the practice of appointing Superiors, i. 367; fixed the intervals of the session of the General Congregation of the Jesuit Society, 424; letter of, touching reforms of the Order, ii. 5; letter to, on the wealth of the Order in America, 86-8; requires the Jesuits to refrain from political activity, 144
- Innocent XI., Pope, sanctions Gonzalez's work against Probabilism, ii. 51, 295; requires the Society of Jesus to submit to the Pope, *ib.*; severely censures the Jesuits for their conduct in the Indian and Chinese Mission, 65; condemns Jesuit teaching on morals, 292; sees the dangers of Probabilism, 296; on the use of ambiguity, 304
- Innocent XIII., Pope, receives a memorial from the Jesuits touching the Indian Mission, ii. 60 (note); receives a report from Tournon about his persuasion by the Jesuits in China, 63
- Inquisition, and Loyola's letter on obedience, 336-7; founded by Loyola, ii. 23
- Insinuation as a means of obtaining wealth, ii. 82
- Institute of the Society of Jesus*, contents of the, i. 142; *Formula Instituti*, 413-4; *Substantialia Instituti*, 414; difficulty of procuring copies of the *Institute*, ii. 1 (note)
- Instruction as compared with education, i. 127. (See Education)
- Instructor, the official Director of the tertiate, ii. 412
- Intellect, Jesuit regulations to hamper and stifle the working of, ii. 262-4
- Internationalism, the hall-mark of Jesuit education, i. 50-2; and of the Order in all its works, 90; sedulously fostered, 131-3; the proper use of, at a proper age, 133
- Intrigue, love of, the ruin of Jesuit power, ii. 432
- Jahnel, Catholic Provost, the author's host in Berlin, ii. 399; character of, 401; he visits the author after the latter's marriage, *ib.* (note)
- James II. of England, alleged to be an affiliate of the Jesuit Society, ii. 17; the Jesuit Petre and, 153

- Janiszewski, Dr., i. 257
 Janitor in Jesuit schools, duty of, i. 144
 Jansenism, Jesuit plot against, ii. 315, 316
 Japan, Jesuits' policy in, ii. 365
 Jardine, D., his "Narrative of the Gunpowder Pot" cited, ii. 128, 284, 309-11; his criticism of Garnet's equivocation, 310-11
 Jerome, St., on the renunciation of his mother, i. 401; on opposition to heretics, ii. 25
 Jesuits, influence of, established at Hoensbroech, i. 33; expulsion of, from Germany, 53; school management of, 61-2; value of their teaching overrated, 61, 63; their control of education in Austria, 70-2; their lost chances in teaching, 76-7; terminology of Jesuit dwellings, 78 (*note*); their belauded altruism non-existent, 79-82; how they push the use of Jesuit textbooks, 82-3; suppression of, by Clement XIV., 86; obedience the first Jesuit law, 88; international in all their activities, 90; and the study of Latin, 96-114; untruthfulness sanctioned by the Order, i. 100, ii. 301-19; neglect of the German language, i. 104; German classics contemned, 108; their estimate of Goethe, 109; have produced no great classic, 114; have no system of free education, 116; greed of the Order, *ib.*; in face of attack, 128; their adroit advertising, 130; why Jesuits can never become good teachers, 134-5; their attitude to rank and riches, 145-6; and to poverty, 147-8; corporal punishment among, 148-50; and expulsion from school, 151; reasons why friendships at school are forbidden, 151-2; and freemasonry, witchcraft and magic, 154-5; and proselytism, 157-8; various aspects of Jesuit piety, 158-63; really control the Marian Congregations, 163-80; allow of no Order but one, 166; suppression and resuscitation of the Order, 168; daily routine at a Jesuit school, 181-4; charged with trying to destroy or remove incriminating documents in public libraries, 189; alleged unchastity of, 203-8; their constant hatred of heresy, 213; hoped for the success of France in the war of 1870-1, 233-4; their singular notions of patriotism, *ib.*; excellent haters, 240; though legally prohibited in England their settlements numerous and churches fine, *ib.*; lax supervision of the students' morals at Stonyhurst, 240-1; expelled from Germany, 248; their philosophy of clothes, 284-5; good preachers, 292; piety of the Order, 295 *et seq.*; the grotesque or blasphemous miracles recounted in Jesuit literature, 299-325; ascetic disciple of the Order considered in full, 326 *et seq.*; abuse of confession, 361-9; their famous motto, 365; flout the Pope, 367, 368 (*note*); subtly supported by the Exercises, 378; their power of enduring physical pain, 385; the inner constitution of the Order, 407-27; foundation of the Society, 407; summary of the Constitutions, 408-11; privileges extended to the Society, 412-3; the *Formula Instituti*, 413; *Substantialia Instituti*, 414; degrees of the Society, 414-6; distribution of the Order, 416; number of members in 1773 and at present, *ib.*; various kinds of vows, 416-8; government of, 418-27; the head of the Order, 418-23; concealed statutes of, *ib.*, 5-7; their activity in England, 11-2, 17; how dismissed members are treated, 12-3; affiliates of the Society, 13-21; bitter hostility of, to heresy, 21-30; the non-Christian spirit of the Order, 30 *et seq.*; cosmopolitanism of, 32-8; their intrigues at various universities, 40-8; their attitude to the secular clergy, 44-8; nature of their self-sacrifice, 48; their violation of the vow of obedience, 50-67; their violation of the vow of chastity, 67-71; their wholesale breach of the vow of poverty, 71-104; their arrogance, 105-23; the *Imago* and its contents, 112-22; every Jesuit goes to heaven, 121; relation of the Order to women, 123-32; activity of Jesuits in politics, 133-98; their political ability vastly overrated, 136 and *note*; responsible for the fall of the Stuarts, 155, 157; Thirty Years' War partly financed by German Jesuits, 161; support Boulanger's designs on France, 164-5; Jesuits only allowed to know the "official" history of their Order, 224-6; barrenness of Jesuit scholarship, 228; literary censorship established by, 264-6; their attitude to learning and research, 270-85; their inevitable literary barrenness, 275-6; popular delusion regarding the, 278; their morality, 286-337; the doctrine that "the end sanctifies the means," 320-7; their teaching as to tyrannicide, 327-37; their teaching as to the subordination of the State to the Church, 338-68; on the impossibility of religious equality, 349-54; on the capital punishment of heretics, 354-7; account of the common daily life within the Order, 376-80; review of the success and failure of the Order, 423-46; price at which the Order saved the Papacy, 428-9; political activity of the Order its undoing, 429; their counter-reformation, 430; their attitude to the Papacy, 431; their lust of power, *ib.*; their successes and failures, 431-2; they make machines not men, 432-4; secret of their strength, 435; their danger to religion and the State, 436-41; their hostility to State schools, 439-40; under the cloak of religion, 442; their subterranean methods of working, 443; their falsified history, 444; the fascination of the Order, *ib.*; essentially anti-Christian character of the Order, 446; the driving force of Ultramontaniam, 466
 Jewish disabilities, removal of, and the Jesuits, ii. 352
 Joanna ab Alexandro beholds Jesus as in a vision, i. 340, ii. 110

- John III. of Sweden and Jesuit influence, ii. 138, 139
- John IV. of Portugal attains the throne through Jesuit support, ii. 162
- Joller, Father, the author's confessor at Feldkirch, i. 202; his detestable character, 202, 204
- Joseph, King of Portugal, attempted murder of, at Jesuit instigation, ii. 336
- Joseph II., Emperor, on the Jesuits, ii. 85
- Jouvancy, Father Joseph de, and the study of the mother tongue, i. 113
- Julius III., Pope, issues the Bull *Exposcit debitum*, i. 413; confirms the *Formula Instituti*, ii. 3-4
- Jungmann as an authority on æsthetics, i. 124
- Kant, Jesuit boycott of, ii. 251; the author's first acquaintance with the real teaching of, 405-6
- Katholischer Missionen, Die*, headquarters of, at Exaeten, ii. 369, 370
- Kelle, Professor Johann, on Alvarez's "Latin Grammar," i. 69 (note); states there is no great German classic in the Jesuit College at Prague, 114; discoveries of, in the archives of the Vienna Library, 184 *et seqq.*; accuses the Jesuits of attempting to do away with incriminating documents in public libraries, 189; quotes Viennese MS. as to blind obedience, 338; opposed by Ebner, ii. 252
- Kempis, Thomas à, his "Imitation of Christ" must be read by all novices, i. 313, 318
- Kerr, Father, Under-Prefect at Stonyhurst, i. 241
- Ketteler, Baron Otto von, death of, ii. 400
- Ketteler, Baron Wilhelm Emanuel von, advice of, to the author on the subject of his entering the Jesuit Order, i. 217-8; his remarkable personality, 220-5; leader of the Minority party at the Vatican Council, 220; author's mother's quarrel with, 222; his submission to the Vatican Council, 223-4; his extraordinary credulity, 224; his death, 225; on the question whether Jesuits can be compelled to sin, 335-6
- Kevelaer, the Madonna's shrine at, i. 5; description of the scenes of pilgrimage, 30; the exorcism at the feast of St. Blasius at, 31-2; the ceremony of the cross of ashes at, 32; the author's fruitless appeal to, 252-3
- Kiel, the author migrates to, ii. 461
- Kink shows why Jesuit teaching can never be national, ii. 32; his opinion of van Swieten, 43; his account of Jesuit arrogance towards other Orders, 44-5; expounds the evils of scholasticism, 278-9
- Kladderadsch* on Jesuit greed and acquisitiveness, i. 248
- Klentgen, Joseph, ii. 255
- Kluchhohn, August, account of the daily routine at a Jesuit school by, i. 181-4; on Jesuit unchastity, 207, ii. 69
- Kneller, Father, on the death of his mother when he was a novice, i. 401
- Knorr, Admiral von, ii. 465 (note)
- Knox, Thomas Francis, his "Records of English Catholics," ii. 149
- Köller, von, advises the author to reside in Kiel, ii. 460-1
- Kölnische Blätter* (now *Volkszeitung*), i. 6, ii. 340 (note)
- Königgrätz, Jesuit lies after the battle of, i. 213; misrepresentation concerning, 233
- Kopp, Cardinal, on Marian Congregations, i. 172; his goodwill to be conciliated, ii. 399; his alleged anti-Jesuitism, 400; appointed Cardinal, 403
- Korff-Schmising-Kerssenbrock, Count Franz Xavier, marriage of, to the author's sister Antonia, i. 252
- Korum, Dr., Bishop of Trèves, ii. 375
- Kostka, Stanislaus, an undesirably "angelic" boy, i. 208; festival of, 285; an example to the young, ii. 111
- Kreutzer, Joseph, dismissal of, ii. 397; driven to suicide, 398
- Kreuzzeitung*, burning of the, i. 7; the author's first articles in, ii. 449
- Krones on real aim of Jesuit activity in Hungary in 1655, ii. 145-6
- Kropf, Francis Xavier, supports Latin against German, i. 112
- Kübeck, Baron von, i. 17
- Kullmann attempts the life of Bismarck, i. 212
- Kulturkampf, incident in the, i. 8; feeling aroused by the, 16; outbreak of 244; the fundamental blunder of, 255-6; Leo XIII. brings the, to a close, ii. 67; unfortunate effects of, 464-5; the only possible form of, 465
- "L's," three, that deserved hanging, ii. 183
- La Chaise, Father, denounced by Fénelon, ii. 183-4; Madame de Maintenon on, 185-6; on the power of the Jesuits, 191; his country house, 193; the cemetery of Père La Chaise, *ib.*; shows how the Jesuits may run with the hare and hunt with the hounds, 313-4
- Lacroix, a Jesuit casuist, ii. 287
- Lallemand, author of the Douai forgeries, ii. 315, 316
- Lallemand, Father, on lay members of the Jesuit Order in Canada, ii. 19
- Lamormaini, Father, Rector of the Jesuit College at Graz, Confessor to Ferdinand II., ii. 159; procures the election of Ferdinand III., 179; his share in Wallenstein's fate, 179-80; frequent interference of, in Austrian politics, 180-2; his tyranny over Ferdinand II., 182; how to produce an erroneous impression of, 283
- Landrat, post of, promised to the author, ii. 460; the post had become "impossible," 462
- Lang, Karl Heinrich von, inquires into the charge of immorality among Jesuits, i. 206-7; examples of vicious practices cited by, ii. 68-9

- Langen, Professor, decree of excommunication against, i. 244
- Lapidatio, a system of fault-finding in the novitiate, i. 355
- La Salette, the miraculous spring at, i. 28-9
- Lassaule, Amalie von, a nun who refused to subscribe the dogma of infallibility, i. 245
- Lateran, the author climbs the Scala Santa at the Church of St. John of, i. 268
- Lateran Council, Decree of, as to confession, i. 34
- Latin, Jesuits and the study of, i. 96-114; dog-Latin of the Jesuit scholastics, 98; novice's Latin more barbarous still, 99-100; the Latin of the Order condemned by Oliva, 100-1; Latin always used for ceremonial purposes, 106; imperfectly taught by Jesuits, 193; use of Latin compulsory in lectures and disputations, ii. 250, 261-2
- Latin grammar as taught by Jesuits, i. 68-70
- Laurentius on the supremacy of Church over State, ii. 344; on the death sentence for heretics, 356; his hostility to State schools, 439
- Lavalette, a Jesuit trader, ii. 92-3
- Lawsuits touching Jesuit misappropriation of money: the De Buck process at Brussels, ii. 99-100; the Hartmann process at Straubing, 100-2
- Layman in the Catholic Church, status of, i. 272; demeanour enjoined as lay Jesuits, 358; the custom of keeping the lay brother in ignorance, ii. 388-9
- Laymann favours permissible ambiguities, ii. 305-7
- Layne, Father Jacob (James), ascribes the authorship of the Exercises to God and the Virgin, i. 370; advised to adopt the practice of insinuation, ii. 82; as a theologian, 111
- Lazarist Missionary Congregation, ii. 55; founded by St. Vincent de Paul, 57 (note)
- Leaders in Jesuit schools, duties of, i. 144
- Le Bret's Magazine of Church and political history and law, ii. 196 (note); on Jesuit doings in Scio, 364
- Ledochowski, Cardinal, receives the author at Rome, i. 262
- Lehmkuhl's *Theologia moralis*, ii. 248; his view of the Creation, 282; justifies the use of mental reservation, 307-8; adviser of the German Centre Party, 344; on the non-observance of civil oaths 345-6; when civil laws may be disregarded, 346-9; condemns religious toleration, 351-2; his personal character, 368
- Leibnitz (Leibniz), Godfrey William, Baron, on the dangers of Jesuit activity in politics, ii. 196; on Jesuit morality, 294; on the Douai forgeries, 315-6
- Leo XII., Pope, detested by the Jesuit Order, ii. 373-4, 374 (note)
- Leo XIII., Pope, sanctions the Lourdes pilgrimages, i. 258; intercedes for the restoration of the author's sister Marie, 268; canonises Johannes Bechmanns, 309; provokes the hostility of the Jesuits, ii. 66; effects an end to the Kulturkampf, 67; his manifestoes against modern research and learning, 270, 271; on the supremacy of Church over State, 338
- Leon, John, i. 164
- Le Roux on the deathbed repentance of the wicked, ii. 300-1
- Leasing, L. von Hammerstein's appreciation of, ii. 232-3
- Libellus exercitiorum, i. 380
- Liberalism of thought and research, Jesuit attitude to, ii. 270-85
- Libraries at Jesuit schools, character of, i. 152-3
- Lieber, Leader of the German Centre, in consultation with the Jesuits, ii. 165; character of, 402; his annoyance at the Kaiser's interview with the author, 459; attacks the author, 460
- Liège, the schools of the "Brothers of the Common Life" at, i. 63; the unjust judge and the witch at, ii. 302, 303
- Liguieres, De, Father, how he confessed Louis XV., ii. 192
- Ligny, Professor, entrapped into a sham correspondence at Douai, ii. 315
- Liguori, Alfonso Maria di, canonised by Gregory XVI., ii. 286; his teaching implicitly accepted, 287; on calumniation, 308; on adultery, 309
- Link, Father, the author's confessor at Feldkirch, i. 202; nobility of his character, 208-10; his sympathy with boys, 209; on the question of school-boy friendship, 210; counsels the author when efforts are being made to induce him to enter the Jesuit Order, 217
- "Little Table," penalty of the, i. 203
- Liverpool, terrible social conditions of, ii. 413
- Loë, Baron Felix von, intensity of his dislike of Protestant Prussia, i. 212; a surprise visit to Blyenbeck, ii. 76
- Loë, Matilda, Baroness von. (See Hoensbroech, Matilda, Marchioness of)
- Loë, Max, Count von, on priestly pride, i. 24; quarrels with his sister about Prince Bismarck, 212
- Loë, Walther, Baron von, Field-Marshal, resides at Bonn, i. 245; connives at the disqualification of the author for military service, 253-4; regrets the author's entrance into the Jesuit Order, 405; change of his views in old age, 406; opinion of Longridge's gun, ii. 218
- Löffler, Father, eulogises the Marian Congregations, i. 166; claims Jesuit direction for them, 167-8; describes their foes, 176; extols the fruits of their piety, 178; arrogance of his praise, 180
- Lohmann, Father, as an art critic, ii. 397; harshness of, towards Kreutzer, 398
- Longridge, Cecil, and his new gun, ii. 218
- Louis XIII., Jesuits and, ii. 183
- Louis XVI. and Father La Chaise, ii. 183-4; his fear of the Jesuits, 191-2; his present to Father La Chaise, 195

- Louis XV., how he was confessed by Father de Lignières, ii. 192
- Lourdes, the author undertakes a journey to, i. 253, 257; the miracle at, 258; the wonder-working spring at, *ib.*; revenue derived from the pilgrimages to, *ib.* (*note*); intoxication of the "atmosphere" at, 258-9
- Love, Jesuit degradation of, ii. 289
- Loyola, Ignatius, putative enlightenment of, i. 76; denunciation enjoined by, 140; originated Spiritual Exercises, 162; examples of his hysterical mysticism, 299-302; on the virtue of obedience, 328-30; the non-morality of his commands exposed, 330-6; author of the Exercises at the dictation of the Virgin and God, 370; how the composition was actually suggested to him, 371; original intention of, in writing the Exercises, 379; founder of the Society of Jesus, 407; author of the Constitutions, *ib.*; recognises affiliates, ii. 16-17; canonisation of, 21-2, 111; founder of the Inquisition, 23; advises how the Order may acquire wealth, 82; enjoins intercourse only with women of very high rank, 127; rebuffs Elisabeth Roser, 129; his consideration for the Duchess of Farnese, *ib.*; appoints confessors to sovereigns, 169; the incarnation of prudence and calculation, 424-5
- Luca, De, on capital punishment for heretics, ii. 355
- Ludger, St., the civilisation of, ii. 439
- Lugo favours the use of ambiguity, ii. 305
- Lukanus thwarts the Kaiser's wishes, ii. 460; Waldersee's attempt to checkmate, 461; the author declines the proposals of, 462
- Lumina, character of, i. 297-8
- L'Univers, i. 6; supports Papal infallibility, 222
- Luther, that "horrible monster," ii. 21; his "blasphemous tongue," 22; the "Epicurean swine," 24; scurrilous account of, 358-63; Luther's suicide! 360 and *note*; views on polygamy, 362
- Lutheranism, an object of Jesuit hostility, ii. 21-4
- "Lutherisch," Jesuit pronunciation of the word, ii. 29-30
- Lying made easy, ii. 302-3
- Macao, death of Cardinal-Legate Tournon at, ii. 54; Bishop of, excommunicated, 59; the Jesuit church and seminary at, *ib.*
- Ma caulay, Lord, his criticism of Edward Petre, ii. 153; on the versatility of Jesuits, 197
- MacMahon, Marshal, i. 232
- Magdeburg, Jesuit greed at, ii. 98
- Magrio, Father, confessor of Rudolf II., ii. 178
- Magister meals of Jesuits, ii. 75-7
- Magistri, Jesuit fathers who had charge of the lessons at Feldkirch, i. 57; no prospects for, 85; their loathing of teaching, 86
- Maigrot, Bishop, banished at the instigation of the Jesuits, ii. 59; decrees against, issued by the Emperor of China, 64
- Maintenon, Madame de, on the activities of Father La Chaise, ii. 185-6
- Mairhofer, M., Rector of the Jesuit college at Munich, ii. 143
- Malagrida advises the murder of King Joseph of Portugal, ii. 336
- Malta, apparitions of the Madonna at the Jesuit college at, i. 323
- Malvasia, Monsignore, on the attempt to restore by force Catholicism in Scotland, ii. 148-9
- Mamachi's theory of crime, ii. 366
- Manárus, Oliverius, approves Delrio's work in favour of untruthfulness, ii. 303
- Manchester, terrible social conditions of, ii. 413
- Manning, Cardinal-Archbishop, author's interview with, i. 239; hostility to Jesuits, 239-40; on Jesuit mischief-making in politics, ii. 163-4; calumniated by the Jesuits, 299
- Manresa, Loyola's stay at, i. 371
- Mansonius, Father Ludovicus, relates an apparition of Jesus sanctioning blind obedience, i. 340; the same apparition also requires all to love his society, ii. 110
- Manufacturer, the duties of, i. 271, 393
- Marschal, disclosures of, as to the influence of the Jesuits over Louis XIV., ii. 191-2
- Marcellus, Jacobus, the loves of, i. 206, ii. 68
- Maria-Laach, i. 230
- Maria Theresa, Empress, intervenes on behalf of German in the Jesuit schools, i. 114; supports Gerhard van Swieten against the Jesuits, ii. 43 and *note*; betrayal by the Jesuits of her confession, 174-6; her scruples as to the partition of Poland, 176; her opinion of Jesuit learning, 279-80
- Marian Congregations considered, i. 163-80; significance of, 164; the founders of, *ib.*; controlled by the Jesuits, 165-72; pliability of, 166; aim of, 168; tercentenary of, 170; administration of, 174; power of the president, 175; vow taken by all congregants, *ib.*; alleged educational purpose of, 177; supervision effected by, *ib.*; doubtful value of, 179; extravagant claims on behalf of, 180
- Mariana, Juan, on Jesuit neglect of Latin, i. 103; applauds the murder of Henry III. of France, ii. 144; his *De Rege et Regis Institutione*, 327; the book licensed by the Society of Jesus, 328; Mariana's teaching as to the killing of tyrants and princes, 328-31; the Bayence reprint of his book, 332; book burned at the order of the Sorbonne, 333
- Marks, reading out of, at Jesuit schools, mischief of, i. 144-5
- Marpinger, the alleged apparition of the Virgin at, i. 266-7
- Marriage, the simple vows of scholastics and spiritual and temporal coadjutors in the Society of Jesus, an impediment to, i. 273, 417; Jesuit degradation of, ii. 289
- Marseilles, Jesuit trading scandal in, ii. 92-3

- Martin, Dr., escapes from Wesel, i. 257
- Martin, Joseph, on the Marian Congregations, i. 170-1
- Martin, Luiz, and the control of the Marian Congregations, i. 172; mental reservation of his statements, 173
- Martinique, Jesuit trading in, ii. 92-3
- Marxheim, i. 249
- Mary, Mouth of, i. 161; Flowers of, *ib.* (See Virgin)
- Mary Queen of Scots, ii. 149-53
- Mass, character of the ceremony of the, i. 22; midnight Mass on Christmas Eve at Feldkirch, 201-2
- Mass-game, i. 22-3
- Matthieu, Jesuit, chief promoter of the League of the Guises, ii. 144; involved in Parsons' plot against Queen Elizabeth, 150
- May Laws, Jesuit casuistry respecting, i. 264
- May meditations in Jesuit education, i. 161
- Mayence, the Gymnasium teaching at, i. 118; the Gymnasium at, 220; von Ketteler, Bishop of, and his character, 220-5; the "trinity" of, 221; von Doss, Superior of the Jesuit settlement at, and his influence, 225-9; Heinrich Bone, Director of the Gymnasium, 229-30, excitement at, during the Franco-German War, 232; the National Union for Catholic Germany founded at, ii. 375
- Meals, daily, of the Jesuits, ii. 75; "magister" meals, 75-7; *duplicita* feasts, 75 (*note*)
- Mecklenburg, Friedrich Franz III., Grand Duke of, i. 244
- Meditations of the Exercises, i. 375-6
- Mein Austritt aus dem Jesuitenorden*, ii. 449
- Mejer, Otto, lectures of, at Göttingen, i. 122
- Melchers, Archbishop, arrest and imprisonment of, i. 257
- Mémoires de la Congrégation de la Mission*, official character of, ii. 55, 57; charges against, 56; its statements in the matter of the Legation and death of Cardinal Tournon unassailable, 58; some of the documents it published, 59-65
- Memorie Storiche dell' Eminentissimo Monsignore Cardinale di Tournon*, ii. 54 et *seqq.*
- Mendoza, Cardinal, on Jesuit political activity against England, ii. 150-1
- Mendoza, Hernando de, on the evil of reserved cases of sin, i. 364-5; denounced by Jesuits, 364 (*note*)
- Menstruae Disputationes*, ii. 248-9
- Mental reservation, uses of, i. 173, 174; Cardinal Franzelin on, 264-5; Jesuit justifications of, ii. 304-5, 306, 307-8
- Mercurian, General of the Jesuit Society, on matters outside of pastoral functions, ii. 137-8
- Meschler, Father, on the uncertainty of the Jesuit's calling and location, i. 88; becomes confessor of the author's mother, 234 (*note*); guarantees the authenticity of the apparition of the Madonna at Marpingen, 266; applauds the extravaganzas at Lourdes, *ib.*; examines the author before his admission into the Jesuit Order, 282; ascetic practices encouraged by, 389-90; travels in comfort, ii. 132
- Meulen, Fräulein von, her influence on the author, i. 25; her faith in gross supernaturalism, 26 et *seqq.*
- Mezzafalce, Papal Legate to China, persecuted by the Jesuits, ii. 58; banished through their means, 59
- Migazzi, Cardinal, on Jesuit fouting of the Pope, ii. 52
- Miller, Father, approves of the author's progress, ii. 215; experiences an embarrassment, 225
- Minoux, Father, Rector at Feldkirch, i. 197
- Miquel and the author's interview with the Kaiser, ii. 460; his "collective policy," 465
- Miracle "cures," i. 13
- Miranda, on the difficulty of learning all about the Society, ii. 6
- Missions of the Jesuit Order, i. 416; instances of the missionary spirit, ii. 382-3
- Missions, popular, exercises for the masses, i. 384; excitement during the continuance of, ii. 380-1; instances of the organisation of, 383-4; carried on in Germany, 384
- Modernism, Jesuit denunciation of, ii. 271-4
- Modesty, false, and its bane, i. 40-2
- Möhler, Professor Johann Adam, on Jesuit morality, ii. 293-4
- Molinism, the doctrine of, ii. 187; a synonym for Jesuitism, 290
- Mommsen asserts that Jesuits attempt to do away with incriminating documents in public libraries, i. 189
- Monita privata Societatis Jesu*, ii. 7; the question of its genuineness, 7-9; examples of the Secret Instructions, 10-13
- Monod, Father, his influence in France, ii. 189
- Monserperger, Professor, confessions of eminent persons discovered by, ii. 177
- Monte, Cardinal, avows Jesuit opposition to Lutheranism, ii. 22
- Montezon on the moral teaching of the Jesuits, ii. 287
- Montserrat, Benedictine Convent at, i. 370
- Monumenta Germaniae paedagogica*, i. 63 (*note*); purpose with which it was compiled, 184; spirit in which the compilers did their work, 191 (*note*)
- Moral theology, a variant of the confessional, ii. 286; irretrievably damaged by the Jesuits, 289, 293; Döllinger and Reusch's great work on the "Moral-Theological Disputes" in the Catholic Church, 396-7
- Morality, Jesuit, ii. 286-337; unwholesomeness of Jesuit teaching regarding, 327; and the State, 338-68; application of, 363-8
- Moretus, Balthasar, ii. 112
- Müffendorf, exorcising a ghost at, i. 27-8
- München-Gladbach, the author commissioned to help the pastor of a parish near, ii. 420-21
- Munich, Jesuit documents lodged in the library at, i. 189; revelations of the secret Jesuit documents, 206, 207; documents in, concerning the Jesuits and miracles, 312; and about the

- Jesuits and witchcraft, 320; memorial of the Jesuit College at, touching blind obedience, 338; evidence at, of the use of secret reports by Jesuit officials, 353; MS. of the *Monita* at, ii. 9; luxury of the Jesuit College at, 81; endowment of the Jesuit College in, 83-4
- Münster, political activity of the Jesuits of, ii. 160
- Music, sensuousness of, affected by Jesuits, i. 160
- Mysteries of the Exercises, i. 376
- Mysticism, false, warmly approved by the Jesuits, i. 299 *et seqq.*; true, strongly antipathetic to them, 299
- Namur, Jesuit activity at, in 1692, ii. 162
- Natalis, Father, on permissible subjects of talk among Jesuit novices, i. 292-3
- National Union for Catholic Germany, ii. 375
- Nationality, sense of, obliterated under the Jesuit education, i. 131-3; destruction of, required by the Jesuit spirit of cosmopolitanism, ii. 34-8
- Naumann, Dr. Friedrich, his error respecting Thomas Aquinas, ii. 256 (*note*)
- Newnham Paddox, i. 242
- Nicasius Grammaticus on the barbarous Latin of Spanish Jesuits, i. 103
- Nickel, Goswin, General, supports Jesuit activity in Hungary in 1656, ii. 145; one of the two German Generals of the Order, 145 (*note*); his ordinance touching the confessing of sovereigns, 173
- Nicks, compositions by, i. 160
- Nidhard, Eberhard, ii. 158
- Niemöller, deathbed confession of, ii. 318
- Nimeguen, Peace of, ii. 42
- Nix, Hermann, takes the Wynanderade scholastics to view the relics at Aix-la-Chapelle, i. 323; receives the author as a member of the Jesuit Order, 407; involved in the Hartmann trial, ii. 100-2; character of, 201; the author's indebtedness to, 202; Nix's reverence for the Virgin, 208; his eulogy of the Jesuit Order, 213-4
- Noailles, Cardinal-Archbishop of Paris, and the Jesuits, ii. 192
- Noris, H., Cardinal, and Probabilism, ii. 297
- Novenae, value of, i. 306-7; "novena of grace" in honour of St. Francis Xavier, 323
- Novice Master, duties of, i. 271, 284, 285, 286, 287, 290, 291, 297, 298, 318, 355, 393
- Novitiate, ignorance during, i. 99; novice's Latin, 99-100; the novice's garb, 284, 285; the novice's patron saint, 285-6; daily routine of, 286-7; hardship and discomfort of life at Exaeten, 288-9; fare of novices, 289; recreations of, 290; oratory, practice of, during, 291; seclusion during, 292-4; permissible subjects of conversation during, 292-3; meditation imperative, 297; object of the *Lumina*, 297-8; tale-bearing and fault-finding encouraged, 355-6; the novice's all-seeing eye, 357; deadly monotony of life of, 358-61; full course of the Exercises during, 371; manual work during, 392-3; modes of self-humiliation during, 394; penitential practices in, 394-5; the cruelty of renunciation of parents in, 398-402; expulsion from, 403
- Noyelle, Charles de, Jesuit General, on illiterate teachers, i. 186
- Noyers, Louis XIII's secretary, a lay member of the Jesuit Society, ii. 19
- Nun, the confessions of a, i. 260; Jesuits forbidden to undertake the regular cure of nuns, ii. 124; avoidance of nuns, though enjoined, only ostensible, 131; a nunnery more comfortable than a convent, 132; Jesuits supposed to exist for men, not women, *ib.*; really women and nuns exist for Jesuits, *ib.*
- Nursing Orders, self-sacrifice of the, *ib.* exist for Jesuits, *ib.*
- Oaths, Jesuit attitude to non-observance of civil, ii. 345-6; when oath of allegiance may be ignored, 437-8 (*note*)
- Obedience, the first law of Jesuits, i. 83; the vow of, 273; the dominant note in Jesuit ascetic discipline, 326 *et seqq.*; the three degrees of, 328; Jesuit obedience absolutely non-moral, 330-6; as enjoined by Jesus, 333-4; how the Jesuit doctrine compels to sin, 335-6; Jesuit defence of the doctrine of, 336; testimony of history to breach of the vow, ii. 50-67
- Observer, duties of, i. 138-9
- Old Catholics, Jesuit attitude towards, i. 244-5
- Oldenburg, Grand Duke of, i. 244
- Oliva, Paul, on poor quality of Jesuit Latin, i. 100, 101; condones breach of the "Statement of Conscience," 346; condemns Gonzalez's work on Probabilism, ii. 50; disobeys the Papal injunction, 51
- Omnia ad majorem Dei gloriam*, motto of the Jesuit Order, i. 365, ii. 106
- Oncken, Hermann, his *Rudolf von Bennigsen*, ii. 344 (*note*)
- Oosen, the Jesuit villa at, ii. 77; equivocation associated with its purchase, 319
- Oppelt, Johannes, an approved German classic in Jesuit eyes, i. 110 (*note*)
- Orders in the Catholic Church, status of monastic, i. 272; essentials of an Order, 273; wealth of the French Orders, 274 (*note*); artificial basis of, 276-7; why they are filled, 272; the disillusionment, 279; the steps of membership of an Order, 280 *et seqq.*; the impediments to membership, 280-1; the garb of the Jesuit Order, 284-5; exaggerated opinions of the perfection of the members of various Orders, ii. 377-8; the common life within the Jesuit Order, 376-80; heroism of the nursing Orders, 378 (*note*); most Orders free from the gross defects of the Jesuit Order, 424
- Ordinations, the four minor, ii. 215
- Ordrupshøj, Denmark, Jesuit school at, i. 53; the benefactress of, ii. 167;

- "harmless" place for men of thought, 268
- Original sin, doctrine of, ii, 224
- Orlandinus on the authorship of the Constitutions, i, 408
- Oswald, Augustine, ii, 413
- Pachtler, Georg Michael, defends the Jesuit system of education, i, 63 (*note*); attacks freemasonry, 64 (*note*); one of the only two professional teachers at Feldkirch, 72; approves a crystallised scheme of education, 83; tries to veil the selfishness of Jesuit education, 84; admits the centralisation of the Jesuit Order, 92; his lack of the historic conscience, 191; examined the author before his admission to the Order, 282; attacks Leo XIII., ii, 67
- Paderborn, MS. copy of the *Monita* at, ii, 9, 10
- Palafox, Don Juan de, Bishop of Los Angeles, protest of, against the secret statutes of the Jesuits, ii, 6-7; persecuted by the Jesuits, 6; calumniated by the Jesuits, 86-7 (*note*); proposed beatification of, *ib.*
- Palestrina, Masses by, in Jesuit worship, i, 160
- Palmieri, Domenico, in conflict with the censorship, ii, 269; on the use of equivocation, 307
- Papacy, the character of, ii, 392; a purely human institution, 406. (*See Pope*)
- Papal States, independence of, ii, 166; attempt to galvanise the question, 391-2. (*See Pope*)
- Paris, the author's sojourn at, ii, 421
- Parsons, Father Robert, engaged in Jesuit activity in England, ii, 46, 111; his plot against Queen Elizabeth, 149-53; his many pseudonyms, 151 (*note*); his political pamphlets, 151, 152; and the deposition of Queen Elizabeth, 312; object of his book against the succession of the King of Scotland, 313-4; on the repudiation of the oath of allegiance, 437-8 (*note*)
- Passau, endowment of the Jesuit College at, ii, 84
- Passionei, Cardinal, author of the *Memorie storiche Tournon*, ii, 56; annotates the Jesuit memorial to Innocent XIII., 60-1 (*note*)
- Passow's Lexicon, uses of, i, 123-4
- Patriotism, Christian view of, ii, 34; what the Jesuits put in its place, 35; essential characteristics of real, 35-6; "two-faced" patriotism, 37
- Paul III., Pope, issues the Bull founding the Society of Jesus, i, 407, 413
- Paul V., Pope, canonises Loyola, ii, 111; at war with Venice, 364
- Paul the Hermit, the questions asked by, i, 293
- Paulsen, Friedrich, lectures on Modern Philosophy at Berlin University, ii, 404
- Peking, usurious practices of the Jesuits in, ii, 88, 89
- Pemble, Father, on the undergarment and seamless cloak of Jesus and the wood of the Cross, i, 304-5; his booklet about the Virgin, ii, 207
- Penitential practices in the novitiate, i, 394-5
- Père La Chaise cemetery, ii, 193
- Pereyra, Thomas, Superior of the Portuguese Jesuits, and Cardinal Tournon, ii, 60 *et seqq.*
- Perfection, counsel of, i, 273-6
- Pergen, Count, memorial to the Empress Maria Theresa on the imperfect study of German in the Jesuit curriculum, i, 114; deploras the neglect of poor scholars, 146-7; animadverts on the deficiencies of Jesuit education, 194-5
- Perjury, Jesuit notion of, ii, 305-6
- Pesch, Tilmann, gives way to jealousy and abuse, ii, 131-2; how he enjoys the appearance of scholarship; 277; his "Christ oder Anti-Christ," 357; defames Protestantism and slanders Luther, 358-63; favours an extremist policy against non-Catholic Christians, 375; is refused the author's collaboration, 394-5
- Petre, Edward, the evil counsellor of James II., ii, 153-5; attitude of the Jesuit Order towards, 155-8
- Petri, Dr., and Jesuit designs against the Hohenzollerns, ii, 384-5
- Pfeil, Aloysius, on the effective conversion of the heathen, ii, 382-3
- Pfüll, Father, and A. von Doss's lecture and article on German classics, i, 227, 228
- Philip II. of Spain implicated in Parsons' plot against Queen Elizabeth, ii, 149-53
- Philip V. of Spain, violation of a confession of, by his confessor, ii, 178; the victim of Jesuit intrigues, 189
- Philosophy in the Jesuit sense, ii, 246; the course of the study of, in the scholasticate, 246-7; what is comprehended by, 247-8; Aristotle supreme in, 250-3
- Piaget on the Jesuit Order, ii, 425 and *note*
- Piccolomini, General, and the study of Aristotle, ii, 252-3
- Piety, in Jesuit education, various phases of, i, 158-63; of the Jesuit Order, 295 *et seqq.*; objects of the *Lumina*, 297-8; battens on mawkish mysticism, 299 *et seqq.*; disregard of the Scriptures as a means of edification, 318; the sole use of the New Testament in, *ib.*; belief in devils and witchcraft a feature of, 319-23; the part played by relics in, 324-5
- Pilgrimages, wickedness and degradation of, ii, 212
- Pingsmann, Dr., on the return of the Jesuits to Germany, ii, 47
- Pius V., Pope, excommunication of Queen Elizabeth by, ii, 311
- Pius VII., Pope, restores the Jesuit Order, ii, 135
- Pius IX., Pope, overcome by the secrets at La Salette, i, 28; alleged hopes respecting France, 238; sanctions the Lourdes pilgrimages, 258; unattractive personality of, 262; his cast-off clothes as relics, 263; his manifestoes anent modern research and learning,

- ii. 270, 271; on the supremacy of Church over State, 339
- Pius X., Pope, enjoins absolute docility, i. 51; sanctions the Lourdes pilgrimages, 258; his syllabus against Modernism, ii. 270; on the supremacy of Church over State, 338
- Plantin Press produces the *Imago*, ii. 112-3
- Plautus as a theologian, i. 102
- Poland, Jesuit political intrigues in, ii. 138, 139; the candidature for the throne of, 146-8; Maria Theresa and the partition of, 176
- Politics and the Jesuit Order, ii. 133-98; Jesuit political ability greatly overrated, 136 and *note*; the "conscience" formula in, 170-1; Hoffäus on the evils of Jesuit interference in temporal affairs, 193-4
- Pombal, Marquis of, his scheme to unite Portugal to England thwarted by the Jesuits, ii. 163
- Pondicherry, Jesuit trading at, ii. 91
- Pontan (Spanmüller), Jacob, on the abuses in the Jesuit system of instruction, i. 189-91
- Ponte, Father Louis de, on the authorship of the Exercises, i. 370
- Pope, the, relations of the Society of Jesus to, i. 412; the Jesuits claim to be the bodyguard of, ii. 50; Jesuit resistance, active or passive, to, 51, 52, 53, 53-66, 66-7; on the supreme power of the Pope in civil matters, 339; is the Pope the Vicar of Christ? 392; the price the Pope has had to pay for Jesuit support, 428; the "direct" power of the Pope, no longer tenable, replaced by the "indirect," 428. (*See* Papal, Papacy)
- Porquet, Father, on the Chinese rites adopted by the Jesuits, ii. 64; excommunicated by the Cardinal Legate Tournon, *ib.*
- Porsch, Dr., and the author's Church and State pamphlet, ii. 393
- Portico, the residence for theology students at, i. 287; the author enters, ii. 411; his experiences at, 413-4
- Portugal, political activity of the Jesuits in, ii. 162-3
- Possevin, Anton, Jesuit political agent at Stockholm, ii. 138; receives John III. into the Catholic Church, *ib.*; intervenes in the affairs of Poland, 139
- Postulancy, the stage preceding the novitiate, i. 228; the period of probation, 280; the preliminary examination for, 280-2
- Pottgeisser, Julius, General Prefect at Feldkirch, i. 145; introduces the game of "running the gauntlet," 156-7; a narrow-minded martinet, 210
- Poverty, the Jesuit attitude to, i. 147-8; the vow of, 273; the counsel of poverty examined, 273-5; scope of the vow of, ii. 71-4; habitual disregard of, 74-104
- Praetor, duties of, i. 138-41
- Prague, the Jesuit College at, contained no German classic in 1772, i. 114; MS. of the *Monita* at, ii. 9; Jesuits secure the control of the University of, 52-3; Jesuits and the Carolinian Academy at, 110
- Prantl, his account of Jesuit intrigues in the Ludwig-Maximilian University at Ingolstadt, ii. 38-40
- Prat on the dealings of the Jesuits and the French League, ii. 161-2; on Father Ooton's interference in French politics, 183
- Pray's, Father, calumnious work on the Chinese Missions, ii. 66 (*note*)
- Prayer, the chief function of true religion, ii. 455, 457
- Predestination, Jesuit view of, i. 251; security of salvation and probability of damnation, 403-5
- Prefects, Jesuit Fathers who superintended pupils at Feldkirch, i. 57; no prospects for, 85; prefects of the novices at Exaeten, 290
- Prelection, i. 94
- Preludes of the Exercises, i. 373
- Premonstrants, Jesuit opposition to, at Magdeburg, ii. 98
- Preussische Jahrbücher, the author's articles in the, ii. 449
- Pride of the Society of Jesus, ii. 105-23
- Priest in the Catholic Church, status of, i. 272; his part in the Mass, ii. 219-21; course of studies and discipline necessary for, i. 271-390, ii. 227-69
- Priests, German Catholic, i. 23-4
- Princes' confessors, influence in politics of, ii. 135; the salaries of, 193
- Privatdozent, the post of, ii. 463
- Probabilism, the Pope's order respecting works on, ii. 50-1; the mischief of, 293
- Procuratorial Congregation of the Society of Jesus, i. 424
- Procurator, status of, in the Jesuit Order, i. 354 (*note*); two classes of, 424
- Professed members of the Society of Jesus, qualifications for, i. 414-5; vow of, 417-8; five minor vows of, 418
- Promotor Fidei, duties of, ii. 86 (*note*)
- Property, renunciation of, by intending priests, ii. 215
- Proselytising at Jesuit schools, i. 157-8
- Protestantism, qualified by tradition, i. 6; relations of Ultramontaniam towards, 9; weakness of its view respecting art, 46-7; antagonism with Catholicism after the close of the Franco-German War, 232-3; travesty of, ii. 358-63; the Jesuits of Protestantism, 451; ignorance of Catholicism too common in the ranks of, *ib.*
- Provinces of the Jesuit Order, i. 416; how they are governed, 424
- Provincial Congregation of the Society of Jesus, i. 424
- Prussia, Catholic dislike of Protestantism of, i. 8-9; boycott of history of, at Feldkirch, 122
- Purgatory, suffering souls in, the counterpart of ghosts, i. 26
- Pütz, Father, singular conduct of, ii. 398
- Questor in Jesuit schools, duty of, i. 144
- Quintinye, La, on Jesuit morality, ii. 300

- Racke's attack on Lieber, ii. 402
- Räckelwitz, in Saxony, i. 234 (note); the author's brother-in-law buried at, 267
- Ragusa, Latin and Greek in the Jesuit high school at, i. 69
- Rancé, Armand de, Abbé, on Jesuit morals, ii. 290; treatment of, by the Jesuits, 291, 299
- Ranke, why the "History of the Popes" by, is forbidden, ii. 273; influence of, on the author, 406
- Ratgeb, Father Jacob, justifies the alleged removal from public libraries of documents incriminating Jesuits, i. 189; about the doubts concerning the completeness of the Constitutions, ii. 2; on the return of the Jesuits to Germany, 47; consults with the leaders of the German Centre, 165; approves of the author's progress in philosophy and theology, 269; termination of the author's intimacy with, 372-4; commissions the author to write in defence of the Jesuit Order, 393; on Dollinger and Reusch's book on the "Moral-Theological Disputes," 396-7; commissions the author to go to Berlin to prepare for a Jesuit settlement there, 399-400; consents to the author's tertiate, 411
- Ratio conscientiae*, i. 342 et seqq.
- Ratio Studiorum Societatis Jesu*, the be-all and end-all of the Jesuit system of education, i. 63-111; its prescription as to Physics, 65-6; as to Mathematics, 67; as to History, ib.; as to the Natural Sciences, ib.; as to Theology and Philosophy, 68; as to Scholarship and Philology, 68-70; fulsome and ridiculous praise of, 74-6; egotism of, 82; the system of education authorised by, 135 et seqq.; on hostility to heretics, ii. 24-5; considers the execution of heretics an edifying sight, 356-7
- Ravallac, murder of Henry IV. of France by, ii. 333
- Ravignan on Jesuit support of the revolution in Portugal, ii. 162-3; on the struggle of the Order with Gonzalez and the Pope, 295-6
- Real Presence, doctrine of the, i. 199; the essence of the Catholic priesthood, ii. 219; the dogmatic teaching of the Church respecting the, 219-22
- Regulae Communes*, ii. 2
- Referendar*, or county court judge, i. 264; the author appointed to the office at Cleves, 265; difficulty of his reappointment to, ii. 459; is offered the post of, at Frankfort-on-the-Oder, 462
- Reformation, Jesuit scheme to undo the, ii. 159
- Regulae Communes*, ii. 2
- Reichensperger, August, on Jesuit political activity, ii. 166
- Reichmann, his praise of Tilmann Pesch, ii. 357; how he dealt with the calumny of Luther's suicide, 360 (note); collaborates with Tilmann Pesch, 395 (note)
- Reinhold, Professor Karl Leonard, on the Jesuit rule commanding renunciation of parents, i. 399-400
- Reinkens, Bishop, Bonn students' rudeness towards, i. 245
- Reisach, Cardinal Count, once Archbishop of Munich and afterwards President of the Vatican Council, i. 237; his prediction about France speedily falsified, 238
- Relics, Pope's cast-off clothes utilised as, i. 263; at the Church of St. John of Lateran, 268; at Aix-la-Chapelle described, 324-5; the author's misery at Aix-la-Chapelle, ii. 212
- Religion, the chief function of true, ii. 455; what constitutes true, 456; the only basis of true, 456-8
- Rem, Father Jacob, visited by the souls of the dead, i. 310-1; his pity immortalised by Biedermann, 311
- Remigius, the strange case of, ii. 346-9
- Renewal of vows, ii. 389
- Reports, the method and character of, in the Jesuit Order, i. 352-5
- Residences of Jesuits, i. 78
- Retz, Francis, General, laments the decay of the zeal for knowledge, i. 185
- Reusch, Professor, decree of excommunication against, i. 244; accepts as probable the report of the poisoning of Cardinal Tournon, ii. 55; his "History of the Moral-Theological Disputes" in the Catholic Church, 396-7
- Reutsch, Father Karl, forbids the admittance of boys to the bedroom of his brotherhood, i. 203
- Rhenish-Westphalia, Catholics of, and their hatred of Prussia, i. 8-9; defective education in, 10; their strong pro-Austrian attitude in the war with Prussia, 211; fanaticism of, concerning the doctrine of infallibility, 221-2
- Rhetoric, studies of, during the scholasticate, ii. 230-45
- Ribadeneira on the authorship of the Constitutions, i. 408
- Riembauer, Father Franz, confesses to the murder of a woman, ii. 367-8
- Riezler, Sigmund, on Loyola's piety and asceticism, i. 299 (note); on the effect of Jesuit piety in Bavaria, 319; on Dühr's untrustworthiness, ii. 283
- Rist, M., illustrates the Jesuit notions of patriotism, ii. 37; relates how peace may be made with the Church, 381
- Rivalry in Jesuit schools, unwholesome, i. 143-4
- Rodriguez, Alonzo, on simplicity in Jesuit garb, i. 285; sanctity attached to his "Practice of Christian Perfection" 313-4; quotations from this work as examples of credulity, 314-8; on blind obedience, 339-40; his excessive literalism, 389; is assured that no Jesuit will be damned, 404; on the authorship of the Constitution, 408
- Roermond, i. 283
- Roh, Father, teaches the author, i. 34; proposes a safe bet, ii. 320; alleged statement of, about the Jesuit designs against the Hohenzollerns, 385
- Roller, John, deploras the laziness of Jesuit teachers, i. 187
- Rom und das Zentrum*, ii. 402

- Rome, external show at, i. 262; visit to the miraculous image of Mary at, 263
- Roothaan, John, General, re-edits the *Ratio Studiorum*, i. 63; relates how a dismissed Jesuit missed salvation, 405; declares the Jesuit Order is strictly non-political, ii. 133; holds a conference to establish missions in Germany, 383-4
- Rosary as used by Jesuit students, i. 182
- Roser, Elisabeth, rebuffed by Loyola, ii. 129
- Rosetti, Professor Costa, avows that it is very probable all Jesuits go to heaven, i. 405
- Rosignoli, Father, extracts from his "Pity the Souls in Purgatory," i. 305-6
- Roth, Hugo, ii. 314
- Rothe, influence of, on the author, ii. 406
- Roux, Le, on the deathbed repentance of the godless, ii. 300-1, 381-2
- Ruga, Father, ii. 17-8
- Rules concluding the Exercises, i. 376
- Rumer, Rector of the Jesuit College at Passau, ii. 159-60
- Ryswick, peace of, ii. 42
- Sabbatina disputation, ii. 248-9
- Saint (*Sanctus*), the title of the canonised, i. 310 (note)
- St. Hedwig's Infirmary, the headquarters of the Jesuits in Berlin, ii. 411 (note)
- Saint-Simon, the Duke de, recognises the existence of lay members of the Jesuit Society, ii. 19; his anecdote about chocolate for the General, 104; of the Jesuits at Namur, 162 and note; on Jesuit influence at the courts of Europe, 167-8; his portrait of Tellier, 186-8; his note about Father Bermudez, 188; his opinion of Father D'Aubanton, 189; on the pressure brought to bear by the Jesuits on Louis XIV., 191-2
- Salmeron, Alphonso, a famous Jesuit theologian, ii. 111
- Sanchez, disgraceful character of his writings, ii. 289-90; favours the use of ambiguity, 304
- Santarelli's *Tractatus de Haeresi* approved by the Jesuit Society, and condemned by the Sorbonne, ii. 312
- Sarasa, Antonius de, on blind obedience, i. 338-9
- Sardinia, King of (Charles Emmanuel), on the wealth and arrogance of the Jesuits, ii. 103
- Sarpi, Paolo, on Jesuit intrigues in politics, ii. 196; on Jesuit approval of the murder of Henry IV. of France, 336; on the conduct of the Jesuits towards Venice, 364-5
- Sarrazin effects a deathbed repentance, ii. 381
- Sattenwolf, Father Wenzel, enjoined to take steps to raise the standard of Latinity, i. 101
- Scapulars, wearing of, i. 21 (note)
- Schäffer, Father Karl, i. 132-3
- Schall, Adam, ii. 60 (note)
- Scheeben, Professor, on the genuineness of the sham apparition at Marpingen, i. 266
- Schiller, a false ideal in von Doss's opinion, i. 227; the author's bodiful motto from Schiller's *Piccolomini*, 230; L. von Hammerstein's estimate of, ii. 232-3; Baumgartner's criticism of, 234-6
- Schleiermacher, influence of, on the author, ii. 406
- Schneider, Father Joseph, how his "magister" meal was interrupted, ii. 76
- Scholastic, the garb of a, i. 284 (note); is kept in ignorance of the history of the Order of Jesuits, ii. 224-5
- Scholasticate, meditation during the, i. 297; study of the Exercises during the, 371; when the scholasticate begins, 407; duration of, *ib.* and note; simple vows of, 417; uniformity of the routine during the, ii. 199-200; ignorance of the Order a peculiarity of the, 224-5; scheme of study during the, 227-69; humanistic studies during the, 228-9; rhetoric studies during the, 229-45; philosophy and theology studies of the, 246-9
- Scholasticism, Jesuit, perfect sterility of, ii. 260; Kink on the evils of, 278-9
- Schreiber's specimens of subjects selected for disputation at Freiburg, ii. 280-1
- Schwarzenberg, Prince, and the German Empire's indebtedness to the Jesuits, ii. 85
- Scio, how the Jesuits Christianised the Mohammedans of, ii. 364
- Scotland, Jesuit designs touching the restoration of the Catholic religion in, ii. 148; Parsons' plot in favour of Mary, Queen of, 149-53
- Scott, Sir Walter, as a classic at Stonyhurst, i. 242
- Scourge, use of, i. 395
- Scriptor, duties of, ii. 370, 389-90
- Secrecy enjoined in the Jesuit Order, i. 353; use of a cipher, *ib.*
- Secret instructions of the Jesuit Society. (See *Monita*)
- Secrets at La Salette, the, i. 28
- Secular clergy, relations of the Jesuits with, ii. 44-8
- Sedan, prisoners taken at, i. 233; misrepresentation of the results of, 234
- Sendbote des göttlichen Herzens*, examples of the grotesque cures recorded in the, i. 306-8
- Sergardi, Ludovico, on Jesuit morals, ii. 289-90
- Sermon on the Mount, the true Christian apde, i. 274; why the Jesuits set it aside, 277
- Servi Mariae* in Jesuit schools, duties of, i. 144
- Settlements of Jesuits, i. 78 (note); constitution of, 424
- Seuse, the mysticism of, repugnant to the Jesuits, i. 299
- Sexuality, teaching of the Christian Church regarding, i. 40-1; attitude of Jesuits towards, in schools, 202-8; delicacy of the question, 209
- Simple vows of scholastics and spiritual and temporal coadjutors, i. 417; constitute an impediment to marriage, 273, 417

- Sixtus V., Pope, favours the Marian Congregations, i. 165, 169; condemns Loyola's letter on obedience, 336; death of, ii. 110 (note)
- Slaughter, Father, on the deathbed repentance of the wicked, ii. 382
- Smet, de, character of, ii. 391
- Snuff-taking, a habit of Jesuits, i. 205; Pius IX.'s "snuffy" appearance, 262
- Socialism has a link with Jesuitism, ii. 371 (note)
- Societas Jesu, or Society of Jesus, *Monita* of, ii. 7; *Anatomia* of, 9; *Arcana* of, 10; name of 110 and notes, 119-20; *Imago* of, 112-23, (See *Imago*, Institute, Jesuits)
- Socius, the post of, in a Jesuit Society, i. 271; and in a Province, 424
- Solms-Braunfels, Prince Alexander of, turns Catholic, i. 20; widow of, entertains von Doss as her spiritual director at Marxheim, 249
- Sorbonne, the, condemns Santarelli's *Tractatus de Haeresi*, ii. 312; orders Mariana's book to be burned, 333
- Sotelo, Louis, Franciscan Bishop, records the conduct of the Jesuits towards him, ii. 365
- Soubirous, Bernadotte, i. 258
- Soullier, Father, ii. 92
- Southwell, Father Robert, equivocation of, ii. 312
- Sovereigns, Jesuits and the confession of, ii. 168-98; secret instructions for the confessing of, 172; purpose of the confessing of, 172-3
- Spalatro, Jesuit trading in the district of, ii. 98
- Spee, Friedrich von, on the Jesuits and witchcraft, i. 319, 320
- Spichern, incident of the news of the German victory at, i. 233
- Sprenger on legitimate equivocations, ii. 302
- Stanislaus' Day, St., i. 285; author preaches the sermon on, 291. (See *Kostka*)
- Stapleton, Lady, and the use of Ditton Hall as a Jesuit college, i. 287
- State, the, in its relations to the Church, ii. 338-68; Jesuitism a standing menace to, 436-41; Jesuit hostility to the schools of the, 439, 40; the connection between Church and State considered, 452-5
- Stattler, Father Benedict, his theory of justifiable murder, ii. 366 and note
- Steer, Father Norbert, on the evil of confessing children in the confessor's bedroom, i. 203
- Stella Matutina, Jesuit school at Feldkirch, i. 54-60
- Stentrup, Professor, ii. 367
- Stern, Dr. Jacob, anent the violation of Maria Theresa's confession, ii. 175-6
- Stesal, Jac., condemns the ignorance of Greek amongst Jesuits, i. 187
- "Stieger," meaning of the new verb "to," i. 150
- Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, i. 325; headquarters of, at Exaeten, ii. 369, 370
- Stitzing, Professor von, ultramontane students' demonstration against, i. 244-5
- Stöcker, Dr. Adolf, invites the author to write for the *Kreuzzeitung*, ii. 449; character of, 451
- Stolberg, Count Alfred, on Kullmann's attempt on Bismarck's life, i. 212
- Stolberg-Stolberg, Count Caius su. his antipathy to Protestantism, i. 6-7; the author's godfather, 7, 243
- Stolberg-Stolberg, Count Franz su, engaged to the author's sister Marie, i. 243; death of, 267
- Stolberg-Stolberg, Count Friedrich Leopold zu, i. 7, 243
- Stonyhurst, fees at, i. 116; character of the buildings at, 240; laxity of supervision, 240-1; pursuits of the students, 241; inadequacy of the instruction at, 241-2; the "table" at, ii. 75
- Straubing, the Hartmann lawsuit at, ii. 100-2
- Strauss, Father Karl, Music Prefect at Feldkirch, i. 213
- Streicher, Father, exposes the Spanish Jesuits' ignorance of Latin, i. 102; how members dismissed from the Order are treated, ii. 12-13
- Stuarts, the Jesuits and the downfall of the, ii. 153, 155
- Studt sanctions the right of gymnasium to a part in Marian Congregations, i. 172
- Sturm, Johannes, scholastic scheme of, copied by the Jesuits, i. 63
- Suarez, Francis, the greatest theologian of the Jesuit Order, i. 408, ii. 111; thesis in his *De Religione* touching the authorship of the Constitutions, i. 407-8; condones the use of ambiguity, ii. 305; on adultery, 309; on the supremacy of Church over State, 338; allows that heretics may be sentenced to death, 355; teaches the "indirect" power of the Pope, 428
- Substantialia Instituti*, "the essential contents of the Institute," are kept strictly secret, i. 414; supposed definition of, ii. 3-4
- Sulkow, Demetrius, Archbishop of Lemberg, on persons dismissed the Society of Jesus, ii. 13
- Summa theologica*, ii. 255
- Summarium Constitutionum*, ii. 2
- Superior, subordination to, must be complete, i. 134; the Constitutions on the supremacy of the, 326 *et seqq.*; head of Province and of Settlement, 424; secret routine before the appointment of a Provincial Superior, 425-7
- Superstitious observances in Catholicism, i. 12-14
- Suppression of the Jesuit Order, i. 86, 168, ii. 22, 66; Cordara discusses why God permitted it, ii. 106-9
- Sweden, Jesuit political intrigues in, ii. 138
- Swieten, Gerhard van, summoned to Vienna by Maria Theresa, ii. 43; his struggle with the Jesuits, 43-4; slandered by the Jesuits, 43 (note); informs Maria Theresa of Jesuit annoyance at the *Imago*, 112; on the decay of those universities where the Jesuits ruled, 279
- Sybel, Heinrich von, lectures of, i. 122
- Tamburini, General, prohibits certain propositions from Descartes and

- Leibnitz, ii. 253; on the persecution of, by the Order, 295 (note)
- Tanner, Father Matthias, recommends scourging for Jesuits who fondle young persons, i. 206
- Tauler, the mysticism of, repugnant to the Jesuits, i. 299
- Taunton, E. L., his "Jesuits in England" cited, ii. 46, 150, 152, 153, 154; his review of Edward Petre's conduct, 155; ascribes the fall of the Stuarts to the Jesuits, *ib.*; on Foley's habit of garbling the text, 284-5 (note); on Gerard's notion of allegiance, 311-2
- Taurus, an all-night sitting in the, i. 226, 249
- Taxil hoax, the, i. 267
- Teaching, why Jesuits must fail in, i. 134 (See Education and Jesuits)
- Tellier succeeds La Chaise as Confessor to Louis XIV., ii. 186; Saint-Simon's pen portrait of, 187-8
- Teresa, Saint, vision of, i. 404; unwittingly gets Hahn into trouble, ii. 269
- Terrien, Father, i. 404
- Tertiaries, a class of Jesuit affiliates, ii. 19
- Tertiary, full course of the Exercises during the, i. 371; final stage of probation for the priesthood, ii. 369; course of study during, 412-5; chief feature of, 412
- Theology, importance of, to Jesuits, ii. 248; course of study of, 248-250; authority of Thomas Aquinas supreme in, 253-6
- Thirty Years' War, Jesuit selfishness during the, ii. 41; Jesuits' share in the, 158-9; partly financed by the Jesuits, 160-1
- "Thomism" and "Thomistic," ii. 256 (note)
- Thorn, the massacre of, ii. 25-29
- Toleration, religious, Jesuit attitude towards, ii. 549-354
- Toni, or the practice in oratory, i. 291
- Torres, Miguel, ii. 16
- Tournay, Convent, an old vest of the Pope's sent to, as a relic, i. 263
- Townson, Charles, sent by Clement XI. to settle the disputes about the Chinese rites and missions, ii. 53; opposed by the Jesuits, 54; Jesuits accused of poisoning him, 54-6; letters and reports from Tournon complaining how the Jesuits obstructed him, 59-64; condemns their usury in China, 89
- Trade and commerce, Jesuits' success in, ii. 91-9
- Transubstantiation, the process of, ii. 220
- Treitschke, Heinrich von, as a lecturer, ii. 404-5; influence on the author, 405
- Triduum, the nature of the, ii. 389
- Trinity, doctrine of the, ii. 224
- Turnae, the system of, i. 290
- Tyannicide, Jesuit teaching about, ii. 327-337; approval of Mariana's doctrine in favour of the killing of princes, 328; attempt of the Order to meet the public indignation caused by their approval, 332-3
- Ultramontaniam, certain journals of, i. 6; heresy-hunting spirit of, 7; how it colours loyalty and patriotism, 9; tyranny of, over the mind, 12; superstitious observances of, 12, 13; the essence of, 21; unscrupulous fondness for theatricality, 22-3; the supernatural world of, 26; teaches belief in guardian angels, ghosts and devils, 26-7; why it insists on early confession, 34; evil of its teaching respecting sexuality, 39; its attitude towards the liberal arts, 46-78; internationalism in its system of education, 49-51; complete subservience of the laity to, 142; whole-hearted selfishness of, 222-3; attitude of towards freemasonry, 224; in the political arena, 231, 246-7; pomp and splendour of and their object, 237-8; resistance to its arrogance would help undo it, 238; insolence of, towards the Old Catholics, 244-5; consolidated by the Kulturkampf, 265-6; the bondage of Ultramontaniam, 260-1; doctrine as to the Catholic taking of the oath of allegiance in Germany, 264-5; the willing dupe of hoaxes and sham apparitions, 266-7; its classification of Christians of its own Church, 272; its doctrine of the Orders, 273; puts on one side the Sermon on the Mount in favour of its own artificial basis for the Orders, 277; governed also by Christian idealism, 278; its handling of confession, 361-9; doctrine of, touching God, Christ and the world, 377; the Exercises the main prop of, 377-8; its view of woman, ii. 125; its reason for inventing the system of princes' confessors, 135; its faith in the devil a vital matter, 209; has dominated dogma within the Catholic church, 287-8; insists on the supremacy of Church over State, 338-368; uses confession as a lever to move the world, 386-7; an abuse of the Catholic religion, 406-7; the Order fatal to the Papacy, 427; historically and actually a separable force from Catholicism, 465; the proper method of combating it, in Germany, 465 (note)
- Uniformity in the Jesuit Order, i. 356-361
- Universities, Jesuit intrigues at the, of Ingolstadt, ii. 38-40; of Freiburg in Breisgau, 40-2; of Vienna, 42-5; of Paris, 47-8
- Untruthfulness, an all-pervading Jesuit failing, ii. 49; considered in detail, 302-319
- Urban VIII., Pope, canonises Ignatius Loyola, ii. 21-2; forbids the Orders to carry on commerce, 99 and *note*; favours the annexation of Lusatia to France, 182
- Ursula, St., the virgins of, ii. 207
- Vatican Council of 1870, incidents at, i. 220-4; the minority party at, 220-1; surrender of the German bishops at, 223-4; its President, 237
- Vatican Palace, non-Christian character of, i. 263

- Vaughan, Father Bernard, in great request for charity sermons, ii. 413
- Vaux, Lady Anne, letters of, to Father Garnet, ii. 128
- Venerable (*Venerabilis*), a title preliminary to Saint (*Sanctus*), i. 310 (note)
- Venice, conquest of Scio by, ii. 364; Paul V. at war with, *ib.*; Jesuits driven out of, 364-5
- Vergara, secretly a Jesuit, ii. 16
- Verjus, Father Antoine, ii. 198
- Vervaux, Father, ii. 190-1
- Vicar-General of the Society of Jesus, duties of, i. 421-3
- Viccomes, Jesuit General, on the competition of secular schools, i. 187
- Vicious practices alleged of Jesuits, i. 206-7, ii. 68-9
- Vienna, important Jesuit documents in the library at, i. 184 *et seq.*; how they came to be placed there, 189; ignorance of German on the part of Jesuit Professors at the University of, ii. 32-3; Jesuit intrigues at the University of, 42-5
- Villas of the Jesuit Order, ii. 77
- Viller, Father, an active political agent in Austria, ii. 139; deprecates Jesuit jealousy, 195
- Vincent, Julian, i. 336
- Vincent de Paul, St., ii. 57 (note)
- Virgin, the adoration of the, ii. 204-5; extravagances of the worship of the, 205-7
- Visitor, status of, in the Jesuit Order, ii. 33 (note)
- Vitelleschi, Mutius, General, requires the *Monita* to be refuted, ii. 7; ordinance of, anent the confessing of sovereigns, 173; approves Santarelli's *Tractatus de Haeresi*, 312
- Vocation, choice of, ii. 215; gains students for the Jesuit priesthood, 216; disregard of the, and the mental torture it entails, 260-1
- Voit on the advice to avoid a greater sin by perpetrating a lesser, ii. 326-7
- Voltaire mentions an instance of a betrayed confession, ii. 177-8
- Vow, Jesuits by, ii. 17-20. (See *Affiliates*)
- Vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, i. 273; devotional or votive vows, 402-3; constitutional vows of the Society, 416-8; simple vows of scholastics and spiritual and temporal coadjutors, 417; vow of the professed, 417-8; five minor vows of the professed, 418; final vows of the spiritual and temporal coadjutors, *ib.*; Jesuit violation of the vow of obedience, ii. 50-67; Jesuit violation of the vow of chastity, 67-71; Jesuit violation of the vow of poverty, 71-104; the renewal of vows, 389
- Wagner, Franz, on a uniform timetable for use in Jesuit schools, i. 93
- Waiz, Georg, lectures of, at Göttingen, i. 122
- Waldburg-Zeil, Georg, ii. 383-4
- Waldemar of Denmark, the Princess, under the influence of the Jesuits, ii. 157
- Waldersee, Count, ii. 461
- Waldthausen, Ferdinand, Bohemian Provincial, on secret drinking among Jesuits, i. 188
- Wallenstein, fall of, the work of the Jesuits, ii. 159; Jesuits assist in procuring the doom of, 179-80
- Warner, Jesuit Confessor of James II., ii. 153
- Wars: Austro-Prussian of 1866, i. 210-3; Franco-German of 1870-1, 232-3; Jesuit hostility to Prussia in both cases, *ib.*; Jesuit conduct during the Thirty Years' War, ii. 41, 158-9
- Warszewicz, Stanislaus, ii. 138
- Wasmann, Erich, ii. 266
- Wealth of the Jesuit Order, ii. 82-90; acquired in trade and commerce, 91-9; revenue of the Jesuits in the Upper German Province from 1620 to 1700, 82-3; vast landed property of the Jesuits in the Upper German Province in 1773, 84-5; wealth of the Order in, at the date of its suppression, 85; in the Province of America, 87-8; in China, 88-9; in France at date of the suppression, 89-90
- Wendt-Gevelinghausen, Baron von, ii. 393
- Weng, Professor J. L., on the death sentence for heretics, ii. 354; cries "God bless the Inquisition!" 355
- Wernz, Francis Xavier, General, a teacher at Feldkirch, i. 118; one of the two German Generals of the Order, ii. 145 (note); insists on the supremacy of Church over State, 338-40; holds that non-Catholic Christians are beyond the pale, 350-1; his hostility to State schools, 439
- Werthenberg, Father, i. 264
- Weston, Father, records instances of the exorcism of devils, i. 321-2
- "Why should the Jesuits not return to Germany?" the author's pamphlet in defence of the Order, ii. 393-4; why it is superficial and untrue, 395-6
- Wiedemann, Father, character of, ii. 217-8; interested in a new gun, 218
- Wilhelm, Balthasar, ii. 277
- William I. and the Empress Augusta, i. 8; reception of the Emperor at Mayence, 232
- William II., German Emperor, has a long conversation with the author, ii. 459; the Kaiser's promise, 460; Count Waldersee's memorial to, 461; the author has another interview with, 461-2; the Kaiser "lets the man drop," 462-3
- William V. of Bavaria, Duke, ii. 83
- Windthorst, Herr, in frequent consultation with the Jesuits, ii. 165-6; not in favour of extreme measures against non-Catholic Christians, 375; decides to make capital out of the Papal States question, 391-2; approves of the author's Church and State pamphlet, 393; approves of the Jesuit settlement in Berlin, 400; Lieber's relations with, 402; extraordinary statement alleged to have been made by, *ib.*
- Winfridian Students' Union at Göttingen, i. 246

- Wisbeach (Wisbech), Jesuit activity at, in Elizabeth's reign, ii. 46
- Wiseman, Cardinal Nicholas, "Hidden Gem" by, the type of a safe drama in Jesuit eyes, i. 125; deplors the lack of Jesuit zeal in London, ii. 31-2
- Witchcraft and magic, Jesuit procedure in cases of, i. 154-5; how to exorcise witches, 320-1; instance of bewitchment, 322
- Wolf-Metternich, Count Paul, i. 261
- Woman, place of, in the Jesuit scheme, in theory and in practice, i. 384, ii. 123; easily led by Jesuit guile, ii. 11, 12, 18; relation of the Order to, 123-32; instructions to Jesuits respecting women and confession permeated with suspicion and suggestion, 124-5; women of rank may enter Jesuit Colleges, 126; the status of the women who may be visited by Jesuits, 126-7; woman as regarded by Loyola, 127; every attention paid by Jesuits to wealthy women, 128-9
- Würzburg, the author studies for the Law at, i. 261
- Wynandsrade, the professional staff at the College at, i. 119-24; the Rhetoric curriculum at, 120; the History course at, 121-2; set aside for the students of Humanity, 287; the author migrates to Wynandsrade for his scholasticate, 406, 407; its villa at Aalbeck, ii. 77; the author's residence at, for Humanity and Rhetoric, 201-14; the Virgin held in special honour at, 208
- Xavier, St. Francis, successful invocation to, i. 304; miraculous portrait of, 312; "novena of grace" in honour of, 323; universal fame of, ii. 111
- Zahorowski, editor of the first edition of the *Monita privata*, ii. 7
- Zeil, the haunted wing in the Castle of, i. 27
- Zeno, Antonio, and the renegade Mohammedans of Scio, ii. 364
- Zorell, Francis, on the clockwork system of Jesuit education, i. 93
- Zorzi, Marino, ii. 158
- Zottowski, Ladislaus, Jesuit Provincial, on the indifference shown by teachers, i. 186