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THE JESUITS:

Their Foundation and History.

By B. N.

'You shall be hated by all nations for My Name's sake.'
ST. MATTHEW xxiv. 9.

IN TWO VOLUMES:

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Jesuits

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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Father Vincent Caraffa, Father Francis Piccolomini, Father Alexander Gottifredi, Father Goswin Nickel: Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Generals of the Society.

	PAGE		PAGE
Father Caraffa	1	Father Maunoir in Brittany	9
Father Piccolomini	1	Queen Christina of Sweden converted by Father Macedo	10
Father Gottifredi	2	John of Braganza protects the Society in Portugal	11
Election of Father Nickel	2	Influence of Jesuits with the royal family	11
The 'Fronde' and its leaders	3	Casimir V., a Jesuit, King of Poland	12
Jansenism a political weapon	3	His prediction	12
<i>Le Jansenisme confondu</i> , by Father Brisacier	4	Labours and martyrdom of Blessed Andrew Bobola	13
The propositions from the <i>Augustinus</i> referred to Rome	4	Controversy between the Jesuits of Mexico and Don Juan de Palafox	13
They are condemned by Innocent X.	4	Decision of Pope Innocent X.	14
Policy of the Jansenists	5	Palafox accuses the Jesuits of insubordination	15
<i>Lettres Provinciales</i> of Pascal	5	He withdraws his charges	15
Voltaire's testimony as to their unfairness	6	Father Honorius de Fabri	17
Fathers Nouet, Annat, and Daniel reply to Pascal	7	Father Bollandus commences the <i>Lives of the Saints</i>	17
The <i>Lettres Provinciales</i> are condemned at Rome	8	Cardinal Sforza Pallavicini, S.J.	18
Public conferences proposed by the Jesuits	8	Father Oliva appointed Vicar-General of the Order	18
Arnauld breaks off the negotiations	8	Death of Father Nickel	18
The Jansenists refuse to sign an act of adhesion to the Bull	8		
The monastery of Port Royal broken up by government	9		

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CHAPTER II.

The Jesuits in Paraguay.

	PAGE		PAGE
Paraguay and the adjoining provinces	19	Services rendered to natural history and medicine by the Jesuit missionaries	27
Superstition and barbarity of the Indians	19	Religious training of the Indians	28
Cruelty of the Spanish conquerors	20	Musical talent of the Indians	29
The Jesuit missionaries	21	The feast of Corpus Christi in the Reductions	29
They resolve to form Indian colonies or Reductions	22	The feast of the patron saint	30
Their enterprise opposed by the Spaniards	22	Expeditions of the natives in search of converts	31
They are protected by the King of Spain	23	The Reductions compelled to use firearms in self-defence	32
Foundation of the first Reductions	23	Services rendered by the Indians to the royal troops	33
Functions of the Jesuits in the Reductions	24	Intercourse with the Spaniards forbidden	34
Their deference towards the Bishops	25	Code of punishments	34
Division of labour and property among the Indians	26	Devotion of the Indians to the Jesuits	35
Employment of the women	27	Father Baraza and the Moxos	36
Commerce between the Reductions	27	Valuable testimonies	38

CHAPTER III.

Father John Paul Oliva, Eleventh General of the Society, 1664-1681.

Father Oliva	41	Apostolic labours of the Jesuits in France	47
His correspondence with crowned heads	41	The Collège Louis le Grand	48
The French Jesuits continue to struggle against Jansenism	41	Eminent Jesuits of the day	49
The Jansenists involve the Society in disputes with Bishops	43	Father de Jouvençy	51
Father Annat	45	Father Bourdaloue	52
Difficulties between Louis XIV. and the Pope	45	The Society of Jesus in Portugal	53
Successful intervention of Father Annat	45	Father Fernandez	53
Father Ferrier	46	Father Anthony Vieyra	54
The confessors of Louis XIV.	46	Jesuits in Spain	54
		Father Nithard	54
		Jesuits in Poland	56
		John Sobieski	56
		Death of Father Oliva	58

CHAPTER IV.

Father Charles de Noyelle, 1682-1686; Father Tirso Gonzalès, 1687-1705: Twelfth and Thirteenth Generals of the Society.

PAGE		PAGE
59	Father Claude de la Colombière	Reconciliation of the king with the Holy See 66
59	The devotion to the Sacred Heart	Louis disowns the declaration of the Four Articles 67
60	Father Charles de Noyelle	Revocation of the Edict of Nantes 67
61	Father Tirso Gonzalès	Missionaries of the Society 68
61	Differences between the Pope and Louis XIV.	Louis XIV. wishes to place the French Jesuits under his immediate control 69
62	<i>Droits de régale</i>	He abandons his project 70
63	Neutral attitude of the French Jesuits	Two Jesuits are sent by the king to the Persian Court 70
64	They avert the threatened excommunication of the king	Six Jesuits sent to the King of Siam 71
64	Assembly of the French clergy	The Jesuits in Holland 72
64	The Four Articles	Conversion of the Elector of Saxony 74
65	Not imposed upon the Jesuits under Louis XIV.	Difficulties between the Jesuits and the King of Portugal 75
65	The French Jesuits subservient to the king	Death of Father Gonzalès 75

CHAPTER V.

The English Province of the Society: the Plot of Titus Oates and the Revolution of 1688.

76	Accession of Charles II.	Veneration paid to their memory 87
77	Disappointment of Catholics	Jesuits in Newgate 87
77	Conversion of the Duke of York	Persecution in the provinces 88
77	The Test Act	The English students abroad 89
77	The Jesuits in England at this period	Accession of James II. 90
78	Titus Oates	Father Warren, the king's confessor 90
78	His confederacy with Tonge	Father Edward Petre 90
80	They forge a plot	James II. names him Privy Councillor and Clerk of the Closet 91
81	It is disclosed to the king	Prosperity of the English Province under James II. 93
81	Death of Sir Edmond Godfrey	Jesuit colleges 93
82	Panic throughout the kingdom	James II. driven from the throne 95
82	Bedloe's depositions	Persecution breaks out afresh 95
83	The Catholics brought to trial	Catholic schools and chapels destroyed 95
83	Execution of Coleman	The English Province in 1700 96
83	Trial and execution of Father Ireland and his companions	
85	Five other Jesuits are put to death	

CHAPTER VI.

Father Michael Angelo Tamburini, Fourteenth General of the Society.

	PAGE		PAGE
Election of Father Tamburini	97	Death of Louis XIV.	103
The Jesuits in France	97	Philip of Orleans, Regent	103
Quesnel becomes leader of the Jansenists	98	Father Letellier banished	103
Conspiracy of the Jansenists against the government	98	The Jansenists triumph	103
The Bull 'Vineam Dei Sabaoth'.	98	Suppression of the Congregations of our Lady	104
Suppression of Port Royal des Champs	98	Cardinal de Noailles accepts the Bull	104
Father Letellier	100	Decline of Jansenism	105
Correspondence with Fénelon	100	The Jesuits in the provinces	105
De Noailles suspends the Jesuits in his diocese	101	Affairs in Spain	106
The Bull 'Unigenitus'	101	The Society in Russia	108
		Banished by Peter the Great	108
		St. Francis Girolamo	108

CHAPTER VII.

Missions in the East.

Jesuit missions in the Levant	110	Kang-Hi authorises him to build a church within the palace	115
Services rendered by the missionaries to science	111	Father Gaubil	116
The Jesuits in China	112	The Jesuits in India	117
The Emperor Kang-Hi and Father Verbiest	112	Blessed John of Britto	117
Father Xavier d'Entrecolles	112	His martyrdom	119
Brief of Pope Innocent XI. to the missionaries	113	Father Beschi	119
Father Gerbillon	114	Conversions among the Brahmins	120
		Father Bouchet	120
		Description of the mission of Madura	121
		Pariah Jesuits	122

CHAPTER VIII.

The Chinese Ceremonies and the Malabar Rites.

Origin of the discussion on the ceremonies and rites	125	Tournon proceeds to China	129
Concessions of the Jesuits	126	He condemns the ceremonies	130
Clement XI. appoints a Legate	127	Anger of the emperor	130
Cardinal de Tournon	127	Imprisonment and death of Tournon	130
Condemns the Malabar rites	128	Father Gerbillon incurs the emperor's displeasure by his defence of Tournon	131
Withdraws his censures	128		
The Jesuits appeal to Rome	129		

	PAGE		PAGE
The missionaries appeal against the decree of Tournon	131	Exile of the imperial princes	134
Clement XI. condemns some of the ceremonies	131	Heroism of the Christians	135
Submission of the Society	131	Letters of Father Gaubil	135
Difficulties in China	132	Rescue of the abandoned children	136
The Bull 'Ex illa die'	132	The concessions made by Mezzabarba condemned in Rome	136
Mezzabarba sent as Visitor to China	132	Policy of the Jesuits	136
Interview with the emperor	132	Their obedience	137
He modifies the prohibitions of the Bull	133	Benedict XIV. publishes the Bull 'Ex quo singulari'	138
Death of Kang-Hi	133	Sufferings of the missionaries	139
His son Young-Tching persecutes the Christians	133	The Jesuits in China after the condemnation of the ceremonies	140

CHAPTER IX.

Missions in Africa and America.

Missions in Ethiopia	142	Father Lombard in Guiana	152
Persecution	143	Missionaries in California	153
Father Sicard	144	The Jesuits in Brazil	154
Missions on western coast of Africa	147	Father Vieyra	155
The Jesuits first explorers of Africa	147	Concludes a treaty with the Indians	155
Missions in Canada	147	Labours of Father Richler	156
Discoveries	148	Father Malagrida	157
Life of a missionary	149	Father de Gusmao	158
The Iroquois saints and martyrs	149	Report of Father Fernandez on the missions of Paraguay	159
The English and Dutch traders	150	Father Cavallero	159
Penal laws in the States	150	Report of Don Pedro Faxado to the King of Spain	161
Father Rasles	151		
Missions in the West Indian Islands	152		

CHAPTER X.

Father Francis Retz, 1730-1751; Father Ignatius Visconti, 1751-1755; Father Louis Centurioni, 1755-1758: Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Generals of the Society.

Election of Father Retz	163	His project of a national Church	167
Decrees issued by the General Congregation	163	Distributes libels against the Jesuits	167
Father Ignatius Visconti	163	The supposed gold-mines of Uruguay	168
Period of comparative prosperity	164	Exchange of territory with Spain	168
Increase of the spirit of unbelief	164	Enforced migration of the Indians	169
Last efforts of Jansenism	165	The Jesuits ordered to enforce the measure	169
The Society in Portugal	166	Libellous pamphlets	170
Carvalho, Marquis of Pombal	166		

PAGE	PAGE		
Report of Zevalos, the Spanish governor	171	Benedict XIV. consents to issue a Brief	175
The Jesuits accused of commercial transactions	172	Modifies it by a letter to Cardinal Saldanha	175
The charge examined at Rome, and dismissed	172	Death of Benedict XIV.	175
Peculiar position of the Jesuits in Paraguay	173	The Brief announced at Lisbon	176
Pombal's letter to the Pope	174	Proceedings of Saldanha	176
Declares that the Jesuits need reform	174	Sentence of suspension	176
		Death of Father Centurioni	177

CHAPTER XI.

F. Lorenzo Ricci, Eighteenth General of the Society, 1758-1773.

DESTRUCTION OF THE SOCIETY IN PORTUGAL.

Father Ricci	178	They are banished from Portugal	185
Foreboding of calamities	178	The Dominicans and the exiled Jesuits	186
Clement XIII.	179	Constancy of the novices and schoolastics	187
Condition of Europe at this period	180	Treatment of the missionaries in Brazil and India	188
Condition of the Society of Jesus	181	Father Malagrida	189
Father Ricci presents a memorial on the affairs in Portugal	182	The Jesuits in prison	190
Supposed plot to assassinate Joseph I.	182	Letter of Father Kaulen	191
The Jesuits are implicated	182	Letter of Father Prizkwil	192
The University of Coimbra taken from them	183	Clement XIII. and Joseph I.	193
Seditious pamphlets attributed to them	184		

CHAPTER XII.

Destruction of the Society in France.

The Jansenists and philosophers combine against the Society	195	The parliament examines the Constitutions	202
Madame de Pompadour	197	Decree in 1761	203
Father de Lavalette	198	Assembly of the French clergy	203
His bankruptcy	199	Declaration in favour of the Jesuits	203
The French Jesuits undertake to pay his debts	199	The fathers requested to sign the Four Articles of 1682	204
Unlawful sentence against the fathers	199	Weakness of Father de la Croix	204
The Paris Jesuits appeal to the parliament	200	The Jesuit colleges are closed	205
Father de Lavalette's declaration	200	The <i>Extrait des Assertions</i>	206
		Appeal of the clergy to Louis XV.	206
		Conduct of the parliaments in the provinces	207

PAGE	PAGE		
The Parliament of Paris suppresses the Society in France, 1762	208	Louis XV. sanctions the sentence against the Jesuits	211
Pastoral letter of Christophe de Beaumont	211	The Bull 'Apostolicum'	212

CHAPTER XIII.

Destruction of the Society in Spain.

Charles III. of Spain	213	Clement XIII. remonstrates with the king	218
His infidel ministers	213	Severe sentence against the fathers	220
Rebellion in Madrid appeased by the Jesuits	214	Exile	220
Efforts made to prejudice the king against the Society	214	Tanucci expels them from Naples .	221
Mysterious plot against the Je- suits	215	They are banished from Parma and Malta	221
Charles III. condemns the Jesuits in his dominions to immediate banishment	216	Popular demonstration in Spain .	222
Sufferings of the Jesuits	217	The Bourbon courts demand the suppression of the Society at Rome	223
		Firmness of the Pope	224
		His death	224

CHAPTER XIV.

Suppression of the Society by Clement XIV.

Opening of the conclave	225	Uncertain policy of the Pope	234
Parties among the Cardinals	226	Relentless perseverance of the crowned heads	235
Representatives of the Bourbon courts at Rome	226	The Pope's reply to Choiseul	236
Bernis' correspondence with Choi- seul	227	The Pope suggests a General Coun- cil	236
Promise to be required of the future Pope	227	Florida Blanca	238
System of corruption and intima- tion	228	Maria Theresa is persuaded to de- mand the suppression	239
Cardinal de Solis negotiates with Ganganelli	229	Clement XIV. yields	239
The latter's declaration	230	Attitude of the Jesuits	239
Ganganelli is elected	231	Their poverty, isolation, and pas- siveness	240
Clement XIV.	231	The Roman Seminary is taken from them	241
His former relations with the Society	232	Clement XIV. signs the Brief 'Do- minus ac Redemptor'	242
The courts renew their demand for the suppression of the Society .	233	The Brief communicated to Father Ricci	243
Letters of D'Alembert to Frede- rick II.	233		

CHAPTER XV.

The Brief ' Dominus ac Redemptor noster' and its Effects.

PAGE	PAGE		
Contents of the Brief of suppression	245	Its reception in Germany, Poland, and Switzerland	256
Antonelli's report to Pius VI.	246	The Brief made known to the captives of Fort St. Julian	257
Jesuit writers on the subject	248	Last Jesuit missionaries in China	257
Mental suffering of Clement XIV.	250	And in India	260
Election of Pius VI.	251	Effect of the suppression in the Portuguese possessions	261
The trial of the Jesuits	252	Traces of Jesuit influence in Africa, Canada, California, and Brazil	261
Last declaration of Father Ricci	252		
The Archbishop of Paris rejects the Brief	255		

CHAPTER XVI.

State of the Society at the Time of the Suppression.

The Society is accused of having degenerated	264	Historians, antiquarians, poets, &c.	269
Testimony to the contrary	264	Father Berthier	269
Jesuit theologians in Italy	264	Orators	270
In Germany	265	Father Borgo's panegyric of St. Ignatius	270
Jesuit astronomers and mathematicians	266	The ex-Jesuits during the Terror	271
Their observatories	267	Evils that follow the destruction of their colleges	273
Missionaries in China	268	Bishoprics offered to the ex-Jesuits	274

CHAPTER XVII.

The Jesuits are maintained in Russia and in Prussia.

Frederick II. rejects the Brief of suppression	276	Catherine II. at Polotsk	280
Pius VI. tacitly recognises the existence of the Society in Prussia	277	Her letter to Pius VI.	280
The Jesuits disperse on the death of Frederick II.	278	His <i>vivâ voce</i> approbation of the Society in Russia	281
Catherine II. maintains them in Russia	278	Election of a Vicar-General	281
The Jesuits beg leave to obey the Brief	278	The Duke of Parma recalls the Jesuits	282
Clement XIV. allows them to remain <i>in statu quo</i>	278	Paul I. succeeds Catherine II.	282
Pius VI. transfers all responsibility to the Bishop of Mohilow	279	Decree of Pius VII. in favour of the Russian Jesuits	282
		The ex-Jesuits banished from Spain	283
		Tournely, the 'precursor of the Society of Jesus'	283

PAGE		PAGE	
Foundation of the Fathers of the Sacred Heart	283	Jesuit colleges and missions in Russia	286
Paccanari and the 'Pères de la Foi'	284	Ferdinand of Naples recalls the Jesuits	287
Fusion of the two societies	285	Resolve of Pius VII.	287

CHAPTER XVIII.

RESTORATION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

Father Thaddeus Brzozowski, 1814-1820; Father Aloysius Fortis, 1820-1829: Nineteenth and Twentieth Generals of the Society.

The Bull 'Sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum'	289	The Society returns to Portugal under Don Miguel	297
The Father General detained in Russia	290	Revenge of the Society	298
Father Panizzoni replaces him in Rome	291	The English ex-Jesuits at Bruges and at Liège	298
Death of Father Brzozowski	292	They purchase Stonyhurst in England	299
Election of Father Fortis at the Gesù	292	Father Marmaduke Stone	299
Jesuit missions in Russia	292	Father Charles Plowden	299
Conversion of the young Prince Galitzin	293	Conflict between the clergy and laity	300
The Society banished from Russia in 1815	293	Pitt and the Jesuit missionaries	301
Advantage of this measure to the Order in general	293	The Society restored in Ireland	302
The Society in Italy	294	And in France	302
A royal novice	294	Lamennais	303
The Jesuits in Austria	295	The government opposes the Jesuits	303
The Swiss Cantons recall the Jesuits	296	Suppression of the Congregation of our Lady	304
Difficulties in the Low Countries	296	The 'Petits Séminaires' are closed	305
Ferdinand VII. of Spain recalls the Jesuits	296	Jesuit colleges in Spain, Belgium, and Switzerland	305
		Death of Father Fortis	306
		Election of Father Roothaan	306

CHAPTER XIX.

Father John Roothaan, Twenty-first General of the Society, 1829-1853.

Massacres in Madrid	307	The Jesuits return to Belgium and Holland	309
The Society banished from Spain	308	The Society in Switzerland	309
Revolution in Portugal	308	Revolution in France	309
Expulsion of the Jesuits	308		

PAGE	PAGE		
The Society under Louis Philippe	310	The Jesuits return to Rome	317
Father de Ravignan	311	Death of the Father General	317
His <i>De l'Existence et de l'Institut</i> <i>des Jésuites</i>	312	Revision of the <i>Ratio Studiorum</i>	318
Hostile attitude of the government	314	Character of Father Roothaan	319
The General authorizes concessions	315	Ravignan's <i>Clement XIII. and</i> <i>Clement XIV.</i>	321
Accession of Pius IX.	315	Father Potot	322
Violence of the revolutionary party	316	Cardinal Odescalchi enters the Jesuit novitiate	323
The Jesuits disperse	317	Father de Rozaven	324
Father Roothaan visits France	317		

CHAPTER XX.

Missions of the Society since 1814.

The Society resumes its missionary labours	325	Father Bertrand's letters to Europe	333
Jesuit mission in the United States	325	Severe losses	334
Father de Smet	326	Piety of the native Christians	337
The Hudson Bay Company and the Jesuits	328	Father Canoz raised to the see of Tamassen	338
Letters of Father Point	329	Traces of the former missionaries	339
Jesuits in South America	330	The Jesuits recalled to China	339
In the Levant	331	The mission of Kiang-nan	340
Mission of Madagascar	331	Piety of the converts	341
State of religion in India	332	The mission of Pé-tché-li	343
Difficulties encountered by the Jesuits	333	Relics of the ancient missionaries	345
		The missions of the Society through- out the world	345

CHAPTER XXI.

Father Peter Beckx, Twenty-second General of the Society.

Father de Ravignan's letters from Rome	347	Five prisoners of the Society	349
Election of Father Beckx	347	Execution at La Roquette	349
The French Jesuits during the war and the Commune	348	Massacre at Belleville	350
		Montalembert on the Society of Jesus	350

CHAPTER I.

Father Vincent Caraffa, 1646-1649; Father Francis Piccolomini, 1649-1651; Father Alexander Gottifredi, 1652; Father Goswin Nickel, 1652-1664: Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Generals of the Society.

CONTRASTING with the long periods during which Father Aquaviva and Father Vitelleschi governed the Society are the brief reigns of their three immediate successors, whose combined governments only occupy the short space of five years, and may be comprised in one chapter.

Father Vincent Caraffa, a descendant of the noble Roman family of that name, was elected on the 7th of January 1646, by the General Congregation assembled on the death of Father Vitelleschi. He was sixty years of age, and possessed all the virtues that fitted him for his responsible position; but three years later he died, after appointing Father de Montmorency Vicar of the Society. In the month of December following, the professed fathers assembled for the election of a new General, and their suffrages were almost evenly balanced between Father de Montmorency himself and Father Francis Piccolomini; the latter, however, was elected by a trifling majority. He was a man of deep learning, and for three years Blessed John Berchmans had studied under him. We read in the life of the youthful saint, that Father Piccolomini, for whom he had great affection, frequently visited him during his last illness; on one occasion, a few hours only before his death, the father, being obliged to leave him, said, 'You will be sure, John, to wait for me, and not to depart this life till I return.' The dying youth promised, and Father Piccolomini returned to assist him in his agony and to receive his last sigh. No doubt the boy-saint, by whose bed he had watched, afterwards, in his turn, assisted his old master in the long and painful

illness that brought him to the grave, and which he bore with exemplary patience and resignation. In June 1561, after protracted sufferings, Father Piccolomini died, and in the following January, Father Alexander Gottifredi was elected in his stead; but the Congregation assembled on this occasion had not yet dissolved when the new General breathed his last, having occupied his post just two months.

It was at Gottifredi's election that the Jesuit Cardinal de Lugo, who, on account of his talents and virtues, had been raised to the purple, pronounced a discourse, the text of which were the words of Landulphus, a monastic historian of the fourteenth century: 'In heaven we shall all be called Jesuits by Jesus Himself,—*In gloria cœlesti omnes ab ipso dicemur Jesuitæ.*' Five days after the death of Father Gottifredi, on the 17th of March, Father Goswin Nickel, a native of Juliers, received the majority of suffrages, and was raised to the dignity so unexpectedly left vacant.

These rapid changes had no immediate effect upon the Order in general; its organisation was so perfect, the details of its constitution so carefully worked out, every emergency so wisely provided for, that the principle of authority remained unshaken, and the change in its representative was hardly felt beyond the Gesù.

It has been seen how, under the government of Father Vitelleschi, Jansenism began to spread its errors in France. Implanted, in the first instance, by St. Cyran, the new doctrine developed rapidly under the influence of the able men and intriguing women whom he enlisted among his disciples, the *Fréquente Communion* of Arnauld being at that time the most most striking manifestation of its teaching.

About 1648, Jansenism, in spite of the opposition of the greater portion of the clergy, assumed new importance in France by the support which it then received from the Fronde, or political party opposed to Mazarin, and we find the followers of the new heresy taking a prominent part in the intrigues and contests of the period.

In the first instance, the Fronde was the resistance of the

parliament and people of Paris to certain measures promoted by the Prime Minister Mazarin, which tended to restrict the power of the parliament; but, at the end of two years, the struggle had assumed a totally different character. The Prince of Condé, who at first had defended the court party, ended by irritating the queen and her minister by his exaggerated demands and pretensions; he then headed the party of the 'Jeune Fronde,' which joined the opposition formed by the parliament, and at one time seriously menaced the royal authority. Around the Prince of Condé gathered a host of young noblemen and brilliant women—the Dukes of La Rochefoucauld and Beaufort, the Prince of Conti, Paul de Gondi, Coadjutor of Paris, best known as the Cardinal de Retz; the Duchesses of Longueville and Chevreuse—and under their influence the war was carried on with a curious mixture of frivolity and earnestness, political pamphlets and satirical poems mingling with grave theological discussions. It would be too long to trace the different phases of the contest, which lasted five years, and ended with the reconciliation of Condé and his partisans to the court; but it is necessary to state that from this period Jansenism ceased to be merely a religious doctrine, and became a powerful political weapon in the hands of the opposition. The facility with which its disciples united extreme laxity of morals to the most severe theories is illustrated in the case of the Cardinal de Retz. His immorality and thorough absence of principle were notorious. As was too often the case at that time, he had entered the Church solely from motives of convenience, and did not attempt to conceal the fact; yet men of austere virtue, like Pascal and Arnauld, were content to accept his intimacy and to overlook his vices, 'in consideration,' says a Jansenist historian, 'of his great desire to have persons of merit for his friends.'*

Supported by the Coadjutor of Paris, the Jansenists continued to uphold their doctrines with increasing boldness. During the Fronde warfare had been carried on almost as much by songs, pamphlets, satires, sarcastic and witty epi-

* *Mémoires de Fontaine*, vol. ii. Crétineau-Joly, vol. iv. p. 30.

grams, as by force of arms; and the same style of argument was brought into the theological discussions to which Jansenism gave rise. Great excitement was created by a book, *Le Jansénisme confondu*, written by a Jesuit, Father Brisacier, and chiefly directed against Arnauld and the nuns of Port Royal, among whom its bitter and sometimes violent sarcasm caused intense indignation, and at the request of Arnauld and other leaders it was condemned by Cardinal de Retz.

But the audacity of the Jansenists at length alarmed the Sorbonne, and in 1649, Nicolas Cornet, a member of that body, extracted from the *Augustinus* five propositions, embodying its principal errors, which were, among others, that certain commandments of God are impossible to observe; that man has no free-will either to resist sin or to resist grace; and that Jesus Christ did not die for all men. The following year the Bishops of France referred these propositions to Rome, where Pope Innocent X. appointed a commission of theologians to examine and judge them. A certain number of Bishops, who had secret leanings towards Jansenism, sent representatives to Rome to defend the suspected propositions, while, on the other hand, through the intervention of St. Vincent of Paul and M. Olier, several theologians, among whom was Father Brisacier, were despatched on behalf of the opposite party. The solemn conferences on the subject commenced on April 12th, 1651, and it was remarked that the defenders of Jansenism thought less of vindicating their doctrines than of bringing up attacks and accusations against the Society of Jesus, in whom they recognised their most formidable adversary. These attacks, however, received no attention; and on May 31st, 1653, after mature deliberation, Innocent X. declared that the five propositions were really contained in the *Augustinus*, and were condemned as heretical. From that day it became impossible to profess the new doctrines in good faith; the line between truth and falsehood had been drawn by the infallible hand of Rome, and what until then might have been an error of judgment necessarily became an act of rebellion.

At the time when the Bull was published the Jansenists

were beginning to recover from the injury which their monasteries and schools had suffered during the Fronde. The Mère Angélique and many of her nuns had returned to Port Royal des Champs. To that neighbourhood Arnauld, De Sacy, and Lemaître had likewise retired, and they spent their time in translating the Fathers of the Church and in educating a certain number of youths, whom they trained on strictest Jansenist principles. At first they received the Bull in silence, and this was interpreted by many as a willingness to submit; but at the end of a few months they showed their real feeling by denying that the propositions were to be found in the *Augustinus*. To this Innocent X. replied by a special Brief, dated September 9th, 1654, in which he further explained his previous sentence, and declared again that the five propositions were in truth contained in the *Augustinus*. The following year, however, Arnauld published a Letter, in which he continued to defend the orthodoxy of his party, whose doctrines, he asserted, were purely those of St. Augustine; but, unwilling to profess open rebellion, he added that the Jansenists were ready to receive the decisions of the Pope in 'respectful silence.' In spite of these evasions, Arnauld's Letter was condemned by the Sorbonne in January 1656. He attributed this measure to the influence of the Jesuits, who had always shown themselves his steady opponents, and urged Blaise Pascal, one of the most gifted members of the Port Royal colony, to avenge his wrongs. This was the origin of the famous *Lettres Provinciales*, which, inspired by a splendid though misguided intellect, inflicted the heaviest blow ever aimed by the Jansenists at the Society of Jesus.

Pascal, the author of the *Provinciales*, was born in Auvergne in 1623, and from his earliest years showed an extraordinary aptitude for mathematics. At the age of nineteen he invented an arithmetical machine; four years later his scientific experiments excited the admiration of the most learned men in France; and at the age of twenty-four he turned his attention to moral philosophy and joined the learned colony of Port Royal, where he was justly regarded as a valuable addition to

the sect. His sister Jacqueline had previously entered the community governed by Angélique Arnauld.

It was in January 1656 that the first of the *Lettres Provinciales* was published in Paris by Pascal, under the name of Louis de Montalte, and the other Letters followed at short intervals. It is impossible to deny their literary merit; according to a Jesuit writer, 'Nothing of the kind had as yet appeared in the French language;*' and to many persons, 'in whose eyes talent is a guarantee of infallibility,'† their brilliant style, pungent irony, and rapid eloquence sufficed to carry conviction. But eminent as a geometrician and a moral philosopher, Pascal as a theologian is carried away by prejudice, and his enmity to the Jesuits caused him to sacrifice truth and loyalty; his calumnies and misstatements are veiled by the prestige of brilliant writing; the texts of the Jesuit writers quoted by the author are falsified and transposed to suit a purpose; passages are mutilated, and over this tissue of falsehoods is shed the fascination of matchless wit and irony.

So evidently absurd and grotesque are the doctrines put into the mouth of the Jesuit who is supposed by Pascal to represent the doctrines of his Institute, that even when they appeared the *Provinciales* were regarded as a clever satire rather than a serious act of accusation. Pascal himself owned that his book was meant, not for learned men, but for women and worldly persons, who would be easily captivated by its alternately playful or biting style;‡ and Voltaire, assuredly no friend of the Jesuits, says of the *Lettres Provinciales*: 'The whole book is built on a false foundation. The extravagant opinions of a few Spanish and Flemish Jesuits are ingeniously attributed to the whole Society. The identical opinions might easily have been extracted from the works of Dominican and Franciscan theologians, but the attack was directed against the Jesuits alone.'§ And again, on another occasion, Voltaire wrote thus: 'In good faith is it by the ingenious satire of the

* Père Rapin, *Mémoires*, vol. ii. p. 380.

† Gaillardin, *Histoire de Louis XIV.*, vol. ii. p. 207.

‡ *Pensées*, 2de partie, art. 17, p. 78.

§ *Siècle du Louis XIV.*, vol. ii. chap. xxxvii. p. 250 (édit. 1792).

Lettres Provinciales that the morality of the Jesuits must be judged, and not rather by the teaching of Père Bourdaloue, of Père Cheminai, and other preachers, and by their missionaries? Let any one draw a parallel between the *Lettres Provinciales* and the sermons of Père Bourdaloue. In the first may be learnt the science of raillery, the skill of presenting things indifferent in themselves under a criminal aspect, and the art of insulting with eloquence. From Père Bourdaloue a man will learn to be severe to himself, indulgent towards others. I ask, then: On which side is true morality, and which book is most useful? I venture to say that nothing can be more iniquitous, more contradictory, more disgraceful to humanity than to accuse of lax morality men who in Europe lead the most austere lives, and who seek death in the distant regions of Asia and America.*

The Jesuits appeared at first amazed and almost stunned by the rapidity and violence of Pascal's attack; they were somewhat tardy in replying, and if they erred it was on the side of extreme moderation. It is far easier to attack than to defend, and the Jesuits' refutation lacked the brilliancy of their opponent; the arms wielded by Pascal could not be used by them; and though, a few chapters back, we may have had to chronicle the literary violence of Père Garasse, his case forms an exception to the calmness generally displayed by the fathers when replying to their antagonists.

Fathers Nouet and Annat were the first to answer Pascal's accusations; they had truth and justice on their side, and they convicted their opponent of having falsified a number of texts, and notably his quotations from Lessius and Sanchez, two celebrated Jesuit theologians. They likewise proved him to have misrepresented the teaching of Escobar, Valentia, and others by omitting or transposing words, and thus altering the sense of the argument, or by giving as a general decision one which was meant for special and extraordinary cases. These refutations possessed much argumentative power, and to any unprejudiced mind were perfectly convincing; but they lacked

* *Correspondance*, 7 Février 1746, vol. lv. (edition 1831).

verve and eloquence, and many readers who had revelled in Pascal's brilliant sarcasms did not stop to read the solid but ponderous arguments of his adversaries. It was not till some years later, after the death of Pascal, that Father Gabriel Daniel published his *Entretiens d'Eudoxe et de Cléanthe*, the most important and effectual reply to the *Provinciales*.

Although they fascinated the literary and Jansenist circles of the day, the *Provinciales* were speedily censured by the Bishops and condemned by the Pope, and in October 1660 they were publicly burnt in Paris by order of the government. The Jesuits themselves thought less of avenging their private grievances than of serving the cause of truth, and Father Annat, who filled the office of confessor to the young king, made an earnest attempt to induce the Jansenists to submit to the Holy See; he proposed that conferences should take place between the chief theologians of either party, and according even to a Jansenist prelate, Gilbert de Choiseul, Bishop of Comminges, he displayed in this matter great disinterestedness and charity.* It appeared at first as if these conferences were likely to have the desired result, for De Barcos, nephew to St. Cyran; Henri Arnauld, Bishop of Angers; and Arnauld d'Andilly, his brother, together with some other leaders, seemed willing to make the proposed submission. However, Antoine Arnauld, the oracle of the sect, persistently remained aloof, and at length, through his influence, the negotiations were broken off and all hope of reconciliation came to an end.

Louis XIV. was no less anxious than were the Jesuits and the Pope to obtain the submission of the Jansenists, whom he regarded as his political adversaries since their connection with the Fronde. It had been decided in 1660 by the French clergy that a *formulaire*, or act of adhesion to the Bull of Innocent X., should be signed by bishops, priests, and religious men and women in France. At Port Royal the proposal encountered a determined resistance, and means of persuasion having now proved vain, the king had recourse to force; and on the 26th of August 1664, the community, which had been the cradle and

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. iv. p. 60.

hotbed of Jansenism, was broken up by order of the government. Angélique Arnauld had been dead three years, but her talents and also her indomitable spirit were inherited by her niece, Angélique de St. Jean. Upon the dispersion of her community she was transferred to a convent of Annonciades in Paris, where the Jesuit Father Nouet used frequently to preach. The sight of a Jesuit seems to have had a terrible effect upon the ardent Jansenist, who was at that time regarded by her partisans in the light of a martyr. She writes to tell them of the father's visit to the convent, adding: 'I cannot express the impression it caused me; I trembled from head to foot, from surprise as well as from fear.' In spite, however, of her pious horror, the Mère Angélique seems to have listened with some sort of pleasure to the sermons of Father Nouet, one of the celebrated orators of the day, but her remarks on the other preachers of the Society savour of the style of the *Lettres Provinciales*.

The dispersion of these nuns, of whom it was said that they were 'pure as angels and proud as demons,' was followed by that of the 'Solitaries,' who had likewise declined to sign the *formulaire*; the most distinguished among them found an asylum in the hôtel of Madame de Longueville, now as ardent in her devotion to Jansenism as she had been in her zeal for the Fronde. Their rebellious spirit unfortunately extended to four members of the French episcopacy, the Bishops of Alet, Pamiers, Beauvais, and Angers, who refused either to sign the *formulaire* themselves or to have it signed by their clergy.

While in Paris and its neighbourhood the members of the Society were wrestling with the subtle obstinacy of Jansenism, a Jesuit missionary was engaged in a humbler, but more consoling, mission among the wild inhabitants of Brittany.

The work accomplished by St. Francis Régis in the Vivarais was successfully undertaken for his native province by Father Julian Maunoir, born in 1606. Brittany at that period, although nominally united to France, possessed customs and a language of its own, and was plunged in ignorance and comparative barbarism. The fierce civil wars, which for so many

years had made it a perpetual battle-field, had necessarily exercised a demoralizing effect upon its inhabitants.

Father Maunoir possessed that intense love for his native land which is perhaps the strongest characteristic of the Bretons, and his whole life was devoted to the welfare of his countrymen. In 1640 he began his arduous task, and during forty-three years he preached incessantly among the towns and villages of Brittany, visited the wildest and most distant parts, and everywhere met with extraordinary and lasting success. He died in 1683, and his heart, which so faithfully loved his country and his God, still rests in the church of the Lycée at Quimper, which before the suppression belonged to the Society.

We must now turn from the history of the Society in France to examine the labours of its members in other countries at the same period. Three years after the election of Father Nickel as General a Portuguese Jesuit, Father Macedo, was instrumental in the conversion of Queen Christina of Sweden, who when a child had succeeded her father Gustavus Adolphus. Father Macedo, a former missionary in Africa, was attached by John IV. of Portugal to the Portuguese embassy at Stockholm. Although he was obliged to conceal his priesthood under the employment of secretary, his real calling became known to the queen, whose mind had been favourably inclined towards the true faith by her intercourse with the famous philosopher, Descartes, a pupil of the Jesuits of La Flèche. After several conferences with Father Macedo she declared her intention to abdicate the throne, and to become a Catholic, a resolve which she executed some months later. In spite of her violent passions and wayward undisciplined character, Christina appears to have been sincere in this the great act of her life; and through all the vicissitudes of her strange career she remained staunch to the Catholic faith. Out of gratitude to her Jesuit instructor, she besought the Pope to make him a cardinal—a dignity that Father Macedo constantly declined, and to the end of his life his favourite occupation was teaching the poor children of Lisbon, where he died in 1693.

The history of John of Braganza's accession to the Portuguese throne has been related in a previous chapter ; during all his reign this prince proved himself the generous friend and benefactor of the Society. His eldest son, Don Theodosius, was brought up with Francis de Almeyda, a youth of high rank and a future Jesuit, and the two children led the life of angels in the midst of the court. When Almeyda renounced his brilliant worldly prospects to enter the Society, the young prince regarded him with regret and envy. His one desire from his boyhood had been to embrace the rule of St. Ignatius, but political considerations obliged him to sacrifice his dearest hopes. Shortly afterwards, however, he died at the age of nineteen, and, upon the death of King John, the crown devolved upon his second son Alphonso, who was yet a child. Luisa de Guzman, the late king's widow, then assumed the reins of government as regent, and under her able administration Portugal continued to flourish. She wished Father Andrew Fernandez, confessor to King John, to accept the post of Grand Inquisitor, which he had already declined, and, in order to conquer his resistance, promised him high places at court for several members of his family. To this the Jesuit replied, that he was of low birth, and that the proffered honours would as little become his relations as the charge of Inquisitor was ill suited to himself. The prosperity of Portugal came to an end when Alphonso VI. attained his majority ; this unfortunate prince, as deficient in mental as in moral qualities, began by banishing his mother, whose presence at court was a restraint upon his excesses, and yielded to the influence of his unscrupulous favourite, the Count of Castel-Melhor. Through the latter's contrivance, a marriage was arranged for him in 1663 with Marie Isabelle de Savoie-Nemours, a French princess, who, on her arrival in Portugal, first discovered the fate that awaited her as the bride of the imbecile and degraded Alphonso. Father François de Ville, a French Jesuit, accompanied her as her confessor, and was her only friend and adviser in her difficult and painful position. After a short time, however, her marriage was declared null and void, both in Portugal

and at Rome; and at the demand of the Cortés in 1688 she gave her hand to Don Pedro, the king's brother, who, in consequence of Alphonso's mental infirmity, became regent of the kingdom.

In Poland, about the same time, a member of the Society, by a strange stroke of Fate, was called upon to ascend the throne. In 1587, upon the death of the valiant Stephen Bathory, the Polish crown was given to Sigismund of Sweden, sole representative, through his mother, of the illustrious race of the Jagellons. He was succeeded by his son Wladislas VII., upon whose death, without issue, in 1648, the throne devolved on his brother John Casimir, who in 1643 had entered the Society of Jesus. He was not yet a priest when called to the throne, and the Pope judged it necessary to give him, as the last of his race, a dispensation to marry his sister-in-law, Louise de Gonzague, the widow of Wladislas. His reign was disturbed by war and rebellion, and saddened by gloomy presentiments for the future of his country. In 1661, however, he defeated the Muscovites in Lithuania, and employed a short period of comparative tranquillity in extending as far as possible the benefits of religious education, which in Poland was almost entirely in the hands of the Society. On the death of his wife, who left him no children, the Jesuit king abdicated his royal authority and retired to France, where Louis XIV. gave him the abbey of St. Martin at Nevers. He ended his days there in 1672.

Curiously enough, at the Diet of Warsaw in 1662, Casimir foretold, with almost prophetic certainty, the subsequent fate of his unhappy country. 'I foresee,' he said, 'the misfortunes that threaten our country, and would to God that I might prove a false prophet! The Muscovite and the Cossack will unite with the people speaking the same language, and will appropriate the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The frontiers of Great Poland will be open to Brandenburg, and Prussia herself will assert the right of treaties and the force of arms to invade its territory. In the midst of the dismembering of our provinces the house of Austria will not fail to lay her plans against

Cracow.' A century later, in 1772, the prediction was verified to the letter, and the country governed by Casimir ceased to be an independent state at the same time as the Order to which he belonged ceased to be a religious body.*

It was during the reign of Casimir V. that the Society of Jesus in Poland gave a glorious martyr to the Church. Blessed Andrew Bobola was born in 1590, of an illustrious family; in 1611 he entered the Society of Jesus; and some years later, when the plague broke out in the town of Vilna, he devoted himself to the care of the sufferers with a heroism that excited universal admiration, and well-nigh cost him his life. He was subsequently appointed to the Jesuits' residence at Bobrinsk, on the Berezina. The province of Lithuania was at this period torn by religious warfare; the clergy and bishops remained firmly attached to the orthodox faith, but a portion of the population had fallen into schism, and it needed all the apostolic zeal of their pastors to recall them to the true faith. Among these devoted missionaries Father Bobola was foremost, and, as an instance of the wonderful success that crowned his efforts, we are told that he converted the whole city of Janow, where, when he began to preach, there were but two Catholics. In 1657, while preaching in the neighbourhood of the town, he was surprised by a band of rebel Cossacks, whose ravages at that period created general consternation throughout the kingdom. He was seized by them and carried to a neighbouring wood, where, upon his refusal to deny his faith, the barbarians cruelly scourged him. They then dragged him to Janow between two horses, put out his eyes, burnt his sides with lighted torches, tore off the skin of his back, while the martyr continued to repeat: 'Jesus, Mary, assist me; enlighten and convert these blind men; Lord, Thy will be done.' At last his tongue was torn out, and soon afterwards his blessed soul went to receive his reward, on the eve of the Ascension, 1657.

While these events were passing in Europe, the Jesuits in Mexico were engaged in a controversy, which writers hostile to the Order have deliberately misrepresented. The dis-

* *Biographie Universelle* de Michaud.

cussions between the fathers and Don Juan de Palafox, Bishop of Angelopolis, or Puebla de los Angeles, in Mexico, are but one instance out of many recorded in the Church's history of a difference of opinion between persons equally animated by good intentions. Don Juan de Palafox was a zealous Bishop, who had shown himself favourably disposed towards the Jesuits, until he suddenly demanded from them certain contributions, which the fathers considered unauthorized and declined to pay. Irritated at their refusal, he forbade them to continue the exercise of their ministry. The affair was then referred to Rome; and by a Brief, dated May 14th, 1648, Innocent X., after due consideration, blamed both parties: the Jesuits, for having resisted a claim which, though it seemed to them unauthorized, should have been accepted for the sake of obedience; Palafox, for having, in an angry impulse, sacrificed the interests of religion and the welfare of the faithful to the indulgence of private rancour. This decision was further explained by a Congregation of Cardinals appointed to judge the affair: they recognized the Bishop's right to demand the contributions, but censured his mode of enforcing it, and especially blamed the injustice with which he had subjected the fathers to penalties which the Church only applies in extreme cases. In conclusion, Palafox was exhorted to treat the members of the Society with his former kindness, and to regard them as 'most useful auxiliaries in the government of his Church.'*

This decree shows that, though distributing blame with an impartial hand, Rome did not judge the Jesuits guilty of any graver offence than a want of submission, proceeding rather from an error of judgment regarding the lawfulness of the claims made upon them than from any deliberate resolve to resist episcopal authority. They accepted the sentence with submission, recognized the claims they had previously rejected, and, thinking the affair settled, requested the Bishop to restore to them the necessary faculties for exercising their ministry. But meantime Palafox had brooded over his wrongs, until they assumed exaggerated proportions in his eyes. He retired to a

* Créteineau-Joly, vol. iv. p. 76.

country house near Puebla de los Angeles, and wrote to Rome in January 1649, accusing the Jesuits of insubordination, and representing himself as so cruelly persecuted by them as to be in danger of death. The enemies of the Society, and especially the Jansenists, have stated that the prelate was obliged to conceal himself in mountain caverns from his relentless foes; but an official report, addressed to the King of Spain, and preserved in the archives of Madrid, declares that it was an universally recognized fact that Palafox only left Angelopolis because such was his good pleasure, and, instead of hiding among the mountains, he resided in a country house in a beautiful and fertile situation. This testimony is all the more remarkable, as its author, Gutierrez de la Huerta, was no partisan of the Jesuits.* The Bishop's accusations were of so grave a nature that the fathers referred the affair to their sovereign the King of Spain, Philip IV.; and in the mean time the French Jansenists eagerly took up the quarrel, as the letter written by Palafox was a convenient foundation on which to heap invectives and accusations against the Society. The Bishop, however, who had yielded to an impulse of unreasonable irritation, and whose imagination had magnified and distorted matters, gradually came to regret the violent tirade of accusations which, in an evil moment, he had sent to Europe. Hearing that the Jesuits had carried the affair before Philip IV., he sent to that monarch a canonical defence, dated 1653, in which he denied the authenticity of his previous angry letter; but unfortunately the Jansenists, to whom it had been a cause of rejoicing, were careful to make it as public as they could, and to prove that, in spite of his present denial, Palafox was its real author. The zeal of his partisans in France must have been rather painful to the Bishop, who was now anxious to efface the recollection of his past conduct. In the canonical defence above alluded to he says, speaking of the Society, 'My intention, sire, is neither to tarnish the glory of so holy an Institute, nor to displease its children.' And again: 'The Society of the Holy Name of Jesus is an admirable Institute, learned, useful, holy,

* Ibid. vol. iv. p. 77.

worthy of the protection, not only of your majesty, but of all Catholic prelates. For more than a hundred years the Jesuits have been the useful auxiliaries of the Bishops and clergy.*

The position that Palafox had thus created for himself was so difficult, that Philip IV. transferred him to the bishopric of Osma, in Old Castille. Here again he got involved in a quarrel, this time with the government, and he drew upon himself a stern letter of reproof from the king, the original of which is at the Ministry of Finances at Madrid.

In spite of these unfortunate outbursts of petty feelings of irritation, Don Juan de Palafox was, in the main, a learned prelate, of sincere piety, and to the enemies of the Society he appeared even to deserve the honours of canonization, which were demanded on his behalf in 1698. As was natural, the Jesuits protested against this step, and Father Tirso Gonzales, who was then General, addressed representations on the subject to Charles II. of Spain, in consequence of which the proceedings were suspended. The cause was, however, taken up again, and introduced by Benedict XIII. in 1726; and in 1777, after the suppression of the Society, the King of Spain, as a last triumph over the fallen Institute, peremptorily demanded the beatification of Don Juan de Palafox, and was supported in his request by the other European courts. The Order of Jesus had then ceased to exist, its members were disbanded, apparently for ever, and there was no General to raise his voice in protest against the canonization of one who, though possessing many virtues, had been led into a public display of anger and injustice. Yet the powerful kings and statesmen who had wrung from Clement XIV. the destruction of the Society were unable, four years later, to obtain from Pius VI. the beatification of the Bishop of Angelopolis. After submitting the affair to a Congregation of Cardinals, the Pope replied that it was absolutely impossible to grant the request of the King of Spain, and the project had to be finally abandoned.

* *Difesa Canonica*, p. 14 (Venezia, 1764). *Et Riposta*, pp. 130-131-89 (Lugano, 1763). Crétineau-Joly, vol. iv. p. 79.

Before closing this chapter it is necessary to mention some of the celebrated Jesuits who, at this period, gained a foremost place in the world of science and learning.

It was during the government of Father Goswin Nickel that Father Honorius de Fabri, born in the diocese of Belley in 1621, pursued his philosophical and scientific researches. His work on the *Elements of Metaphysics* had a deserved celebrity; but he is better known for having discovered, at the same time as, if not before, the Englishman Harvey, the circulation of the blood. The work in which Father de Fabri announced his discovery to the world is entitled *De Plantis, de Generatione Animalium et de Homine*.

About the same time, a Belgian Jesuit, Father John Bolland or Bollandus, born at Tirlemont in 1596, began the stupendous work to which he has given his name. At the end of the seventeenth century, a member of the Society at Utrecht, Father Heribert Rosweyde, struck by the absurdity of the fables by which the Protestants of the day disfigured Catholic traditions, conceived the plan of a gigantic work founded on the solid basis of historic truth. He resolved to write as complete a collection as possible of *Lives of the Saints* for every day in the year, judging rightly that one of the strongest proofs in favour of the Catholic Church would be a full and accurate account of the holy and heroic souls whom her teaching had trained to perfection.

Years before, the idea adopted by Rosweyde had occurred to Father Canisius; but it was for Bollandus to put it into execution. Father Rosweyde died in October 1629; he only had time to prepare the plan of the *Acta Sanctorum*, which Bollandus then received orders to continue. In 1643 the first volume of the immense work was published at Antwerp; but it was impossible for one man to accomplish so heavy a task, and several fathers were named to assist him in his labours. Of these, the most famous were Fathers Geoffry Henschen and Daniel Papebrock or Papenbrock, who were the first of the association of learned Jesuits known as the Bollandists. Until the suppression they continued their gigantic enter-

prise, which excited the astonishment and admiration of Leibnitz.

In the present century their work has been resumed by the Belgian Jesuits by order of the government.

To these great names must be added those of the Jesuit Cardinal Sforza-Pallavicini, born at Rome in 1607, whose *History of the Council of Trent*, where he refutes the falsehoods of Fra Paolo Sarpi, is a work of real value, and Father Henry More, the eminent historian of the English Province.

In 1661, on account of his advanced age and increasing infirmities, Father Nickel requested that a vicar might be named to help in the government of the Order. Accordingly, the General Congregation assembled at the Gesù, and, with the authorization of Pope Alexander VII., Father John Paul Oliva, a religious of singular merit, was elected Vicar of the Society with the right of succession; and during the three years that still elapsed before the death of Father Nickel it was he who in great measure held the reins of government.

CHAPTER II.

The Jesuits in Paraguay.

WE have already related the foundation of the reductions of Paraguay, the most celebrated of all the missions of the Society of Jesus, which gave to the world during many years the unique spectacle of an almost ideal Christian commonwealth, governed by laws of justice and charity, where ties of filial and paternal affection united the rulers and their subjects. It now remains to follow the complete development of this great work.

In the sixteenth century the Portuguese possessed the coast and a portion of the inland territory of Brazil, while the Spaniards owned the vast regions situated between that country and Peru. These possessions they divided into four governments: Magellan, Tucuman, Rio de la Plata, and Paraguay. Although the reductions founded by the Jesuits are generally known by the last of these names, the fathers extended their labours through the other provinces, and indeed throughout the whole of South America. Until the introduction of Christianity the naturally fertile soil remained totally uncultivated, and in many parts was covered by immense forests, filled with lions, tigers, and venomous serpents, and through which roamed many Indian tribes, each speaking a different dialect, but possessing many traits of resemblance in their character and habits. A large portion of them were cannibals, and all were distinguished for their deep-rooted aversion to regular labour, their love of a wandering and lawless existence, their personal courage and vindictiveness. Their religion was idolatry of the grossest description; some adored the moon, others paid homage to hideous idols, while others again, although believing in the power of an evil spirit, practised no religious ceremonies.

Among all, however, there existed a belief in the immortality of the soul, though disfigured by absurd superstitions.

It was in 1586, as has been already stated, that Don Francisco Victoria, a Dominican, the first Bishop of Tucuman, 'who had long laboured like the humblest missionary, but hitherto almost alone, in the formidable diocese committed to his oversight, implored the Society of Jesus to come to his aid;*' and upon this a Protestant historian remarks that it proves 'how highly the Jesuits were at that time esteemed.†

Several fathers responded to this appeal, among them the celebrated Fathers Angula and Barsena ; but it may be imagined how difficult and, humanly speaking, how hopeless was the task of gaining to the faith the lawless tribes whom they had to follow into the depths of the forests, or across the vast plains, where they unceasingly wandered. But great as these difficulties were, the chief obstacle to the extension of the faith came less from the natives themselves than from the European conquerors. By their cruel and exacting conduct they exasperated the Indians, and it was no easy matter to convince these people, whose natural ferocity had been increased by hard usage, of the goodness and justice of God, when His worshippers were characterized by reckless cruelty and avarice. In consequence of the hatred they had excited, the Spaniards found great difficulty in establishing colonies in the conquered provinces, and their Indian prisoners, although forced to work for their stern masters, did so with unwilling and rebellious hearts, and thirsted but for an opportunity to avenge their wrongs in their tyrants' blood. It was reserved for Christian charity and apostolic zeal to bring about what mere force had failed to accomplish, and to transform the barbarous natives of Paraguay into an industrious, docile, and happy people.

But this result was not obtained without long efforts ; the first missionaries had to force their way through a thousand dangers in order to reach the Indians, who, to escape the Spaniards, had taken refuge in distant parts of the country.

* Marshall, *Christian Missions*, vol. ii. p. 194.

† *History of Brasil*, by Robert Southey. Marshall.

The Jesuits used to set out with no weapon save their crucifix, no provision save their Breviary; they were generally accompanied by an Indian, who served as their interpreter, and sometimes as their catechist; often they had to travel thirty, forty, or even a hundred miles before the Indians could be reached, and the missionary's progress was rendered slow and perilous by the impenetrable forests, raging torrents, and dangerous swamps which they were compelled to traverse. When at last they succeeded in reaching the wild tribes, their perils were not over; for the Indians, whose fears had been excited by the subterfuges resorted to by the Spaniards in order to make them prisoners, looked upon the new-comers with suspicion, and it frequently happened that the palm of martyrdom awaited the traveller at the close of his weary journey.

However, the apostles sent by the Society to Paraguay were worthy of their mission. Father Barsena, the first to arrive, carried the faith to the Guaranis, one of the most celebrated of the Indian tribes, and also to the Chiquitos, a nation composed of many branches speaking twenty different languages. According to the system universally adopted by their missionaries, the Jesuits began their work by thoroughly mastering the various dialects, of which they composed grammars and dictionaries. It has been said of their dictionary of the language of the Chiquitos, in three volumes, that 'nothing more complete exists in any American language.*' Father Ortega, Barsena's companion, survived him thirty years. It was he who, on a memorable occasion, surprised by one of the sudden floods so frequent in South America, took refuge in the branches of a tree, where he remained for two days between life and death. But on hearing from an Indian, who swam to his place of refuge, that at a short distance three Christians and three unbaptized Indians were clinging to a tree in imminent danger of being swept away, Ortega unhesitatingly leapt into the foaming water and succeeded in reaching the little group, where he baptized the Indians, gave absolution to the others,

* *Voyage dans l'Amérique méridionale*, par D'Orbigny. Marshall, vol. ii. p. 195.

and almost immediately afterwards saw five of them carried away by the torrent. He escaped death, but a branch had pierced his thigh, and caused a wound that remained open for twenty-two years.

It soon became evident to the Jesuits that, in order to render the effect of their labours permanent, it would be necessary to induce the Indians to settle into colonies. By dint of heroic efforts, the missionaries were able, it is true, to carry the faith to the wandering tribes; but their unsettled mode of existence and the absence of all regular occupation made it impossible to train them to habits of industry, and to work a complete change in their mode of life.

Father Aquaviva, who from afar watched with unceasing interest the labours of his sons, felt too that the time had now come when a regular organization of the hitherto undisciplined Indians might be successfully attempted.

In 1602 he sent Father Stephen Paëz as visitor to South America, and it was then decided that every endeavour should be made to induce the Indians to abandon their roaming habits and to settle down in colonies, which were generally known by the name of reductions.

This project was unfortunately opposed by the very men from whom the fathers had a right to expect support and protection. From the first the Jesuits had resolutely blamed the acts of cruelty and despotism of which the Spaniards were guilty with regard to the natives, and, as a Protestant historian has remarked, they were for this reason the only unpopular Order with the Portuguese and Spanish merchants in America.* Finding it impossible to modify the conduct of the missionaries, who refused to employ other means than kindness and persuasion, the Europeans systematically opposed all their plans for the civilization and conversion of the Indians, and went so far as to suppress the alms hitherto granted for their support. It has been mentioned that in Chili the efforts of Father Valdivia on behalf of the oppressed natives excited a similar opposition. Being unable to obtain justice, the

* Marshall, *Christian Missions*, vol. ii. Southey, *History of Brasil*.

intrepid apostle set out for Europe, and laid before Philip III. of Spain the deplorable condition of his Indian subjects of Chili and Paraguay. The result of his embassy was a complete approval on the part of the king of the course pursued by the Jesuits, to whose sole care the civilization of the inhabitants of Paraguay was henceforth intrusted. Moreover the king undertook to provide for the maintenance of the missionaries, to whom he awarded an annual sum; and some years later, a royal commission was appointed to visit the different colonies founded by the fathers, and decrees were issued to confirm the authorization previously accorded. The successors of Philip III. on the throne of Spain not only ratified these decrees, but granted various privileges to the inhabitants of the reductions, requiring from them an extremely light annual tribute, which was abolished altogether in the case of all women, and of men under twenty or over fifty years of age. They were also allowed to have 'corregidores' or governors of their own nationality, subject only to the governor-general of the province.

Thus supported by the king, the Jesuits of Paraguay pursued their task with renewed vigour. In 1610, Fathers Maceta and Cataldino started for the tribe of the Guaranis, where the reductions were founded under the patronage of our Lady of Loretto and of St. Ignatius. Other foundations followed this first attempt; and the missionaries, having succeeded in persuading the Indians to abandon their roving life, devoted their attention to giving them a regular organization, which remains to this day a model of legislative wisdom, inspired by the purest charity.

Each reduction formed as it were a miniature republic, which recognized as its civil chief a 'corregidor,' or officer, named by the governor of the province on behalf of the King of Spain. This officer, who, by a special privilege, was selected among the Indians themselves, was assisted in his functions by minor officials named by election once a year; all were natives, since with the exception of the missionaries no Europeans were allowed to take up their abode within the reductions.

It has been already mentioned that the King of Spain demanded an insignificant tribute from the Indians as a token of submission, and, in return, accorded to them privileges which rendered their condition peculiarly enviable; for instance, those who voluntarily became Christians and subjects of Spain were the king's immediate vassals, and could not be made subjects, in any manner, to private individuals.

The 'corregidor' and his subordinates were charged with the administration of justice; but they were bound to exercise great caution in the application of punishments, and any serious delinquency was referred to the governor of the province. At the head of each reduction were two Jesuits, nominally its spiritual chiefs, but who, owing to the peculiar condition of these colonies which they had founded, were called upon to exercise different functions apart from their priestly duties. 'They were,' says Voltaire,* 'at once the founders, the legislators, the pontiffs, and the sovereigns' of the missions of Paraguay. In all matters of spiritual jurisdiction, however, the fathers paid the utmost deference to the authority of the Bishops of Assumption, Buenos Ayres, and Cordova, in whose respective dioceses the reductions were situated. This fact is to be noted, as historians hostile to the Jesuits have accused them of taking advantage of the extraordinary privileges conferred upon them by the Holy See and by the King of Spain in order to render themselves independent of their ecclesiastical superiors. With the exception of one or two cases, when, deceived by false reports, some of the Bishops appeared to fear the influence of the Jesuits, perfect harmony prevailed between the prelates and the missionaries, and the former have on many occasions borne witness to the deference with which their advice was sought and their authority respected by the latter.

Owing to the immense extent of their dioceses it was impossible for the Bishops of Paraguay frequently to visit the vast regions committed to their care; but the Jesuits constantly pressed them to visit the reductions, and when they were able to do so the enthusiastic welcome they received was a signifi-

* *Essai sur les Mœurs*, p. 65 (édit. de Genève).

cant proof of the loving veneration with which the neophytes were taught to regard the head of the diocese. The arrival of a Bishop was a day of rejoicing in the colonies; some of the Indians went to meet him and formed his escort, others worked to improve the roads by which he was to travel, and others brought provisions of every kind to await his arrival. 'Never,' says Muratori, 'did a Bishop visit these Christian colonies without shedding tears of tenderness and emotion at the sight of the fervour and docility of these new children of the Church.'*

Although the Indians were able to endure great fatigue in the pursuit of hunting or fishing, they had a deeply rooted aversion to every species of regular labour, and were totally ignorant of the simplest principles of agriculture; the first endeavour of the missionaries was, therefore, to train them to habits of regularity and industry. A portion of ground was allotted to each family, but the fathers had to begin by turning labourers themselves for the instruction of their neophytes. Accordingly, while some of the Jesuits ploughed the ground, others sowed maize, barley, beans, and other vegetables; others cut down trees to build houses or churches; others, again, journeyed two or three hundred miles in order to buy large flocks of sheep, goats, cows, horses, which they brought back to their colonists.

It was in this humble yet heroic work of charity that, in 1634, Father Peter d'Espinosa gained the martyr's crown. He was driving home a large flock of sheep that he had bought from the Spaniards for the benefit of his neophytes, who were suffering from famine, when he was attacked and massacred by a pagan tribe. It was a strange transformation to see men, most of whom were of illustrious birth and possessed splendid talents, bearing the greatest names of Spain and Portugal, become shepherds, masons, or carpenters for the instruction of the astonished Indians, who, at first, used to gaze at them in silence and never offer them any assistance. By degrees, however, they tried to imitate the works of the missionaries, and in the course of a few years the people whom the Spaniards had

* Muratori, French translation (édit. 1825), chap. xiv.

condemned as hopelessly ignorant and degraded attained an almost incredible degree of civilization and prosperity.

Together with a portion of ground more than sufficient for the support of his family each Indian received a provision of seed, but with the condition that he should, after the harvest, bring back to the public stores of the reduction a quantity of corn in proportion to what he received. This was a necessary precaution, as without it the Indians, with characteristic indolence and thoughtlessness, would have entirely neglected the piece of ground allotted to them. For the same reason one or two pair of oxen were lent, not given, to each family, as it was found when the animals were made over as a gift they were ill-treated and often killed in a short time, whereas the knowledge that they must be returned caused the Indians to treat them with care and kindness. The public stores, in which the seed, wheat, cotton, and other provisions were kept, were generally situated next to the church, which formed the central point of the colony; close by were the house of the missionaries and the schools, where the children learnt to read, write, count, and were also taught sacred music.

In spite of this wise and prudent administration, it sometimes happened that, owing to illness, misfortune, or the unproductiveness of the soil in certain years, provisions ran short for some of the inhabitants. There were also many infirm and aged persons, unable to provide for themselves, and as begging was forbidden in the colonies it became necessary to provide for their wants. For this purpose a large piece of ground, the most fertile that could be found, was set aside, and called by the Indians *tupambaë*, or 'God's land.' It was intrusted to the care of one or two laborious and intelligent inhabitants, under whose direction it was cultivated by the children of the reduction under fifteen years of age, who made up for their inferior strength by their large numbers. The corn, fruit, and cotton produced by the *tupambaë* were put aside in the public stores for the benefit of the sick and aged, and for those who, by some accident, found their provisions exhausted before the end of the year. Out of this store, also, provisions were given

to the workmen who exercised different trades for the service of the community, and were therefore unable to cultivate the ground; thus the weavers, carpenters, and other artisans, whose workshops were established in a large court close to the abode of the missionaries, received no salary for their labours, but were clothed and fed from the public fund. A certain quantity of cotton was distributed weekly to the women and girls, which they were to spin in their respective homes and bring back on the Saturday, to be given to the weavers, who, in the course of the year, made cotton garments enough to clothe all the inhabitants of the colony. The neophyte's costume was generally white, except in certain reductions, where they learnt to dye cotton and wore coloured garments on feast-days. Their chief food consisted of bread made with maize or Indian corn, and of the flesh of oxen and other animals which had been brought to Paraguay by the Europeans.

A brisk commerce was carried on between the inhabitants of the different reductions; they also traded with the Spaniards of Buenos Ayres and Santa Fé, to whom they sent tobacco-boxes, skins of animals, fruits, and a species of herb called *caamini*, or herb of Paraguay, which was supposed to possess valuable medicinal properties, and to which the Jesuits were the first to draw attention. This was not the only instance where the fathers served the interests of commerce and science as well as those of religion: the Jesuits of Peru discovered the medicinal properties of quinine, and the first person cured by that remedy was the Countess of Chinchon, Vice-Queen of Peru, who brought it to Europe in 1648. Father de Lugo, afterwards Cardinal, took it to Rome, where it was known by his name; it was introduced into France by Father Annat, and was instrumental in saving the life of Louis XIV.; while in England it long retained the name of 'Jesuits' bark,' and cured Charles II. of a dangerous fever. Other members of the Order in America discovered the properties of indiarubber and vanilla; others, again, brought to Europe from Tartary the rhubarb-plant, hitherto unknown, and from China the turkey, still called 'the Jesuit' in certain parts of France—in Poitou, for instance. The

camellia was introduced into Europe, in 1739, by the Jesuit Father Camelli, from whom it derived its name; and the missionaries of the Society in the East having learnt from the natives the art of dyeing and printing cottons, brought it to France.

The use of money was unknown in the reductions, and the fathers dreaded for the neophytes contact with the Europeans; their commercial transactions were carried on by means of agents, and the sum which they produced was employed either to pay the yearly tribute to the king or to buy the implements needed by the Indians in their agricultural pursuits.

The chief object of the Jesuits when they founded the reductions had been, not only to transform degraded savages into useful members of society, but above all to train them to be good Christians; and in this, again, their efforts were crowned with success. The Indians were essentially childish and impressionable, and it was necessary, not only to convince their intelligence, but also to touch their hearts and impress their imaginations by the beauty of the outward manifestations of religion. To a people hitherto plunged in the grossest materialism this appeal to the senses was an absolute necessity; hence the external pomp displayed in the churches of the reductions. At first these churches were only built of wood; but in course of time the Indians learnt the use of bricks and lime, and churches of stone arose in some of the colonies. They were adorned with pictures and prints representing the mysteries of religion, the altars were decorated with natural flowers, and the pavement strewn with sweet-smelling herbs. To every church were attached three sacristans and six young Indians, who were employed to serve Mass and who wore a semi-clerical costume.

Every morning at daybreak the children of the colony assembled in the church, where they repeated morning prayers and an abridgment of Catholic doctrine. At sunrise Mass was celebrated, at which all the inhabitants were present, unless prevented by some serious impediment. After Mass they dispersed to their employments, and several among the most trustworthy neophytes were charged to visit the plantations,

and to report of those inhabitants whom they found idle or negligent. In the evening the children again came to the church for catechism ; after which all the other Christians assembled to say the Rosary in common, concluding with night-prayers. On Sundays the time between the offices was devoted to the administration of the Sacraments of Baptism and Matrimony.

The Indians had a natural taste for music, and in the early days of the missions, when for the first time the Jesuits ascended the broad rivers of Paraguay, they remarked that the natives, who in general either fled at their approach or appeared disposed to attack them, seemed to forget their terror or their hostility when the missionaries intoned the hymns of the Church ; and that by degrees they emerged from the depths of the forest, and followed with evident delight the bark in which the Jesuits were chanting the sacred hymns. When a large number of listeners had collected on the river's bank, the fathers would land and explain the meaning of the canticles that had so fascinated the Indians, who would then consent to follow them back to the reductions, which they had before refused to enter. From their earliest years the Christian children of Paraguay were trained to sing in church, and were made familiar with the musical instruments then common in Europe ; they speedily attained such proficiency that the missionaries wrote home to request that Masses by the most celebrated composers should be sent out for their use. A Spaniard, who visited the reductions of Uruguay with the Bishop of the Assumption, relates that with the musicians sent to meet the prelate was a little Indian child, whose exquisite playing on the violoncello excited general amazement. The same writer adds that he doubts whether in the cathedrals of Spain the church music can be superior to that heard in the reductions of Paraguay.

It was especially on the feast of Corpus Christi that the colonies presented a touching aspect. Triumphal arches, adorned with flowers and fruit, were erected along the road where the Blessed Sacrament was to pass ; to these arches were

likewise attached birds of dazzling plumage, fastened by a long string that permitted them to fly from one branch to another ; while along the streets were tied up young tigers and lions that the Indians had caught in the forests, and, with the instinct of a hunting people, brought to do honour to the procession. In front of the houses, also adorned with garlands of flowers, were placed baskets of maize and rice, in order that the blessing of our Lord might fall upon them as He passed. All the inhabitants took part in the procession, the 'corregidor' and other officials forming a guard of honour to the Blessed Sacrament.

The feast of the patron saint of the colony was celebrated with almost equal pomp ; on these occasions the missionaries used to invite the inhabitants of two or three neighbouring reductions, who arrived in state on the eve of the feast. After High Mass the children came into the church and performed a sort of solemn march or dance, such as is still practised in many churches in Spain ; in the evening the streets were illuminated and there was a display of fireworks. The following day the inhabitants of the reduction and their guests assembled at church at daybreak to receive Holy Communion, after which the 'corregidor' gave a banquet to the principal visitors ; then came Vespers, followed by games and a kind of tournament, where the missionaries acted as umpires and distributed the prizes. Such was their influence, that the mere fact of their presence sufficed to prevent any quarrels or disturbances.

When we become acquainted with the organization of the reductions of Paraguay in all its details we cease to wonder at the singular degree of virtue attained by the inhabitants ; a virtue so pure that, in 1721, the Bishop of Buenos Ayres, Don Pedro Faxardo, reported to Philip V. of Spain that he did not believe that a mortal sin was committed in the reductions in the course of a year.* The only ambition of the happy converts was to share the benefits they enjoyed with their less fortunate countrymen ; and when a missionary set forth to evangelize a neighbouring tribe he generally found forty or fifty

* Charlevoix, livre v. p. 94.

neophytes eager to accompany him. They often, indeed, proved valuable auxiliaries ; it was they who convinced their suspicious countrymen that the stranger priest had no intention to reduce them to slavery, but, on the contrary, would give them eternal happiness, and even temporal prosperity. When the new converts were not sufficiently numerous to form a separate colony they were invited to take up their abode in one of the reductions ; and it was touching to witness the loving charity with which they were welcomed, even though, as was often the case, they belonged to a hostile tribe.

As far as they could, the Christians endeavoured to make up for the scarcity of the missionaries, whose efforts were necessarily inadequate to the urgent needs of these vast regions. During the rainy season, when agricultural labours were suspended, a little band of Christian Indians would frequently set off to evangelize the neighbouring tribes. Before leaving their reduction they received Holy Communion and the missionaries' parting blessing, and they never returned without bringing many new converts to the fold. Now and then, indeed, the martyr's palm rewarded their perilous enterprise, and we hear of more than a hundred neophytes who were put to death by those to whom they preached the faith.

Mutual charity was one of the chief characteristics of the Indians, who, before the arrival of the Jesuits, spent their lives in continual warfare ; if any calamity fell upon one of the reductions, supplies of every kind would pour in from the neighbouring colonies, and the neophytes willingly abandoned their own lands in order to offer their services to their distressed brethren.

Although, as far as possible, the Christian Indians endeavoured to keep peace with their pagan neighbours, yet it often happened that they were attacked, and their flourishing colonies reduced to ashes. Thus, in 1630, six of the most prosperous reductions in the province of Tucuman were destroyed by the Mamelus, a tribe of extraordinary ferocity, who sprang from the mixture of the Portuguese and Indian races ; they were in name Christians, and subjects of Portugal ; but such was their

lawlessness and cruelty, that the governors of Brazil found it often impossible to stop their excesses.

It may be imagined how great was the distress of the missionaries when the fruit of long years of labour was swept away in a few hours ; but it generally happened that they were the first to experience the fury of the invaders. In 1635, Father de Mendoza, who governed the reductions of Tapé, was massacred by the Guapalaches ; and it was in consequence of this event that Father de Montoya, whom a Protestant historian calls 'one of the most learned men of his age,'* obtained for the Christian Indians permission to use firearms. Until then the use of firearms had been restricted to the Spaniards, who sought by this means to provide against any attempt at rebellion on the part of their Indian tributaries ; but upon the representations of Fathers Taño and de Montoya, who went to Spain for the purpose, the king extended the permission to the converted Indians, stipulating only that it must be confirmed by the missionaries. It was not, however, without some difficulty that the Jesuits succeeded in giving the reductions the military organization they so greatly needed. The Spanish and Portuguese traders, who were often in league with the Mamelus and other wild tribes, in order to capture the Christian Indians and sell them as slaves, vehemently opposed a concession which enabled their intended victims to defend themselves successfully, and Father de Taño, on his return from Europe, particularly excited their anger by publishing a Brief of Pope Urban VIII., excommunicating all who took part in the slave-trade.

Supported, however, by the authorization of Philip IV. and by the approval of the Pope, the Jesuits began to form their neophytes into regular troops capable of repulsing hostile invasions. Their firearms were kept, when not wanted, in a storehouse or magazine, and were only taken out in case of war or when the 'corregidor' exercised the troops. The Christian Indians were forbidden to assume the offensive ; they were only allowed to take up arms when attacked, and never without the

* Southey, *History of Brasil.*

missionaries' permission. In a short time they became excellent soldiers, and not only did they successfully repulse their enemies, but on several occasions they rendered signal service to the royal armies of Spain. For instance, in 1662, Don Alphonso Sarmiento, Governor of Assumption, was besieged in the fortress of Villaricca by the superior forces of a hostile tribe, and delivered by three hundred Christians from a neighbouring reduction. In 1679, war having broken out between the Spaniards and Portuguese of Brazil, a little army of 3300 men was organized in the different reductions, and sent to the help of the Spanish forces who were besieging Buenos Ayres. By their courage and ability the Indians turned the tide of victory in favour of Spain, and the enthusiasm excited by their conduct was such that the governors of the provinces and the Viceroy of Peru wrote to inform the King of Spain of the event, praying him to send as many Jesuits as possible to Paraguay, as their labours were equally valuable to the cause of religion and to that of patriotism. The Indian troops demanded no salary for their military service, they were armed, fed, and clothed at the expense of their respective colonies, and served the king from pure loyalty. So totally ignorant were they of the value of gold that when after the siege of Buenos Ayres they were permitted as a reward to take the first share of the plunder, they seized upon all the scissors, knives, and other trifles, leaving as worthless the gold, silver, and precious stones, which fell, in consequence, to the lot of the less unsophisticated Spaniards.

The innocence and prosperity that reigned in the reductions were not obtained without unceasing labour and vigilance on the part of the missionaries, and it suffices to remember the former abject degradation and intense ferocity of the natives of Paraguay to estimate the patience needed to work so complete a transformation in their habits and character: In their ignorance and improvidence the Indians resembled grown-up children, and the Jesuits were obliged to treat them as such; but the happiness enjoyed by the reductions sufficiently proved the wisdom of the strict rules enforced by the missionaries. It has

been seen that the hours of prayer and labour were marked out; at a certain hour in the evening each family had to retire to its own abode, and during the night watchers were appointed to visit the different streets, not only to preserve peace and order, but also to give the alarm should any hostile tribe attack the reductions.

One of the rules, which the Jesuits found it necessary to enforce most strictly, forbade the neophytes to have any intercourse with the European colonists, most of whom were distinguished only by their vices; and, at the request of the fathers, the King of Spain forbade the Spanish traders to visit the reductions except when obliged to do so on their journeys through Paraguay, and even then they could not remain more than three days in each colony. To guard against drunkenness the use of wine was prohibited; and so strictly did the poor Indians adhere to this rule that if any of them happened to visit the Spanish towns, and were offered wine, they refused it as though it were poison. When, as often happened, the Christian Indians took up arms for the King of Spain, one of the missionaries always accompanied them to the camps and battle-fields, and continued to watch over them with fatherly care and vigilance.

In order to insure the observance of the rules they had made the Jesuits had to draw up a code of punishments. They selected a few neophytes of mature age and tried virtue whom they appointed censors over their brethren, and when a member of the colony committed a grave fault, likely to give scandal, he was first led to the church by these censors to beg pardon of God; he then proceeded to the most public place in the reduction, where a penance proportionate to his fault was imposed and performed in the presence of the people. It generally happened that the culprit gratefully submitted to the chastisement, saying, with touching humility: 'May God reward you for having by this light punishment saved me from the eternal pains that I have deserved.' So delicate, indeed, was the conscience of these converted savages that any grave fault was almost unknown among them, and they would accuse them-

selves with torrents of tears of delinquencies so trifling as barely to afford matter for absolution.

The strict discipline maintained by the fathers in no way cooled the love borne to them by their Indian children, though it has afforded their enemies a pretext for accusing them of tyranny. 'The extreme rigour with which these religious treated the natives has often been alluded to,' writes a French traveller who spent eight years among the Indians;* 'but if this accusation were true the Indians would not to this day recall their memory with so much love. There is not an old man who does not bow his head at the mere mention of their name, and who does not recall with deep emotion the memory of those happy times, the recollection of which has been handed down in families from father to son.'

The Jesuits were at once the fathers, protectors, physicians, teachers of their neophytes, and although the administration of the colonies was intrusted by them to different officials, yet they were the life and soul of all; nothing was done without their sanction, and every detail that regarded the welfare of their converts was the subject of their unwearied attention. So completely did they identify themselves with the people confided to their care that the misfortunes that fell upon the latter were voluntarily embraced by the missionaries. Thus, at the end of the seventeenth century, the Mamelus, of whom mention has been made, surprised the reduction of Jesus-Maria, in Guayra, burnt the church and houses, and dragged away the inhabitants in order to sell them as slaves. The two fathers who governed the unfortunate colony, Father Mazetta and Father Diaz, were at liberty to escape; but they refused to leave their spiritual children, whom they accompanied during a three hundred miles' journey to St. Paul, or Piratininga, in Brazil, the stronghold of the Mamelus. Words cannot describe the hardships of that long and weary march, during which the captive Indians had no consolation save the encouragement of the fathers. At length St. Paul was reached; the prisoners were sold as slaves

* *Voyage dans l'Amérique méridionale*, par M. Alcide d'Orbigny, tome ii. p. 47. Marshall.

and sent to the different plantations in the neighbourhood ; and the two Jesuits, finding it impossible to have justice done, set out for the capital of Brazil, two hundred miles distant, and obtained from the governor-general an order for the immediate deliverance of the captive Indians. But owing to the fury of the Mamelus, who were thus deprived of their prey, to the reluctance of the European traders, and also to the ravages of disease, only fifty Indians were able to enjoy the freedom obtained for them, although over one thousand had been carried away from Paraguay.

The devotion of the missionaries, of which this is but one instance, met with ardent affection and gratitude on the part of the Indians, who were ready to die for their beloved fathers. A hostile tribe had resolved to murder and devour Father Anthony Ruiz ; the reduction where he lived was attacked at night, and an active search for him instituted in every direction. One of the neophytes, who was the first to discover the invaders and to learn their purpose, ran to the house of the missionaries, and, hastily putting on the cloak and hat generally worn by Father Ruiz, went to meet the enemy. But his generous sacrifice was not accepted ; though a flight of arrows was discharged at him he escaped unhurt, and meantime the alarm had been given throughout the colony, and the invaders were speedily put to flight.

It would be too long to give separate sketches even of the most famous among the missionaries of Paraguay. After Fathers Ortega and Barsena, who open this series of holy and heroic men, follow others no less celebrated, and among them Father Cyprian Baraza deserves a special mention. For twenty-seven years he laboured amongst the Moxos, 'a people so ignorant and barbarous that they had not even any chiefs, lived only for rapine and murder, and hunted men instead of beasts for food.*' They were likewise renowned for their skill in making poisonous drugs to rid themselves of their enemies. After a journey of twelve days Father Baraza reached this formidable people, and during four years he remained among

* Marshall, *Christian Missions*, vol. ii. p. 203.

them, with apparently no hope of success. The first years must have been a period of acute suffering; the continual inundations from which the country of the Moxos suffered rendered his journeys peculiarly painful; at times, moreover, the barbarians were about to shoot him with their poisoned arrows, but in a mysterious manner his gentle and dignified aspect seemed to disarm their fury. Joined to these physical trials was the utter isolation, the apparent hopelessness of the task he had embraced, and the seeming impossibility of learning the language that no one would teach him. For four years, however, he remained at his post; at the end of that time he fell so dangerously ill that he had to return to the Spanish colony of Santa Cruz de la Sierra; but after a short rest he returned once more to his beloved Moxos. This second time he reaped the reward of his four years' patient endurance; a change had come over the Indians, they received him with cordiality, and at the end of a few years he was at the head of a flourishing Christian colony, where reigned the habits of industry, purity, and devotion that characterized the Jesuit reductions of Paraguay. A life so fruitful in virtues and sufferings was fitly crowned by a martyr's death; on the 2d of September 1702, Father de Baraza was put to death by the neighbouring tribe of the Baures. 'The Moxos, once so barbarous, had become,' says a Protestant writer, 'not only excellent workmen, but even skilful artists,* and were famous as carpenters and weavers.

Scarcely less famous than Father Baraza were Father de Monroy, who, alone and unarmed, entered the hut of a savage chief who had vowed to take his life, and by his calmness disarmed the ferocity of the barbarian; Father Falconer, an English Jesuit, 'of great skill in medicine,† who founded a mission in the Pampas; Fathers del Castillo, Alfaro, Cavallero, Aguilar, Martin Xavier (a relative of St. Francis), de Arce, Romero, and others, all of whom in their turn gained the crown of martyrdom.

The labours of the Jesuits in Paraguay have at all times

* Southey. Marshall, *Christian Missions*, vol. ii. p. 204.

† Marshall, *Christian Missions*, vol. ii. p. 203.

excited the admiration of historians of every nation. 'The Gospels,' says M. Crétineau-Joly, 'gave the idea of this unique mode of government; the Jesuits alone ventured to apply it. They alone in the world succeeded, when philosophers, socialists, legislators, and the most famous theorists could only conceive vain systems and witness the crumbling away of their theories.*' Chateaubriand, after giving an account of the organization of the colonies of Paraguay, concludes thus: 'Abundantly provided with the things necessary to life; governed by the same men who had rescued them from barbarism, and whom they justly regarded as a species of divinities; tasting in their families and their country the sweetest enjoyments of Nature; knowing the advantages of civil life without leaving the desert, and the charms of society without losing those of solitude,—these Indians might boast that they enjoyed a happiness without example on earth.†' Buffon's testimony is no less striking: 'The gentleness, charity, and good example of the Jesuits touched the savages, and conquered their suspicion and ferocity; they came of their own free-will to be taught the law that made men so perfect; they submitted to this law and united to form regular colonies. Nothing ever honoured religion so much as the fact of having civilized these nations and founded an empire with no arms save those of virtue.‡' 'The missionaries,' says the celebrated Count de Maistre,§ 'have worked wonders far above human strength and human will. They alone travelled from one end of the vast American continent to another, in order to educate men. They alone accomplished what human policy never ventured to imagine. But nothing in this line can equal the missions of Paraguay. There might be seen how religion alone has the power and authority sufficient to civilize men.'

Albert de Haller,|| the famous physician of Berne, is no less

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. iii. p. 250.

† *Génie du Christianisme*, vol. ii. p. 175.

‡ *Histoire naturelle*, t. xx.

§ *Principe générateur des Constitutions politiques*.

|| *Traité de divers Sujets intéressants de Politique et de Morale* (Paris, 1798).

forcible in his expressions. 'The enemies of the Society,' he says, 'depreciate its best institutions; its members have been accused of inordinate ambition, but what enterprise can be more worthy and more beneficial to humanity than to gather together the tribes dispersed amidst the horrors of the American forests, to withdraw them from a state of barbarism, to prevent their cruel and destructive wars, to confer on them the enlightenment of the true religion, to unite them in a society where the community of goods, the equality of all the members, gave an image of the Golden Age?' Voltaire, whose testimony cannot be accused of partiality, owns that the settlements of the Spanish Jesuits in Paraguay 'appear in some respects the triumph of humanity.*' Montesquieu, an equally impartial witness, says that 'it was glorious for Paraguay to be the first country where the idea of religion appeared united to that of humanity.†' Robertson,‡ though not more favourably disposed towards the Jesuits than either of the French philosophers above quoted, recognizes their devotion and ability. 'It is in the New World,' he says, 'that the Jesuits have exhibited the most wonderful display of their abilities, and have contributed most effectually to the benefit of the human species. . . . The Jesuits alone made humanity the object of their settling there.' Sir James Mackintosh§ observes that 'the Jesuits alone, the great missionaries of that age, either repaired or atoned for the evils caused by the misguided zeal of their countrymen.' Another English writer, Mr. Howitt,|| expresses his admiration in yet stronger language. 'Their conduct in these countries,' he writes, alluding to Paraguay and Brazil, 'is one of the most illustrious examples of Christian devotion, Christian patience, Christian benevolence, and disinterested virtue upon record. . . . No men ever behaved with greater equanimity under undeserved disgrace than the last of the

* 'Essai sur les Mœurs,' par Voltaire : *Œuvres complètes*, vol. x. p. 59.

† *Esprit des Loix*, liv. iv. ch. vi.

‡ *Charles V.*, book vi. vol. vi. p. 203.

§ Works, vol. ii.

|| *Colonization and Christianity*, chap. x. pp. 121-141. Marshall, *Christian Missions*.

Jesuits; and the extinction of the Order was a heavy loss to literature, a great evil to the Catholic world, and an irreparable injury to the tribes of South America.'

With these testimonies, rendered to the devotion and success of the Jesuits by men of different creeds, may be concluded this short sketch of the once flourishing colonies of Paraguay, where for more than a hundred years thousands of converted savages lived in happiness under the rule of the Jesuits, a peaceful, industrious, prosperous, and moral people. What force of arms failed to accomplish was obtained in a comparatively short time by persuasion and kindness. Next to the trust in God, that rendered them the boldest of missionaries, the Jesuits were characterized by the extraordinary facility with which they adapted themselves to the people among whom they laboured. With the fastidious and subtleminded Chinese they became literates, astronomers, and philosophers, like Father Ricci; with the austere and superstitious Hindoos they were Brahmins, like De' Nobili; with the wild Indian tribes they became wanderers through the forests, like Ortega and Baraza; with the converts of the newly-founded reductions, legislators, like De Torres and Montoya; with the learned men of Europe they were theologians, philosophers, poets, controversialists, according to the needs of the day. Yet in these different phases one spirit animated all the members of the great Society, and so wisely had St. Ignatius provided for its government, that in the Old World, as in the New, the law of obedience remained unbroken, and the unity of spirit and purpose unimpaired.

CHAPTER III.

*Father John Paul Oliva,
Eleventh General of the Society, 1664-1681.*

UPON the death of Father Nickel in 1664, Father John Paul Oliva, his Vicar, became, according to previous arrangements, General of the Society. Among the gifted men who have in turns governed the Order, he occupies no insignificant place. He had sacrificed a brilliant worldly position to embrace religious life, and as Rector of the German College and master of novices at Sant Andrea he enjoyed a universal reputation for wisdom and sanctity. He was equally eminent as a theologian and an orator; possessed the friendship of Pope Innocent X., whom he assisted at his last moments; and, while watching over the interests of the Society with unflinching vigilance, he carried on a correspondence with the Emperor of Germany, the Kings of France, Spain, and Poland, the Dukes of Bavaria, Savoy, Mantua, Modena, Tuscany, and Brunswick, all of whom relied upon his advice and judgment. The letters addressed to these princely personages have been printed, and prove that, like Claudius Aquaviva, Father Oliva united to the virtues of a religious a great knowledge of character and wise appreciation of contemporary events.

Under the government of their eleventh General the Jesuits in France continued their struggle against the Jansenists; Father Oliva was also to witness the origin of the differences between Louis XIV. and the Holy See, by which the French fathers were placed in a position of great trial and difficulty.

It has been mentioned that in 1664, upon their refusal to sign the *Formulaire* or adhesion to the Papal Bull, the Jansenist communities had been broken up by order of the king. Deprived of their strongholds and intimidated by the severe measures taken by government, the Jansenists, after a few

years, expressed their desire to open negotiations with Rome. Pope Clement IX. gladly acceded to their request; and the Duchesse de Longueville undertook to convince the king of their sincerity, and to negotiate the affair with the Nuncio Bargellini. One of the first conditions made by Arnauld was that the Jesuits should have no share in, and as far as possible no knowledge of, the affair. This was granted to him; and after many arguments and subtle distinctions between what they called the 'pure and simple signature' and the 'sincere signature,' the Jansenists agreed to sign the *Formulaire*. The four Bishops, who in 1664 had declined to acknowledge it, likewise apparently submitted; but while signing as a matter of form they secretly drew up documents, wherein they set down the restrictions with which they had given their adhesion. Alluding to this system of evasions and restrictions, at all times so characteristic of the sect, a modern historian* observes that it would be interesting to know how Pascal, who, in the *Provinciales*, sarcastically taunts the Jesuits with what he calls their mental reservations, would have judged the secret restrictions of his friends at Port Royal. Although the Pope seems to have so far suspected the sincerity of the Jansenists as to delay some time before accepting their submission, yet, as he had no positive proof of their hypocrisy, rebellion was to all appearance at an end; and in 1667 they were reconciled to the Holy See.

But their outward submission to Rome did not prevent the heads of the party from giving full scope to their animosity against the Jesuits; and during the same year, 1669, a book in eight volumes, called *La Morale Pratique des Jésuites*, was published at Cologne. It bore no author's name; but it was subsequently traced to St. Martin and Gilles d'Asson, two fervent members of the sect, who had compiled it under the supervision of Arnauld himself. Without having the brilliancy of the *Provinciales* the *Morale Pratique* contained at least as many calumnies; it described the Jesuits as being usurers in India, coiners of false money at Malaga, idolaters in China, independent sovereigns in Paraguay, heretics in Japan, and

* Gaillardin, *Histoire de Louis XIV.*, vol. iii. p. 381.

unscrupulous and selfish all over the world. But the extreme violence of the work and its glaring falsehoods defeated its own object. It had not the success of Pascal's famous Letters, and like them it was condemned by the Paris parliament as a 'scandalous libel, full of inventions;' and on the 13th of September 1669 it was burnt by the executioner on the Place de Grève. Besides these open attacks, the Jansenists endeavoured to discredit the Jesuits by yet more treacherous means. Thus, in 1685, there appeared an anonymous libel, directed against the famous De Rancé, Abbot of La Trappe. In former days De Rancé had been intimate with Antoine Arnauld, who now easily persuaded him that the Jesuits were the authors of the attack, alleging as a proof of his statement that the pamphlet contained several passages in praise of the Jesuit historian Father Bouhours. De Rancé fell into the snare, and his feelings were deeply wounded; but it was afterwards discovered that the libel was by a Protestant named Larroque, who had been employed to write it by the Jansenists, and had skilfully introduced the passages in praise of Father Bouhours, with a view to divert suspicion. It was the more to be deplored that the Jansenists thus suffered party spirit to lead them into such unworthy devices, because they possessed men of rare talent, capable of rendering important services to the Church. Thus Arnauld's great work, *De la Perpétuité de la Foi*, Nicole's *Essais de Morale*, and Pascal's *Pensées*, reveal splendid intellectual powers unfortunately perverted by rebellion and heresy.

More serious than the coolness created between the Jesuits and De Rancé were the seeds of discord sown by Jansenism between the Society of Jesus and the French Bishops. Thus in 1653, Louis de Gondrin, Archbishop of Sens, an intimate friend of Arnauld, pronounced an interdict against the Jesuits in his diocese; and about the same time Etienne le Camus, Bishop of Grenoble, conceived an inexplicable aversion to the Society, and especially to Father St. Just, Prefect of the College of Grenoble, whose removal he demanded. But such was the popularity enjoyed by Father St. Just among the parents of his pupils, that the members of the parliament of Grenoble

appealed to the Duchess of Savoy and to the Father General against a measure which they regarded as the result of prejudice. The Bishop, greatly irritated, then excommunicated the father, bringing against him a grave accusation, of which he could give no proofs; and St. Just, strong in the conviction of his innocence, committed the mistake of appealing to the parliament of Grenoble, a step which drew down a severe reprimand from Father Oliva. The letters that passed between the Father General and Father de Camaret, Provincial of Lyons, prove that, while fully satisfied of the innocence of Father St. Just, they strongly blamed him and his Superior for their appeal to a civil tribunal; 'though, indeed,' says the Provincial, 'such appeals are here of frequent and almost daily occurrence.' The reprimand was, however, humbly accepted; and in his letter to the General, Father de Camaret informs him that both Father St. Just and his Rector are ready to endure 'with generosity and love' any chastisement imposed upon them.*

In spite of the difficulties and vexations which they encountered in their struggle with the Jansenists, the Jesuits in France may be said to have enjoyed an unusual degree of prosperity during the first thirty years of the reign of Louis XIV. In 1661 the young king had assumed the reins of government; and then commenced for France a period of almost unparalleled intellectual and military splendour. The defects that a long course of success eventually developed in his character were still veiled by the personal dignity, the energy, intelligence, talent, and brilliancy of the young sovereign, the idol of his people. The able administration of Richelieu and Mazarin had laid the foundations of internal and external prosperity. While Turenne and Condé led the king's armies to victory, Vauban fortified his cities; Colbert and Louvois shared his cares of government; Corneille, Racine, Boileau, and Molière shed a lasting glory over French literature; and Bossuet, Fléchier, Mascaron, and Bourdaloue raised sacred eloquence to a perfection never surpassed.

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. iv. p. 73.

In the midst of the intellectual activity of this brilliant epoch the Jesuits bore no inconsiderable share ; protected by the king, who fully appreciated their services, they contributed largely to the literary glory of the age, while many of them, in a less prominent, though not less useful, sphere, spent their lives in labouring for the moral improvement of their countrymen. The king himself, from his early youth, had a Jesuit for his confessor. Father François Annat, a native of Rodez, who filled this office during many years, was distinguished for his learning and for his uncompromising frankness, and has already been mentioned as an unwearied opponent of Jansenism. In 1661, when the king assumed the reins of government, he made Father Annat a member of the council formed for regulating religious questions ; and the following year the Jesuit was called upon to discharge the delicate functions of mediator between his royal master and the Pope, in a dispute which arose under the following circumstances. The palace of the Duke de Créqui, French ambassador at Rome, was attacked by the Corsicans of the Papal guard in 1661, on the pretext that the duke's French servants had insulted the Roman troops ; several persons were killed in the fray, and Louis XIV. sent an imperious message to the Vatican, to the effect that if an instant and public atonement was not made his armies would march on Rome. In the mean time he gave orders that the French troops should occupy the Comté Venaissin and the city of Avignon, which still belonged to the Popes. Alexander VII., who was innocent of the lawless conduct of his guards, was offended at the arrogant tone and violent measures adopted by Louis ; the Corsicans were left unpunished, and the Pope made an ineffectual appeal to the other Christian princes to support him against France. At this juncture, however, Father Annat interfered. On the one hand, it was impossible to justify the violent proceedings taken by a prince who gloried in the title of Eldest Son of the Church ; while, on the other, it could not be denied that the negligence with which the outrage had been left unpunished was a legitimate cause for indignation. By dint of long and patient endeavours, Father Annat succeeded

in preventing a complete rupture ; his letters to Father Oliva show the difficulty of the task ; but at length all was happily settled, and in 1664, Alexander VII. sent him a Brief of thanks, acknowledging his successful intervention and praising his devotion to the interests of the Church. In these days of unclouded prosperity, the voice of Father Annat was the only one that dared speak words of unvarnished truth to the young king, who, though he unfortunately did not always carry out the advice of his Jesuit monitor, had sufficient rectitude to recognise the worth of one who fearlessly risked his displeasure for the sake of truth. In 1670, Father Annat's advanced age made him anxious to resign his post, and Father John Ferrier, a man 'small in height, but great in mind,'* was chosen to succeed him. He resembled his predecessor in his frank and loyal character, and the firmness with which he reprov'd the faults of his royal penitent. Though too often his remonstrances were unheeded, the king esteemed him for his independence, and, as a proof of confidence, he left him the entire charge of disposing of vacant benefices and bishoprics, preferring to confide this responsible care to one who, by the rules of his Order, was excluded from ecclesiastical dignities, than to prelates whose personal ambition might too easily influence their choice. The acceptance of this position was doubtless a mistake, and it exposed the father to many unjust accusations, which, however, he bore with singular indifference ; he died in 1674, only four years after his nomination as confessor to the king. Among the members of the Society who have at different times been objects of accusation and calumny, the confessors of Louis XIV. occupy a prominent place, and though to impartial minds their personal conduct appears to have been remarkably disinterested and religious, yet it is to be regretted that some amongst them so far yielded to the king as to undertake functions at variance with their rules. In 1602, Father Aquaviva drew up a code of rules for the guidance of those members of the Order who might be appointed confessors of kings.

* *Mémoires d'Amelot de la Houssaye*, vol. iii. p. 290. Créteineau-Joly, vol. iv. p. 312.

The fourth, fifth, and sixth articles in this prudent piece of legislation state that the confessor shall occupy himself solely with directing the conscience of the sovereign and other works of piety, and that he shall never undertake to obtain any favour or employment, or to demand justice or pardon for any one soever. 'Let him remember,' adds Father Aquaviva, 'how necessary it is that he should avoid anything that may cause him to be looked upon as a man whose power is great and who governs the prince according to his will.'*

This line of conduct had been carefully followed by Father Coton and Father Auger in France, by Father Lamormaini in Germany, and by the other Jesuits, who had up to this time been called upon to fill the difficult position of confessors to royal personages. The fathers, however, who discharged this office at the Court of Louis XIV. were persuaded by that monarch to accept the responsibility of administering the patronage of the crown. It is true that they did not seek this power, and that they exercised it with an impartiality recognized even by their enemies; but the very fact of their undertaking duties forbidden by the rules of Father Aquaviva is to be regretted, as it undoubtedly afforded a pretext for the attacks of their opponents. This was especially the case with Father François de Lachaise, who was selected to replace Father Ferrier. He is described by contemporary writers as being of a dignified appearance, gentle and prudent, ready to oblige, with refined and intellectual tastes, and a conciliating disposition. This very spirit of conciliation became, in his case, a fault, as in various circumstances it rendered him too subservient to the wishes of the king. During the many years he remained at court he exercised, as will be seen in subsequent chapters, considerable influence over his royal penitent.

While some members of the Society were thus called upon to occupy a position of singular difficulty, others of their brethren throughout France were engaged in apostolic labours of a more obscure, but more consoling, nature. They were universally regarded as the most successful missionaries of the day, and

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. iii. p. 51 et seq.

a striking proof of the esteem in which they were held had been given a few years before.' In 1658, when Dunquerque was given up to the English after the Bataille des Dunes, Cardinal Mazarin stipulated among the clauses of the treaty that a Jesuit, Father Canaye, should remain in the town, under the designation of 'Rerum Catholicarum Moderator,' in order to preserve the inhabitants in their attachment to the Catholic faith. So well did he fulfil his mission that when, in 1662, Louis XIV. regained the city, it was found that none of the inhabitants had fallen into heresy. About the same time, Father Adam, a celebrated missionary of the Order, devoted himself to the numerous Protestants of Sédan and its neighbourhood; while in Brittany, Father Vincent Huby pursued the work commenced by Father Mannoir, and established several houses of retreat, where priests, laymen, and even women, came in turns to follow the Exercises of St. Ignatius. Father Honoré Chaurand's mission lay in a different sphere; from 1650 to 1697, he visited almost every town in France, and founded one hundred and twenty-six hospitals for the relief of poor wanderers. To these houses he gave wise rules, providing useful employment and religious care for the destitute inmates; and so great was the celebrity he acquired, that Pope Innocent XII. summoned him to Rome to organize a hospital on the plan of those he had established in France.

No less useful were the labours of the Jesuits devoted to the great work of the education of youth. At the period of which we speak, the Society had four houses in Paris: the 'Maison Professe,' in the Rue St. Antoine, the fine church of which is now the parish church of St. Paul and St. Louis, with a façade built by Richelieu; near the Louvre, in the Rue Pot de Fer, was another house for retreats; close to St. Sulpice stood the novitiate, possessing a chapel known as the 'gem of Paris,' of which not even the ruins now remain; lastly, in the Rue St. Jacques, was the famous Collège de Clermont, which in 1682 took the name of Collège Louis le Grand, in honour and by the desire of the king. Towards the end of the seventeenth century the college numbered from two thousand five hundred

to three thousand scholars, among whom were not only the sons of every noble house in France, but also several Palatines of Poland, and a nephew of the King of Macassar. From his childhood Louis XIV. had been a frequent visitor at the college and a spectator of the plays which were, on certain days, acted by the pupils before a brilliant audience. These pieces were generally composed by the fathers, and among the youthful actors were to be found representatives of the greatest names in France—De la Trémoille, De Rocheouart-Mortemart, De Nicolay, De Béthune-Charost, and others. Thus, in 1650, we read that the young king, then only twelve years old, assisted at a play composed by Father Jourdain, and that he was accompanied by his mother, Anne of Austria, and by the exiled Stuart princes, Charles II. and James Duke of York. Twenty years later, in 1674, in the zenith of his prosperity, Louis XIV., after witnessing a tragedy acted by the scholars, conferred various privileges on the college, and desired that henceforth it should bear his name. Some years afterwards he founded twelve burses in favour of young Armenians, who, after receiving a Christian education under the Jesuits' care, were to return to their own country and assist the missionaries in their apostolic labours.

The striking marks of favour shown to the fathers by the king doubtless contributed to the prosperity enjoyed by their college, which became a 'permanent tribunal of literature,' the centre of the learned world of the day; but the real secret of this extraordinary success lay in the merit of the professors and the excellence of their system. Among these great men, who have left their mark in the world of letters, must be named Father Gabriel Cossart, the professor of the poet Sauteuil, who died in 1674, with the reputation of an eminent poet, orator, and student of history; Father François Vavasseur, whom even Voltaire calls a 'grand littérateur;' Father Charles de la Rue, a Latin poet and an orator, whose funeral orations have been compared to those of Fléchier, and whose tragedies have sometimes been attributed to Corneille, his warm admirer. Father de la Rue's edition of Virgil was for many years regarded as a

standard work at Oxford and Cambridge.* Not less remarkable were Father Levallois, who assisted Fénelon in the education of the young Duke of Burgundy, and Father Sanadon, tutor to the Prince of Conti, and subsequently librarian of the Collège Louis le Grand. The latter composed some Latin poems, remarkable for their purity and elegance of diction, and published an edition of Horace much esteemed for its learned notes.

In a different sphere of literature Father René Rapin has left a distinguished name. He was at once a Latin poet and the author of several books of devotion; and he used to compose alternately an ascetical work and a Latin poem, a habit which drew from one of his biographers the witticism that he served God and the world each for six months at a time. Nevertheless the piety of the religious shines through his poems, while his poetical turn of mind betrays itself in his ascetical works. Father Rapin was much beloved for his winning and courteous manners; but on one occasion he had a sharp encounter with Sauteuil and Duperrier, two celebrated poets of the day, who had chosen him as judge of their respective compositions. When the father was coming out of church they followed him to ask for his decision; but Father Rapin, after sharply blaming their pride and vanity, declared their verses to be detestable, and threw into the poor-box the money that had been given to him for the successful competitor. The *History of Jansenism*, at which he laboured for forty years, was left by Father Rapin in manuscript, and has only lately been published. Besides containing much useful information, it abounds in characteristic observations and quaint anecdotes, and throughout runs a tone of Christian impartiality and moderation befitting a religious.

Father de Gonnellieu, born in 1640, was also an ascetical writer of note as well as a distinguished preacher. He is chiefly known for his translation of the *Imitation of Christ*, with practical reflections.

Among the Jesuit historians of the period must be named

* 'Un Professeur d'autrefois : *Etudes relig., phil., et lit.*, 1872.

Father d'Orléans, whose work on the Revolutions of France and Spain is written with elegance and vigour; Father Daniel, who, besides his reply to the *Provinciales*, published a history of France, pronounced by Augustin Thierry to be the best existing; Father Bouhours, born in 1628, the author of valuable Lives of St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier, and of several works on lighter literature. Among these last, his *Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène* achieved a great success by its witty criticisms. To these names must be added that of Father Joseph de Jouvency, of whom it has been said that his life presents the perfect realisation of the Jesuit professor conceived by St. Ignatius. He was born in 1643, was educated at the College of Clermont, and at the age of sixteen entered the Society, where he spent some years as teacher of rhetoric in different colleges. Some of his letters, written at this period, in the most excellent Ciceronian Latin, give a pleasant picture of the routine of a Jesuit college in the seventeenth century. While devoting himself heart and soul to his pupils, Father de Jouvency found time to publish numerous editions of the classics, which the enemies of the Society admired and unscrupulously appropriated. 'They were adopted by almost the whole of Europe. The University of Paris appropriated them by ingenious devices; and after nearly two hundred years of new investigations, the scholars of the present day are often content to translate or abridge his notes and remarks, or to reproduce them with changes that are sometimes doubtful improvements.*'

Father de Jouvency's *De Ratione Discendi et Docendi* contains valuable instructions for the use of young Jesuit professors. In 1669 he was summoned to Rome, in order that he might pursue the researches into the history of the Society begun by Fathers Orlandini and Sacchini. His history of the Institute, extending from 1591 to 1616, was published in Rome; but it revived old animosities in Paris, on account of the author's views regarding the League and the banishment of the Jesuits under Henry IV. The parliament proposed to suppress the

* Ibid.

work; but the fathers appealed to the king, who speedily put an end to the opposition of the parliament. Father de Jouveny died at Rome in 1719.

Greater than any of the names already mentioned is that of the Jesuit Bourdaloue, whose splendid preaching excited the enthusiasm of the fastidious Court of Versailles. He was born at Bourges in 1642, and by the loftiness of his views and the extraordinary power of his eloquence was the equal of Bossuet, Mascaron, Fléchier, the orators of the day. His special characteristic, however, was the uncompromising firmness with which he rebuked the vices of the king and his court. He was an apostle as well as an orator, and if his severity failed to check Louis in his sinful career, it was a magnificent protest against the immorality of the day, and a bright exception to the servile adulation that tended to glorify the very failings of the 'Grand Monarque.' In Madame de Sévigné's letters may be found an echo of the enthusiasm excited by Bourdaloue's eloquence. We read how, in Holy Week, 1671, all the places in the church were taken two days before the sermon; and in November 1679 such crowds flocked to hear him at St. Jacques de la Boucherie, that all traffic was stopped in that quarter of Paris.

Louis XIV. himself fully appreciated his talent, close reasoning, and austere zeal, the effect of which was heightened by a dignified person and sonorous voice. Though at times the king winced under the rebukes of the stern preacher he never let his wounded pride betray him into acts of resentment. One day, after a sermon, in which Bourdaloue had applied to him the parable of Nathan and David, the courtiers, who expected an outburst of wrath, were thunderstruck when Louis merely observed: 'Father Bourdaloue has done his duty; we must now fulfil ours.' And from that day there was a marked improvement in the king's conduct. The orator who possessed such influence over the most brilliant and fastidious court in the world was no less appreciated in the distant province of Languedoc, where he converted a large number of Calvinists. The secret of his success lay less in his eloquence itself than in

his intense earnestness, and in the facility with which he adapted himself to audiences of different class and standing. He died in 1704 with the reputation of a most holy religious. Stern and inflexible in the pulpit, he was remarkable in private life for his humility, charity, and indulgence.

As may be seen, the intellectual activity of the Society was never greater than during the brilliant years of Louis XIV. Its poets and historians occupied a distinguished place in the world of literature; its apostles preached the Word of God to all ranks and classes, from the refined courtiers of Versailles to the rude peasants of Brittany; and out of its flourishing colleges, trained by the *Ratio Studiorum*, came most of the great men whose names are the glory of the age—Descartes, Corneille, Condé, Cassini, and others. Truly might Bossuet exclaim in one of his sermons, 'O famous Company, who bearest not in vain the name of Jesus, to whom God has given in the latter days doctors, apostles, and evangelists, in order that the glory of His Gospel may break forth in all the universe, even in lands hitherto unknown, cease not to employ in this service, according to the spirit of your holy Institute, all the gifts of genius, eloquence, refinement, and learning.'*

It has been related in a previous chapter that to John of Braganza succeeded on the throne of Portugal Alphonso VI., an imbecile and degraded prince, for whom his brother Don Pedro was appointed regent in 1668. Fifteen years later, upon the death of Alphonso, Pedro assumed the title of king. He was brave and talented, and Portugal enjoyed great prosperity under his wise administration. His friendship for the Society of Jesus, however, carried him too far on one occasion. During his regency he caused Father Emmanuel Fernandez, his confessor, a man of considerable talent, to be named deputy to the Cortés. Father Oliva immediately condemned this step, involving the father as it did in political affairs, from which he was excluded by his rules; and Fernandez, full of repentance, resigned his dignity with a promptitude that excited the admiration of his Superior, who thus alluded to it in a letter to the

* 'Sermon pour la Circoncision :' *Œuvres*, t. iii. p. 706.

Provincial: 'I have now the happiness of giving Father Fernandez the praise deserved by his virtues and by his prompt submission in resigning his public employments. He writes to me that he esteems the office of the least lay-brother in the Society higher than the most brilliant worldly dignities. I leave it to you to express to him the hope and consolation that these sentiments have given me, and to recommend me to his holy prayers.'*

While Bourdaloue's eloquence fascinated the Court of Louis XIV., Father Anthony Vieyra, surnamed the Lusitanian Cicero, exercised a similar influence in Portugal. He was born at Lisbon in 1608, and seems to have been rich in every gift of intellect and virtue. At once a theologian, a poet, a controversialist, a philosopher, a diplomatist, and an orator, he has been placed by his enthusiastic countrymen above Demosthenes, Cicero, Bossuet, and all ancient and modern writers. He was the trusted ambassador and the favourite preacher of the Kings of Portugal; but he voluntarily abandoned the renown he enjoyed in Europe, in order to devote himself to the missions of Brazil, where we shall meet with him again in a succeeding chapter.

In Spain, as in France and Portugal, a member of the Society is to be found at the sovereign's side. Philip IV., a weak and incapable prince, under whose reign the kingdom completely lost its prestige of former days, died in 1665, leaving a child of two years old to succeed him, under the regency of the Queen Mary Anne of Austria. The position of this princess was one of great difficulty: she found a formidable opponent in Don John of Austria, the illegitimate son of the late king, whose boldness and talent gained him a considerable party. On her arrival in Spain, as the bride of Philip IV., the queen had been accompanied by a German Jesuit, Father Everard Nithard, whom Ferdinand III. had selected to educate his son and heir Leopold Ignatius, and later to accompany the young archduchess to her new kingdom. The Jesuit's good sense made him keenly alive to the deplorable condition into which

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. iv. p. 101.

had sunk the glorious Spain of bygone days, and he had vainly endeavoured to infuse some energy into the indolent Philip IV. When Mary Anne became regent for her son Charles II., she found herself at the head of a kingdom torn by internal strife, and threatened on the one hand by the armies of France, and on the other by those of Portugal. In her embarrassments she clung to the help and counsel of her Jesuit confessor; and upon his refusal to accept the posts of Grand Inquisitor and Councillor of State she appealed to the Pope, who enjoined him, in the name of obedience, to submit. In the decree, sent from Rome and dated September 1666, mention is made of Father Nithard's long and determined refusal of the proposed dignities.

A strong party, headed by Don John, was formed against the regent, and, rather than attack her in person, heaped accusations and insults upon her minister. For some time Father Nithard retained his position. Without the diplomatic ability of Mazarin, he possessed strong good sense; and his conduct throughout his trying administration was marked by strict honesty and disinterestedness. He replied to the attacks of his enemies with a dignity that, according to a Protestant historian,* sufficiently proves his innocence. At length, however, his position became untenable; Don John's influence daily increased, and it was clear that the queen's only course was to enter into negotiations with her opponents, who were loud in their demands that Father Nithard should be banished from the country. He himself had long since begged in vain to retire; and at length, in 1669, the queen allowed him to leave Spain, stipulating only that he should retain his titles and revenues, and be invested with the dignity of Spanish ambassador to Rome. The Protestant historian Coxe calls attention to the 'singular example of disinterestedness' given, under these circumstances, by the Jesuit minister, who not only absolutely rejected the titles and pensions bestowed upon him, but could hardly be persuaded, after much resistance, to accept money enough to pay the expenses of his journey; he wished,

* *Spain under the Bourbons*, by Coxe: Introduction.

he said, to leave Spain poor as he had entered it. But the honours from which he fled pursued the banished minister. The queen, who retained a grateful remembrance of his faithful services, obliged him to accept the post of Spanish ambassador to the Holy See; and a little later, Pope Clement X. raised him to the purple, eight years before his death, which occurred in 1681.

In Poland the mission of the Jesuits was very different; here they had not now to make fruitless efforts to appease the internal dissensions of a troubled kingdom, but, on the contrary, during a brief period, it was their more fortunate lot to direct the chivalrous spirit of the king, John Sobieski, whose reign reads like a page from the history of the Crusades. Under the government of the Jesuit sovereign, Casimir V., the members of his Order rendered valuable services to the great cause of the education of youth; indeed, at all times the Jesuits enjoyed unusual popularity in Poland; the military spirit with which the soldier-saint of Loyola had inspired his Institute seemed peculiarly suited to the chivalrous and warlike character of the Polish people. The Jesuits were 'beloved by them in their colleges, they followed them to the camps, they were the orators of the armies, the physicians of the wounded, the apostles of Christian charity in the midst of battle; the nobles and the people alike regarded them as their advisers and guides.'*

The hopes of Poland were at that moment centred on John Sobieski, whose father James, surnamed 'the shield of Polish liberty,' had been in his day a famous warrior. His son inherited his popularity, and by his successful campaigns against the Turks and the Cossacks he saved the throne of Casimir V. Under the incapable King Michel Koribut he was again called upon to defend his country against a formidable army of Turks, commanded by Mahomet IV., who were marching on the fortified town of Kamienieck, while a hundred thousand Tartars were advancing from another direction. In presence of this imminent peril Sobieski did not lose heart. The king, far from

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. iv. p. 116.

supporting him, fled in terror ; his troops were inferior in numbers, badly trained and barely clothed ; but nevertheless he marched against the invaders, whom he encountered on the snow-covered plains of Choczim, on the 11th of November 1673. Father Przeborowski, a Jesuit, his friend and confessor, was at his side ; and the night before the battle, in which the fate of Poland was to be decided, was spent by the soldier and the Jesuit in earnest prayer. Early next morning the father solemnly blessed the little Christian army, and Sobieski, standing by him, exhorted his soldiers to conquer or to die. 'Soldiers of Poland,' he said, 'you are about to fight for your country, and Jesus Christ will fight with you.' The battle was long and terrible, but, in spite of their numbers, the Turks were defeated ; 20,000 were left on the field, and many more in the waters of the Dniester. When all was over the Jesuit raised an altar, around which the Christian soldiers sang a fervent hymn of thanksgiving.*

The following year, Sobieski, the saviour of his country, was elected King of Poland on the death of Michel ; and nine years later, on the 12th of September 1683, he delivered Vienna from the Turks, and thus saved the German Empire. On this occasion he was again accompanied by a Jesuit. Father Przeborowski had died ; but Father Vota, a Piedmontese by birth, inherited the king's friendship and confidence. After the memorable victory of the 12th of September, Father Vota, preaching in the church of St. Stephen, in the midst of universal enthusiasm, applied to his royal penitent the words of the Gospel : 'There was a man sent from God, and his name was John.'

But the soldier-king, whose sword had twice saved Europe from the horrors of a Mahometan conquest, experienced his full share of sorrow and disappointment. By his military skill, his heroism, his pure and lofty character, Sobieski shed a lasting glory over his country ; but he was a soldier rather than a legislator. He could deliver Poland from her external foes, but he failed to appease her internal divisions ; his place was

* Salvandy, *Histoire de Jean Sobieski.*

on the battle-field rather than in the council-chamber. To the ingratitude of the people, for whom he had devoted his life, was added the bitterness of domestic trials, and the rebellion of his eldest son James poisoned his latter days. Father Vota, the sharer of his glory, was the confidant of his sorrows and the consoler of his last moments ; and when, on the 17th of June 1696, Sobieski breathed his last, his faithful Jesuit friend was kneeling by his side. All present were amazed at the holy joy with which the dying king received the tidings that death was close at hand. 'He accepted,' says a Polish historian, 'death more willingly than twenty-three years before he had accepted the throne ; then forty-eight hours' of persuasion had been necessary ere he could be made to yield to the wishes of his country. Now he did not resist, but without a murmur he laid down his crown and his life, exchanging them for another life, and, I firmly believe, for another crown.*

In order not to interrupt the history of Poland's warrior-king, the warm and constant friend of the Society of Jesus, it has been necessary to advance some years beyond the death of the Father General Oliva. He expired on the 26th of November 1681, after governing the Order for seventeen years. On his deathbed he appointed Father Charlès de Noyelle Vicar-General until the next election.

* Zaluski. Crétineau-Joly, vol. iv. p. 121.

CHAPTER IV.

Father Charles de Noyelle, 1682-1686; Father Tirso Gonzales, 1687-1705: Twelfth and Thirteenth Generals of the Society.

DURING the brief interval between the death of Father Oliva and the election of his successor, the Society lost one of its members, whose name has lately been brought more prominently into notice, connected as it is with the most popular devotion of modern times. Born near Lyons in 1641, of a noble Christian family, Father Claude de la Colombière was educated by the Jesuits, whose novitiate he entered at the age of eighteen. He speedily attracted attention by his singular eloquence, his solid judgment, his deep humility, and exact observance of the slightest points in his rule of life. In 1674 he was appointed Superior of the Jesuits' residence at Paray-le-Monial in Burgundy; and it was here that he became acquainted with the Visitation nun, Margaret Mary Alacoque, to whom, a few years before, the devotion to the Sacred Heart had been miraculously revealed. After carefully weighing the extraordinary revelations made known to him, Father de la Colombière was convinced of their reality, and earnestly devoted himself to the propagation of the devotion. In 1676, however, he was removed from Paray, and sent to England as one of the chaplains of the young Duchess of York, Mary Beatrice of Este. On October 13th he arrived at St. James's Palace, the residence of the heir presumptive and his consort; but though we have few details relating to his stay in the 'land of crosses,' as he used to call England, we may well imagine the contrast presented to him between the quiet town in Catholic France and the great heretical city, where the blood of his brethren had so lately been shed for Christ.

In the royal palace he led the austere life of a religious;

and, according to his own confession, he was enabled to preserve habits of interior recollection as completely as though he lived in a desert instead of a court. His sermons were the means of bringing a large number of Protestants into the fold of the Church; but many trials were to exercise his patience during his stay in London. A priest and a Jesuit, even though he was attached to the household of a royal princess, could not escape persecution in the land where Campion, Walpole, Arrowsmith, and others had so lately been executed for high treason on account of their priesthood; and in 1768, Father de la Colombière was implicated in the pretended plot of Titus Oates. The calmness with which he bore himself under trial, and the complete absence of any evidence against him, were sufficient proofs of his innocence; and, after a month's imprisonment, he was sent back to France. To Father de la Colombière, whose dearest wish was to win the martyr's palm, this banishment from the 'land of crosses' was a real sorrow. On his return to France, his health began to fail; and his Superiors sent him to Paray-le-Monial, hoping that rest and change might restore him. On February 15, 1682, however, he peacefully expired; and a few hours later, in the neighbouring convent of the Visitation, Blessed Margaret Mary bade those around her cease to pray for him. 'Cease to distress yourselves,' she said. 'Invoke him fearlessly; he is in heaven.'

A few months after the happy death of Father de la Colombière, on July 5, 1682, Father Charles de Noyelle, a Belgian by birth, was elected General by all votes excepting his own. He was sixty-seven years of age; and, without possessing the brilliant gifts of his predecessor, he had remarkable prudence and a truly religious spirit, qualities especially necessary to one whose administration, though short, was involved in difficult and delicate circumstances. Father de Noyelle had to act as mediator between Pope Innocent XI. and Louis XIV., who spared no efforts to enlist his services in favour of France. On one occasion he was told that if he would serve the king's interest more warmly his family, which, although of noble origin, had fallen into poverty, should be restored to honours and afflu-

ence ; but to these proposals he constantly replied : ‘ My only relatives now are the members of the Society.’

The difficulties that marked his government extended over that of his successor, Father Tirso Gonzalès de Santalla, a Spaniard by birth. He was elected on the 6th of July 1687 ; but, unlike the election of his predecessor, where there was unanimity of votes, the choice of Father Gonzalès excited some surprise, and even fear. He had been a doctor of the University of Salamanca before entering the Society, and since that time had been celebrated as a controversial and theological writer, and an indefatigable adversary of Jansenism and Gallicanism. The election of a General whose independent character and pronounced Ultramontane opinions were so well known was likely to prove displeasing to Louis XIV. ; but events proved the wisdom of the choice ; and with great firmness Father Gonzalès united a prudence that enabled him to steer his way through perils and embarrassments.

It would be too long to enter into the details of the dissensions between Louis XIV. and the Pope, which occupy the greater portion of the reigns of these two Generals, and in which the French fathers were necessarily implicated. It will suffice to notice the chief points under discussion, and the line of conduct adopted by the members of the Society.

At this period the glory of Louis XIV. was at its height ; and whatever may have been the abuses, vices, and miseries of this apparently splendid reign, they were veiled by a prestige of grandeur and glory that rendered the king the idol of France. Everywhere his armies were victorious, and he was universally recognised as the most powerful sovereign in Europe. The magnificence of his court was unequalled ; and although the stern voice of Bourdaloue proclaimed hard truths in the royal chapel of Versailles, the orators and poets, whose fame filled the literary world, vied with one another in extolling the brilliant qualities and extraordinary success of their renowned sovereign. In this atmosphere of splendour and adulation the despotic nature of Louis had developed. Not content with being an absolute monarch in temporal affairs, he aspired to

an equal dominion in the spiritual realm of the Church ; and it was in this unlawful ambition that he was opposed by a Pontiff whose determination equalled his own. Innocent XI., of the Odescalchi family, had been elected Pope in 1676. The purity and austerity of his personal character were only equalled by his inflexible resolution to defend the rights of the Church. His reply to those who exhorted him to bestow favours on his nephews resembles that of Father de Noyelle under somewhat similar circumstances. 'My nephews,' he said, 'are now only the poor.'

Strictly economical and self-denying in his private expenses, he was liberal in his charities, and gave large sums towards the war against the Turks, whom he considered the enemies of religion and civilisation. The chief source of his quarrel with Louis XIV. lay in the unlawful interpretation given by the king to certain rights called *droits de régale*. These consisted in the privilege possessed by the French sovereigns of appropriating the revenues of a certain number of vacant bishoprics, and also of conferring secondary benefices, generally bestowed by the Bishops only. The *droit de régale*, which had originally been seized by the Kings of France, was then, from motives of prudence, tolerated and tacitly recognised by Rome ; but it only existed in a specified and limited number of dioceses. Louis XIV., however, who wanted money to carry on his foreign wars, attempted to extend it to all the vacant bishoprics in France ; and it was against this encroachment that the Pope protested. In itself the right, even when limited in its action, was a dangerous one, easily open to abuse and injurious to the interests of religion. Moreover, at the same time, the king took into his own hands the distribution of ecclesiastical benefices, which he bestowed as rewards on his courtiers ; and thus the patrimony of the Church and of the poor was spent in waste and extravagance.

The remonstrances of the Pope were treated with perfect indifference by Louis ; and hostile writers have asserted that Innocent only contested the point because he wished to secure for himself the revenues of the vacant sees ; but the injustice

of this charge is clearly shown by the fact that, even if they had not been appropriated by the government, not one coin of the revenues would have gone to the Pope. It was purely a question of principle, and though a few members of the clergy acknowledged the king's supposed claims, the majority, and Bossuet himself, declared that they were unlawful. At length, finding that his repeated warnings were disregarded, Innocent XI. issued another Brief, dated January 1681, where, in still stronger terms, he reproved the king's conduct; but the documents having been instantly suppressed by the French parliament, the Pope desired the Jesuit Provincials in France to make it public.

During the whole of these stormy discussions the French Jesuits had preserved complete silence, with the single exception of Father Maimbourg, who defended the king's supposed prerogatives, an act that caused him to be excluded from the Society. His brethren, however, preserved their neutral attitude; but the Pope's command to publish the Brief placed them in a somewhat embarrassing position. It was a long-established custom that whereas in some countries, in Venice for example, the Papal decrees, relating simply to matters of discipline, not faith, became binding to conscience from the mere fact of their publication, in France they were only regarded as such after they had been sanctioned by parliament. Acting on this knowledge, and fully aware that the Briefs would never be confirmed by parliament, and consequently would not be considered binding by the people, the Jesuits received the Papal decrees, but refrained from making them public. They hoped thereby to avoid greater evils, for to many minds the danger of a schism between Rome and France appeared imminent; perhaps too they yielded half unconsciously to the influence exercised by Louis XIV. during these years of extraordinary prosperity and splendour. Although they never openly countenanced the king's unjust claims, the French fathers, by abstaining from publishing the Bulls, incurred the displeasure of the Pope; but that they did not lose his confidence is proved by the fact that when, upon the seizure of Avignon by the

French, Innocent XI. drew up a sentence of excommunication against Louis, he intrusted the Bull to a French Jesuit, Father Dez, whom he commissioned to carry it to Paris. When Father Dez informed his brethren of the mission intrusted to him, they implored the General to dissuade the Pope from a measure which must inevitably lead to a rupture between France and the Holy See. Innocent XI. yielded to their representations, and the sentence was annulled before it had been made public. Meantime, at the request of the Paris parliament and of a certain number of Bishops, a general assembly of the French clergy was convoked. It opened on the 9th of November 1681, by Bossuet's splendid discourse, concluding thus: 'Holy Church of Rome, Mother of all Churches and of all the faithful, Church chosen by God to unite His children in the same faith and in the same charity, we will ever remain attached to thy unity from the bottom of our hearts. If I forget thee, Church of Rome, may I forget myself!'

Unfortunately, the subsequent acts of the assembly were little in keeping with this fervent expression of loyalty; and on the 19th of March 1682 the assembled prelates adopted the famous 'Declaration of the Four Articles,' which has since been regarded as the basis of the so-called liberties of the Gallican Church. These articles may be summed up as follows: 1. The Pope has not the power to depose sovereigns or to dispense their subjects from the oath of allegiance. 2. The Church represented by a General Council is superior to the Pope. 3. The exercise of the Pope's authority should be regulated by the canons. 4. The Pope's decisions are only binding when sanctioned by the Church. Four days afterwards, on the 23d of March, a royal decree rendered this doctrine obligatory throughout France.

Although drawn up by some members of the French episcopacy and clergy, the declaration was regarded with strong disapproval by others, who recognized the illegality of a step by which an ecclesiastical assembly, not a General Council, presumed to regulate the discipline of the universal Church, and also the dangerous tendency of the articles themselves, which

savoured strongly of heresy. The Sorbonne and other learned bodies and many Bishops refused to accept it, and long and animated discussions followed upon the rival claims of the Pope and the king.

The four articles of the declaration of 1682 have never been officially stigmatized as heretical; but they have been repeatedly condemned by several Sovereign Pontiffs; by Alexander VIII. in 1691, by Clement XI. in 1706, and by Pius VI. in 1794. In France, as has been related, they were regarded with decided disapprobation by a considerable portion of the ecclesiastical body; but by alternately making use of persuasion and threats, the king partially succeeded in imposing them upon the clergy and religious orders. An exception, however, was made in favour of the Jesuits, whose adhesion to the declaration was neither given nor even demanded during his reign.

The unjustifiable step taken by the assembly was meant by Louis to intimidate the Pope; but it appeared rather to strengthen his resolution to defend to the last the rights of the Church. He continued to refuse to send to the Bishops named by the king the necessary Bulls for exercising episcopal jurisdiction; and so firmly did he persevere in what even Protestant historians* own to have been a legitimate resistance, that at his death in 1689 there were thirty vacant sees in France.

It is difficult to determine precisely whether in these delicate circumstances the French Jesuits did not somewhat sacrifice their loyalty to Rome to their submission to the king. It may be acknowledged that they never openly countenanced his rebellious conduct, nor did they adhere to the hostile declaration of 1682; but when obliged to depart from the neutral attitude they had at first adopted, their efforts tended rather to conciliate the opposing parties than to take a decided part in favour of Rome. Placed as they were in the very centre of the stormy discussions that were going on in France, they were less able to take a dispassionate view of matters than

* Schœll, *Cours d'Histoire des Etats Européens*, t. xxviii. p. 106. Crétineau-Joly, vol. iv. p. 233.

those who at Rome were removed from the scene of conflict. To them, with their knowledge of the king's intense ambition and pride, the fear of a schism was a pressing danger, to avert which almost any sacrifice appeared lawful; protected and valued by Louis, to whose favour they owed in some measure the extraordinary prosperity enjoyed by their colleges, they yielded to the fascination exercised upon his contemporaries by Louis le Grand.

The line of conduct pursued by the Jesuit reveals itself chiefly in the letters addressed to the General by Father de Lachaise, who implored his Superior to persuade the Pope to send the necessary Bulls to the Bishops named by the king, urging that they possessed every qualification of piety and learning, and that the whole affair of the *régale* had been represented in exaggerated colours at Rome. He added that the long vacancy of the sees had a deplorable effect upon religion, and, while protesting his devotion to the Pope, he clearly showed that he considered a concession on his part most desirable and urgent. The views thus expressed by Father Lachaise were attributed, justly or not, to all his brethren in France; and his efforts not only failed to change the inflexible resolve of Innocent XI., but excited his displeasure against the French fathers, whom he accused with justice of rendering their loyalty towards the Holy See subservient to their allegiance to Louis XIV.

Matters continued in the same state until the death of the Pope in 1689; by that time, the king himself was alarmed at the evils produced by his rupture with Rome. The Bishops whom he had named, and who were as yet unrecognized by the Holy See, were anxious for a reconciliation; but the king's pride would not allow him to perform a public act of submission. At length, however, it was agreed that each Bishop should write the Pope a private letter to disown the acts of the assembly of 1682; Innocent XII., the new Pontiff, professed himself satisfied with these declarations, and sent the long-desired Bulls. Some time later, in 1693, Louis, touched perhaps by the Pope's condescension, wrote himself to revoke the

edict by which he had rendered the four articles obligatory throughout the kingdom. The declaration of 1682 was thus virtually disowned and annulled by the monarch who had been its real author, and henceforth it became only a pretext whereon the Jansenists and Gallicans founded their opposition to Rome.

It was during his dissensions with the Holy See that the king took a step, prompted by combined motives of policy and religion, which has been judged in various ways, and sometimes unjustly attributed to Jesuit influence. The Edict of Nantes, issued by Henry IV. in 1598, gave the Protestants in France liberty to exercise their religion publicly throughout the kingdom, excepting, however, in the interior of Paris, and in places regarded as royal residences; it also enabled them to aspire to public employments, and to enjoy all the rights of citizens. Chiefly, it is supposed, at the instigation of the Chancellor le Tellier, Louis XIV., in 1685, revoked the Edict of Nantes, and not only ordered that the Protestant churches should be demolished, but forbade their religious service to be carried on even in private houses. By these severe measures he hoped to stifle heresy in France, and effectually to destroy a party which, under his own reign and those of his eight predecessors, had more than once seriously threatened the interests of religion and the royal authority. The ministers of the so-called reformed faith were now given their choice between conversion or exile, and the Protestants in general were only allowed to remain in France unmolested upon the condition that they should renounce any external profession of faith. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes has been violently attacked as an act of intolerance; by the side of the cruel enactments of Elizabeth and James I. it breathes a spirit of comparative moderation, but it was undoubtedly a political error. By driving into exile a multitude of industrious and ingenious artisans, it materially affected the commercial prosperity of France, and strengthened the power of her enemies, who gladly welcomed the fugitive Huguenots. From a religious point of view likewise the step had its dangers, the chief of which was the number of insincere conversions it occasioned.

For this reason it was never approved by Pope Innocent XI., who, on hearing of the severe measures previously employed by the king to compel the Protestants to renounce their errors, had observed that he could not sanction such means of obtaining thousands of conversions, few of which were genuine.*

Nevertheless, in spite of the tacit disapproval of Rome, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was favourably received in France. As has been stated, Le Tellier, the chancellor, was its chief promoter; the stern minister Louvois also supported it; it was praised by Bossuet, by Arnauld the Jansenist chief, by the poets and writers of the day, and the letters of Madame de Sévigné show the favourable impression it produced among the nobility, by whom it was regarded as the king's most memorable deed.

Among these testimonies of admiration and approval, it is impossible to find an authentic trace of any support given to the measure by members of the Society of Jesus, to whose influence some Protestant writers have stated that it was mainly due. According to less prejudiced authorities, they appear, on the contrary, to have remained passive in the matter, or, if they expressed any opinion, to have leaned rather to the side of tolerance and mercy. The Abbé de Choisy, who lived at court, asserts that, by his opposition to the project, Father de Lachaise excited the suspicions of Louvois; the Marquis de la Fare, an open enemy of the Order, confirms this statement; and another writer adds that Father de Lachaise, whose gentleness was proverbial, remonstrated with the king upon the violent measures put in force against the Huguenots.†

But if they disapproved of the means employed by Louis to convert his Protestant subjects, the Jesuits were none the less eager to gather to the Church's fold her erring children. Zealous missionaries of the Society were busily employed in evangelizing different parts of France; and had the king been satisfied to wait for the result of their labours, it is probable that ere long the number of Calvinists would have been re-

* *Histoire du Règne de Louis XIV.*, par Gaillardin, vol. v. p. 111.

† See Crétineau-Joly, vol. iv. p. 343, &c.

duced to an insignificant proportion, and the conversions obtained would have been the result of real and earnest conviction. Father Bourdaloue at Montpellier, Father de la Rue, the famous classical scholar, in Languedoc, Father du Parc in Normandy, Father Dez, an eminent theologian, much esteemed by the Dauphin, in Alsace, where the Jesuits were called by the people 'Seelen-Jägers,' or hunters of souls,—these and other members of the Order in Aunis, Poitou, Saintonge, and Champagne were producing lasting fruits of conversion among the Huguenots.

As has been shown, Louis XIV. had a sincere esteem for the Society of Jesus; like most great warriors and statesmen, he keenly appreciated the legislative power displayed by St. Ignatius, in the organization of his Institute and the military spirit and discipline that animated all its members. But with the despotism that characterized him, he wished to place the French Jesuits under his immediate control, and his very admiration for their organization contributed to increase his desire to possess supreme influence over those of them who were his subjects. It was in 1688 that the king first manifested the project he had long cherished in secret: he began by forbidding the French Provincials to correspond with the General; and then demanded that the French fathers should have a separate Superior to reside in France. Some of the Jesuits, who did not foresee that such a step must inevitably break through the law of obedience established by St. Ignatius as the foundation of his Society, appeared to incline towards the king's view; but Father Gonzalès, as the faithful guardian of the Constitutions, refused to yield. When it was represented to him that his firmness would excite the king's anger, he replied, 'The misunderstanding between the King of France and the General of the Society must end at latest with the death of the one or the other, and I firmly trust it may end sooner; but the effect of a blow dealt to the authority of the General would not pass away so soon; it would be an irreparable evil.'

On their side, the five French Provincials for Paris, Lyons, Guienne, Toulouse, and Champagne sought an interview with

Louis, and entreated him to abandon his project. Their earnest remonstrances, joined to the firmness displayed by the General, at length gained the victory; and on the 22d of October 1690 the king wrote to the Provincials, withdrawing his prohibition to hold any correspondence with the Father General, and renouncing all further interference in the government of the Institute.

The high opinion which Louis XIV. entertained of the Order of Jesus is proved, not only by the protection he gave to its members in France, which, although savouring somewhat of despotism, was founded on sincere esteem, but also by the foreign missions which he intrusted to them. Thus, in 1682, Father Longeau and Father Pothier were charged to bear to the Shah of Persia the splendid presents sent by the French monarch. Two Jesuit houses already existed in Persia, at Ispahan and Chamakli; others were speedily established in neighbouring cities, and twenty-five years later these missions numbered above 100,000 Christians. When the famous warrior Shah-Nadir or Thamas Kouli-Kan usurped the Persian throne, the Jesuits found a protector in this formidable barbarian, whose conquests extended as far as Hindostan and whose cruelty created general consternation. He had heard from some English merchants of the medical skill of a Jesuit lay-brother named Bazin, and obtained that he should be attached to his service, to accompany him in all his journeys. The missionaries judged that the presence of one of their Order would contribute to strengthen the Shah's favourable dispositions towards the Christians, while the English merchants were equally anxious to secure in the humble lay-brother a protector who might befriend them in case of need. Brother Bazin remained at Shah-Nadir's court with the title of first physician, until a conspiracy brought the renowned warrior to a violent death; he then went to China, and here, as in Persia, his medical knowledge gained him a great reputation. In an interesting account, addressed to his brethren in Europe, the Jesuit lay-brother relates the adventures of the extraordinary man whose companion he was for several years, and who, from

a lowly origin, raised himself by his talents to the position of conqueror of the Mogul empire.

Three years after the departure of the two fathers sent by Louis XIV. to Persia, six other Jesuits were charged with a mission of similar import to the King of Siam. A Greek adventurer, named Constance Phaulkon, occupied the post of vizier at the Court of Siam, and at his suggestion two ambassadors, laden with valuable presents, were sent to France for the purpose of concluding a treaty of commerce. The vizier was a sincere Catholic, and, in addition to the commercial advantages which he hoped to gain, he trusted that an alliance with France would be the means of promoting the interests of Christianity in a country where, as has been seen, Father de Rhodes planted the Cross. The ambassadors, however, died on the journey; but Louis XIV., whose vanity was flattered by the idea of their mission, availed himself of the opportunity to extend the influence of the Catholic religion; and in January 1685 he sent six Jesuits as his ambassadors to Siam. They were Fathers de Fontaney, Tachard, Le Comte, Bouvet, Gerbillon, and Visdelou, and had been selected from among the most learned members of the Order in France. Before starting, they were admitted into the French Academy of Sciences, and were charged by that learned body to make astronomical observations, to determine the exact longitudes of the districts they visited, to examine, and, if possible, to solve, various difficulties connected with geometry, physics, and natural history. In the decree investing the six fathers with their mission as special envoys it is stated that the king could not make a better choice than that of Father de Fontaney, Superior of the little band, on account of his 'extraordinary capacity.'

In September 1686 the fathers arrived at Siam, where they were received with unusual marks of respect by the king, who was greatly rejoiced at an alliance with the renowned monarch whose fame had penetrated to these distant regions. It was a strange change of fortune for the fathers: in the same country, where a few years before their brethren had been tortured and put to death, they found themselves treated with royal hospi-

tality. But the path of honours, like that of suffering, was leading them to their one end, the glory of God and the salvation of souls; and in Siam, as in China, they made learning and science pave the way for the extension of the reign of Christ. Delighted with the capacity of the Jesuit astronomers, the king sent an embassy to France to ask for twelve more fathers, as he wished to establish an observatory, similar to those of Pekin and Paris. His request was granted; and the twelve Jesuits before starting had an audience with Louis XIV., who gave them a letter for the King of Siam, in which they are recommended to him as persons of 'zeal, wisdom, and capacity,' and as being 'especially dear to the King of France.'

When the French squadron, with the Jesuits on board, reached its destination, the kingdom of Siam was a prey to revolution. The king was dangerously ill, and the power of his Greek minister had passed into the hands of a mandarin, a violent enemy to the Christians. The Jesuits, who had successfully solved the difficulties submitted to them by the Academy of Sciences, had now fallen from the high position given to them on their arrival; but they were engaged on an apostolic mission far dearer to their hearts than scientific researches, and the constancy with which the native Christians clung to the faith fully rewarded their efforts.

While Louis XIV. was thus, by means of the Jesuits, serving the interests of religion and science, he was indirectly the cause of a severe persecution raised against the Society of Jesus by the Protestants of Holland. Attributing the revocation of the Edict of Nantes to Jesuit influence, the Dutch Calvinists persuaded the Stadtholder, William of Orange, to submit the forty-six residences possessed by the fathers in Holland to exorbitant fines. At the same time several of the missionaries were imprisoned, and a proposal that they should be banished was discussed by the States. In these perilous circumstances the Provincial of Holland addressed a circular letter to his brethren, dated November 1685, in which he exhorted them to pray with renewed fervour and to remain each one at his post, being careful only to avoid unnecessary causes of irritation;

at the same time, however, the Dutch fathers addressed a memorial to the government, urging that they had as much right to liberty of conscience as any other sect or community. To the persecutions of the Protestants were added the vexations of Peter Codde, Archbishop of Sebaste, a noted Jansenist, who, according to the traditions of his party, was as hostile to the Jesuits as were the Calvinists themselves. On account of his errors he was deposed by Rome in 1704; but the Dutch Government, whose interests he served, resolved to procure his return, and ordered the Jesuits to demand it from the Holy See. Father de Bruyn, Superior of the mission, declined to use his influence in favour of a heretic, and though, at the bidding of the government, he wrote to Rome, it was, on the contrary, to urge the Pope to persevere in his first decision. A sentence of exile, pronounced in June 1708, against all members of the Society in Holland was the reward of his unswerving fidelity to the truth.

The fathers, however, could not be brought to abandon a country where their ministry was so sorely needed by the oppressed Catholics; they disappeared for a time, then cautiously returned, and, in spite of continual threats and perils, contrived to pursue their apostolic labours, in the shade it is true, but with valuable results. The extraordinary tenacity with which they clung to the lands where they had once preached or planted the faith is a characteristic trait of the members of the Society of Jesus. So unwillingly did they relinquish their spiritual conquests that until the suppression of the Order, in 1773, there existed a nominal Province of Japan, to which a certain number of fathers were attached, though for nearly a century no Catholic missionary had set foot in that jealously guarded empire. The same spirit is displayed in the patient courage with which, as in the instance just related, the Jesuits silently but resolutely returned again and again to the countries from which they had been banished; always persecuted, often put to death, yet never abandoning their glorious enterprise.

About the same time the Catholic faith had made an illus-

trious conquest in Germany. Frederic Augustus II., Elector of Saxony, chief of a house that had always given Lutheranism its warmest supporters in Germany, made his abjuration on the 1st of June 1697, and a few days later was elected King of Poland. His conversion was at first regarded as a clever stroke of policy to secure the Polish crown, but his subsequent conduct proved his sincerity. He chose for his confessor Father Vota, the friend of Sobieski, who enjoyed great popularity in Poland, and more than once the Jesuit had to moderate the fiery zeal of the royal convert, who wished to stamp out heresy in Saxony by violent means. But though Frederic was a Catholic, his wife had remained a stern Lutheran, and his son, the hereditary prince, was being educated by her in her own faith. The conversion of the future sovereign of one of the most important German states was the dearest wish of Pope Clement XI., who, with this end in view, sent to Dresden his nephew, Cardinal Albani, accompanied by Father Salerno, a Jesuit, under whose charge the young prince undertook a journey to Italy. He was received by the Pope with fatherly tenderness, and on the 12th of November 1712, at the age of sixteen, he made his abjuration in the hands of Father Salerno.

In order to secure to the youthful convert the support of the imperial house of Austria, Clement XI. negotiated a marriage between him and the Archduchess Marie Josephine, eldest daughter of the Emperor Joseph I. The affair was successfully accomplished through the intervention of two Jesuits, Fathers Salerno and Guarini. The marriage took place at Vienna in 1717, and the house of Saxony was thus restored to the fold of the Church. The young prince, who was called Frederic Augustus, like his father, subsequently became Elector of Saxony and then King of Poland; one of his eleven children was Marie Joseph of Saxony, the wife of the Dauphin, son of Louis XV., and mother of Louis XVI., Louis XVIII., and Charles X.

In Portugal, where the Jesuits generally enjoyed the favour of the sovereign, there arose, about this time, a slight difficulty, which was only settled under the government of the next

General of the Order. A discussion took place in 1703 between Don Pedro II. and Cardinal Conti, the Pope's Nuncio, regarding the revenues of certain Church lands, which were claimed both by the Pope and by the king, and the Jesuits were among the religious concerned in the affair. The Provincial, Father Nuñez, was informed by the Pope that he should be deprived of his charge if he yielded to the king's demands; while, on the other hand, Don Pedro threatened to banish all the fathers if they did not pay him the disputed sum. Father Tirso Gonzalès, to whom the matter was referred, decided it in favour of Rome; but John V., the successor of Pedro, irritated at the firmness with which the Jesuits obeyed their General's commands, exiled some among them and closed the novitiates. It was not until 1716 that the affair was finally settled; the king then renounced his claims, and authorized the fathers to pay the money to the Roman treasury. Father Gonzalès did not live to see this happy termination; on the 27th of October 1705 he breathed his last, after appointing as Vicar of the Order Father Michael Tamburini, who eventually succeeded him as General.

CHAPTER V.

*The English Province of the Society. The Plot of Titus Oates and the Revolution of 1688.**

IT has been seen how under Charles I., in spite of the king's naturally humane disposition, the Catholics continued to suffer for the faith ; yet, when the Civil War broke out, Charles had no more faithful adherents than his Catholic subjects, whose devotion to his cause might well have convinced him that their loyalty to the crown equalled their fidelity to the ancient faith.

When, in 1660, Charles II. ascended the throne, the Catholics had reason to expect that the recollection of the services they had rendered to his father would dispose the new king to treat them with justice and humanity ; and at first their hopes appeared well grounded. But, like the expectations they had formerly built on James I., they were doomed continually to bitter disappointment. By the Declaration of Breda, which he signed on ascending the English throne, Charles made promises of liberty of conscience, which the Catholics hailed with delight, and on his return to England they assembled at Arundel House, and presented to the House of Lords a petition, in which they called attention to the cruel penalties imposed upon them for refusing to take oaths which were forbidden by their religious convictions. The petition appeared likely to have a favourable result, when an Anglican member of the house suggested that the Jesuits should be excluded from whatever advantages might be granted to the Catholics in general. This motion spread discord in the Catholic party, for while some members were willing to accept the proposal, others indignantly rejected it ; and the object of the Protestants was so far attained

* Taken in great measure from vol. v., *Records of the English Province of the S. J.*, by H. Foley, S. J.

that the committee at Arundel House, unable to come to a decision, speedily dissolved, and the petition was abandoned.

That the king was not personally hostile to the ancient faith is proved by his repeated though ineffectual attempts to mitigate the penal laws. Thus, in December 1662, he published a declaration of indulgence, in which he promised that, as a reward for their loyalty, he would obtain a relaxation of the laws against the Catholics ; but, the parliament having remonstrated, he yielded after a feeble struggle, and sanctioned a decree of banishment against all Catholic priests.

In 1672, Charles made another equally unsuccessful attempt to modify the penal laws ; but the national spirit of bigotry had now been increased by the conversion of the heir presumptive, James Duke of York, who was received into the Church by a Jesuit, Father Emmanuel Lobb, alias Joseph Simeon, then Provincial of the English Province.

In consequence of this act the House of Commons proposed a bill declaring that every individual who refused to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and to receive the Sacrament according to the rites of the Anglican Church, was thereby incapable of holding any public employment, civil or military. This bill, known as the Test Act, was favourably received by the two Houses ; and in 1674 the king was persuaded to sign a proclamation confirming all the pains and penalties issued against Catholics by former sovereigns.

While the hopes they had founded upon the gratitude of Charles II. thus crumbled to the ground, the Jesuits in England were entirely devoted to works of charity and zeal ; they had remained complete strangers to the dissensions of which they had involuntarily been the cause at Arundel House, and the *Annual Letters* give an example of the reputation they enjoyed among those whom party prejudice had not entirely blinded. 'Their temperance and modesty were very highly spoken of, and a curious instance is given of a person charging another, who was a stranger, with being a Jesuit. On being asked why, he replied : " At midnight he retires to an inn (for the iniquity of the times drives us to these miserable places), where he is never

seen to exceed the bounds of temperance, nor heard to utter any obscene language ; *ergo* he must be a Jesuit.”

Their virtues, however, did not preserve the Jesuits from odious and absurd accusations, which, owing to the blind prejudice of their enemies, obtained a ready credence. Thus, in 1675, the son of a French actress named Luzancy, who had been condemned for forgery in France, arrived in London, where, in order to gain a livelihood, he professed to be a French Jesuit, anxious to become a Protestant. He was received with open arms by the Anglicans ; and to secure the continuance of the alms so plentifully showered upon him he daily added to his romance, and finally hinted at a vast conspiracy, organized by the Jesuits, which would deluge the streets of London with the blood of the Protestants. When called upon to produce his witnesses, these were found to be completely ignorant of the plot they were expected to reveal ; and at the same time Mauresque, a Protestant minister, published an account of Luzancy's antecedents, showing him to be totally undeserving of belief. The inquiry which had been instituted was then abandoned ; but though Luzancy failed to incriminate the Jesuits, his odious accusations prepared the public mind for those of another conspirator, equally wicked, and unfortunately more successful.

Like Luzancy, Titus Oates, of infamous celebrity, was an adventurer of low origin, who, after having been an Anabaptist preacher, became chaplain on board one of the king's ships, whence he was expelled on account of his evil conduct. Dishonoured and penniless, he then sought the protection of a Dr. Tongue, rector of St. Michael's, in Wood-street, London, a man at once cunning and credulous, whose detestation of the Jesuits amounted to monomania. It was agreed between them that, in order to work against the members of the hated Society, Oates should endeavour to penetrate into one of their houses. Accordingly, he feigned to embrace Catholicism, and was admitted into the English College at Valladolid, whence his vices caused him to be expelled in 1677, at the end of five months. He then, by dint of efforts, entered the College of St.

Omer; but here also his evil habits were soon discovered, and he was speedily expelled. By most historians it has been thought that Oates was an instrument in the hands of the king's unprincipled minister, Ashley Earl of Shaftesbury, who, seeing that his popularity would be best secured by keeping up the fanaticism of his supporters, was the secret inventor of the plot.

The English Province of the Society was at that time governed by Father Thomas Whitbread, alias Harcourt, the descendant of an ancient Catholic family, a zealous missionary, and an able controversialist, who is described by his contemporaries as 'beloved of God and men' for his gentle and charitable disposition. He seems to have had a prophetic foreboding of his future destiny; for only two months before the persecution broke out, when preaching to his brethren at Liège for the renewal of their vows, he insisted with singular persistency on the text: "Can you drink the chalice which I am to drink?" They say to him, "We can." "Can you undergo a hard persecution? Are you content to be falsely betrayed, and injured, and hurried away to prison?" "*Possumus*,—we can, blessed be God!" "Can you suffer the hardships of a jail? Can you sleep on straw and feed on hard diet? Can you lie in chains and fetters? Can you endure the rack?" "*Possumus*,—we can, blessed be God!" "Can you be brought to the bar and hear yourselves falsely sworn against? Can you patiently receive the sentence of an unjust judge, condemning you to a painful and ignominious death; to be hanged, drawn, and quartered?" "*Possumus*,—we can." His words amazed his hearers all the more, as things were just then unusually tranquil in England, and there was no reason to expect a change. But in the Provincial's mind the foreboding of his approaching death amounted to certainty, and the day before he set sail for England he told a certain Dame Mary Minshull, a nun, who came to speak to him about her spiritual affairs, to say then all that she wished him to know, for he should never return from England; 'so saying,' adds the narrative, 'he lifted his eyes to heaven, and spoke on sweetly and merrily.'

On his return from St. Omer, Oates, either to revenge himself upon the Jesuits, who had expelled him from their colleges, or else, as some historians, Protestant and Catholic, have thought, at the instigation of persons in power, built up the plan of a vast conspiracy. He was obliged to confess, however, that he had gathered no valuable information from his stay abroad, except the fact that in April 1678 a certain number of Jesuits had assembled in London to deliberate upon the affairs of the Province. This meeting, which had taken place at St. James's Palace, the residence of the Duke of York, was described by Oates as a general assembly of all the Jesuits in England at the White Horse tavern, in the Strand, to decide upon the best means of assassinating the king and destroying Protestantism. The first person to whom the supposed plot was communicated was one Kirby, attached to the royal household, who was instructed to warn King Charles that his life was in peril; and his information having been disregarded, Tongue sent a written deposition to the king, who continued to treat the affair as beneath his notice. But the Lord Treasurer Danby believed, or feigned to believe, in the supposed conspiracy, and Tongue having asserted that on a certain day Father Bedingfield, confessor to the Duke of York, would receive letters containing treasonable matter, he hastened to intercept the dangerous missives. Fortunately, it happened that the father had already received them, and, seeing at once that they were forgeries, had given them to the duke, by whom they were passed on to the king. These letters were supposed to be written by different Jesuits, with whose real writing Father Bedingfield was well acquainted; moreover, one was written in the same hand as the deposition sent to the king, and the others by one person who had in vain endeavoured to vary his handwriting; they contained exactly the same faults of spelling and of grammar; in short, the imposture was at once so clear and so clumsy that the letters were suppressed by the Crown lawyer in the course of the trial.

Through the intervention of the Lord Treasurer, Oates was brought before the Privy Council, and to his original statement

he now added new and startling facts, which he had learnt, he said, through the Jesuits themselves : for instance, that the pecuniary resources for the plot had been furnished by Father de Lachaise ; that the queen's physician had been bribed to poison the king ; that the Jesuits had set fire to London in 1666, and had stolen 1000 carats of diamonds.

The members of the Privy Council looked at each other in surprise while these and other equally alarming statements were read out ; and Oates was requested to produce documents to prove his assertions. He confessed that he had not a single paper in his possession, but promised to bring forward abundant proofs if the persons whom he accused were arrested and their papers seized. The next day the examination was resumed in presence of the king and his brother, and Charles desired Oates to describe Don Juan of Austria, who figured in the report as an ally of the Jesuits. The reply was that the prince was tall, dark, and thin ; whereupon the king smiled incredulously as he turned to his brother ; both were personally acquainted with Don Juan, who was small and remarkably fair. Yet in spite of the evident absurdity of his deposition, the suggestions of Oates were attended to, and the Jesuits whom he accused were arrested, and their papers seized ; but it was impossible for their worst enemies to find a compromising word in the mass of documents submitted to their inspection. The king himself continued to attach no importance to the affair ; but Lord Shaftesbury, who is thought to have been the real inventor of the plot, spared no means to excite the alarm of the people, and, with consummate ingenuity, to convert every event into a confirmation of the conspiracy, thus acquiring extraordinary influence over the judgment of the nation, whose national and religious prejudices he skilfully flattered.

Just at this time a tragical occurrence came to complicate matters. Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, before whom Oates had made his deposition, was found stabbed to death on Primrose Hill ; his father had committed suicide, and he himself was of a melancholy disposition, and had attracted attention by his strange behaviour. Nevertheless, it was asserted that the

Catholics were his murderers, a statement all the more absurd as he had always been favourably disposed towards them. So ready were the people to believe anything against the Papists, that when the king opened parliament in October 1678 popular excitement had reached its height, and the two Houses, secretly rejoicing at the opportunity afforded them, passed new and severe measures against the Catholics, under pretence of providing for the king's safety. At the same time Shaftesbury was charged to examine the formidable and mysterious conspiracy, and so zealously did he fulfil his mission that to many it appeared as though he were trying rather to convince people of the existence of the plot than to find out the truth; but so successfully indeed did he work upon popular passions and prejudice that soon 2000 Catholics filled the London prisons. The proceedings, however, appeared likely to last some time, and the enemies of the Catholics were somewhat embarrassed to perceive that the whole plot rested solely on the testimony of Oates; for the prisoners, though repeatedly cross-questioned, protested that they were ignorant of the whole affair. But a reward having been promised to whoever should discover the assassins of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, a man named Bedloe, who enjoyed as evil a reputation as Oates himself, came forward and deposed that Godfrey had been stifled between pillows by two Jesuits named Lefevre and Walsh. He subsequently varied his story, and stated that Godfrey had been strangled with a necktie in the courtyard of Somerset House, the queen's palace, at five in the afternoon. It so happened that on the day and at the hour named by Bedloe the king was at Somerset House visiting the queen, and the courtyard was filled with the royal guards. At first Bedloe's only object seems to have been to earn the promised reward; but by degrees it dawned upon him that his statements would have more weight if they were made to tally with those of Oates, and he pretended to remember that he had met priests and Jesuits who had laid plans to kill the king, and that the queen, Catherine of Braganza, was implicated in the design. Oates even asserted that he was present at a meeting held for the

purpose at Somerset House, but he could not remember the room in which the conference had taken place. Upon this, Bedloe added that he also was present on the occasion; and on being asked why he had not mentioned this most important fact, he replied that it had escaped his memory.

The evident impossibility of Bedloe's assertions, and the extraordinary manner in which startling circumstances were daily added to them, make it almost incredible that they should have been accepted in England. Never, perhaps, has the blind credulity caused by party animosity been more forcibly illustrated.

The king alone continued to disbelieve the existence of the conspiracy; but he was too indolent and unprincipled to withstand the current of popular feeling; and the Catholics implicated in the plot were brought to trial. Their judge was the Lord Chief Justice Scraggs, of whom Burnet, certainly an impartial witness, says that 'his life had been indecently scandalous; and his fortunes were very low. . . . It was a melancholy thing to see so bad, so ignorant, and so poor a man raised to that great post.' Throughout the whole proceeding he listened with marked favour to the accusers, suggested their answers, and excused their blunders, whereas every moment he interrupted and insulted the Catholic prisoners.

The first to be tried was Coleman, secretary to the Duchess of York, who was executed at Tyburn on the testimony of Oates and Bedloe. A few days later, Father William Ireland, of the Society of Jesus, was brought to the bar in company with Thomas Pickering, a Benedictine lay-brother, and John Grove, a Catholic layman, servant to the English Jesuits. Father Ireland, who had entered the Society at the age of nineteen, was then in his forty-third year, and, according to the testimony of his contemporaries, was remarkable for his 'extraordinary piety and regularity.' Besides his personal qualities, there were circumstances connected with him that should have appealed to the king's sense of justice. His uncle had fallen in the service of Charles I.; and he was, moreover, nearly related to the Penderells of Boscobel, to whom

Charles II. owed his life after the battle of Worcester. According to Oates and Bedloe, Father Ireland was present at the famous conference where the Jesuits had decided to assassinate the king. He replied to the charge by bringing forward witnesses who deposed that, at the time specified, he had been in Staffordshire. But Oates having produced a low woman, who swore she had seen him in London, he was condemned on her testimony. On his return to Newgate, the father wrote a journal to show how he had been occupied day by day at the time when Oates described him as plotting in London; and among more than sixty witnesses whom he quoted were many persons of note: Lord Aston, the Giffards of Chillington, Sir Thomas Whitgreave, the Penderells of Boscobel, and others. This journal being shown to the king, he was greatly inclined to spare the father's life. But being at the time in much difficulty with his parliament, which demanded the impeachment of his treasurer, Danby, for high treason, to appease the populace, which was now inflamed to sedition against Danby, Charles delivered up Father Ireland to their will.

The accusations brought against his companions were equally unfounded. Grove and Pickering were charged with having walked in St. James's Park for the purpose of shooting the king; but the improbability of the tale mattered little to those who had resolved upon their death. On the 24th of January 1679, Father Ireland and John Grove were drawn from Newgate to Tyburn, and exposed during the whole of that 'Via Dolorosa' to the insults of the mob; but they bore the outrages heaped upon them with unmoved patience; and the father's countenance was so beautiful that an English nobleman present declared it breathed something divine. Brother Pickering was executed three months afterwards. To the very last his countenance beamed with extraordinary gladness, and, says Challoner, 'he went smiling off the stage.'

On the 13th of June following five Jesuits who had been arrested at the same time as Father Ireland were brought up on a similar charge. They were Father Thomas Whitbread, the Provincial, whom a prophetic voice had warned of his

future destiny ; Father William Waring, whose real name was Barrow, a Rector of the house in London, a venerable missionary who for long years had prayed daily that the martyr's crown might be his portion ; Father John Fenwick, whose real name was Caldwell, who suffered so grievously from the irons with which he was loaded that for a time it seemed necessary to amputate his leg ; Father John Gavan, the youngest of the five, surnamed 'the Angel,' and whose eloquent voice was compared to a silver trumpet ; and lastly, Father Anthony Turner, who, when on the brink of starvation, had given himself up to the pursuivants.

The prisoners based their system of defence, first, on the infamous character of the witnesses, Oates and his accomplices having been convicted of the most atrocious crimes ; secondly, on the contradictions to be found in their depositions ; thirdly, in reply to Oates's assertion that he was present at the Jesuits' meeting in London, they produced fifteen young gentlemen, who swore that at that very time they were with him at St. Omer, where he had remained for six months without a day's absence. Moreover, the prisoners recalled the fact that during Father Ireland's trial Oates had been detected in a flagrant act of perjury, and observed that it was strange there should be a conspiracy on so vast a scale, and yet that no trace of it should appear—no arms bought, no men enlisted ; nothing to reveal its existence except the oaths of men whose livelihood depended on the success of their schemes.

In spite of this convincing defence, the prisoners were found guilty of high treason, and condemned to death. But the mingled horror and absurdity of their trial have excited the indignation of Protestant writers. Mr. Higgon, the continuator of Sir Richard Baker's chronicle, quoted by Challoner, calls the plot 'a wicked forgery and imposture.' The great orator Fox declared that witnesses so contemptible asserted facts so improbable, or rather so impossible, that in the ordinary course of things they would have been regarded as utterly unworthy of belief.* The judge and jury seemed animated

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. iv. p. 140.

with a species of frenzy, and never, perhaps, did blind hatred and audacious falsehood obtain so complete a triumph over the forms of justice. The five Jesuits themselves, trained by a long course of detachment, looked beyond the iniquity of the present to the glorious future. They had endured with untroubled patience the insults of the lord chief justice, and had made a clear and candid defence. When the sentence was passed they cheerfully prepared for death. Father Gavan and Father Turner were visited in their cells by Lord Shaftesbury, who promised them the king's pardon if they would acknowledge the conspiracy; but they replied that they could not confess a fact of which they were totally ignorant.

The 30th of June was the day fixed for the execution. The five fathers were bound on sledges, and drawn from Newgate, through Oxford-street, to Tyburn, along that bloody road where so many of their brethren had passed; and the modesty and cheerfulness of their demeanour impressed even the savage mob. On arriving at the place of execution they each in turn addressed a short speech to the people, protesting solemnly that they were innocent of the crime imputed to them, but that they freely forgave their enemies; and Father Gavan, whose eloquence was celebrated, moreover defended his Order from the charge of holding 'king-killing doctrines.' These speeches were printed and widely circulated; and we read in the *Annual Letters* that 'they confirmed in most persons' minds the strongest opinion of the innocence of the sufferers, and the fictitiousness of the charges trumped up against them.'

The martyrs then spent some time in silent prayer, after which they gave themselves up to the hangman. The ropes were already round their necks, when a horseman rode up at full speed, and informed them that the king granted them a full pardon provided they would reveal what they knew of the plot. To this they replied that they heartily thanked the king, but that they could not reveal a conspiracy of which they were not only innocent, but entirely ignorant. Soon afterwards the cart was drawn away, and the martyrs were suffered to hang

till they expired. Their remains were given to their friends, who buried them under the northern wall in the churchyard of St. Giles's-in-the-Fields.

Among the English Catholics, the five martyrs of the Titus Oates conspiracy were regarded with peculiar veneration, and in the archives of the Society in Rome is a document attesting that the reigning Pope, Innocent XI., had called them martyrs, saints, and blessed, and thus, in some measure, sanctioned the honour paid to them. This valuable paper, signed by Father Appiani, S.J., is authenticated by a public notary. Another equally curious document relates that the queen, Catherine of Braganza, had in her boudoir the portraits of the five martyrs, and that the king never entered the room without turning towards them, kissing their hands, and expressing his deep regret for having condemned them, although he knew them to be innocent. Another letter, written by Father Lawrence, who was attached to the queen's household, mentions that, upon the king's death, the only article found in his purse was a relic of the true Cross, that had belonged to one of the martyred Jesuits.

While some of their brethren were dying at Tyburn for the faith, other members of the Society were gaining a no less glorious crown in the London prisons. Among those who died in Newgate were Father Edward Mico, socius to the Provincial, who was found dead on his knees, oppressed with the weight of his irons; Father Richard Lacey, who died invoking St. Ignatius and the martyred Provincial; and Father Thomas Jenison, who, after a year's complete solitude, expired with the exclamation, 'O, how sweet it is to suffer for Christ!' So edifying, indeed, was the patient cheerfulness of the Jesuit prisoners in Newgate, that their keeper, on being asked his opinion of the traitors committed to his charge, replied, 'Truly, I never saw such men as these are, for I never enter their cells but, contrary to the custom of the place, I catch them upon their knees, intent upon their prayers.' In 1678, Father Mumford, alias Bedinfield (whose real name was Downes), died in the Gatehouse prison, Westminster; and three years later, Father

Edward Turner, brother to the martyr, breathed his last in the same prison, after two years' captivity.

In the provinces the sufferings of the Jesuits were equally severe. The *Annual Letters* of these terrible years tell us that it was almost incredible with what alacrity the English fathers underwent every species of hardship, so much so that it required the reins of holy obedience to restrain their ardour. It was a saying among Protestants that 'the Jesuits fear neither danger nor death; as often as we hang them, others are ready to succeed.' A reward of twenty pounds was offered to any one who denounced a Catholic, and a hundred pounds to whoever procured the arrest of a Jesuit; and, animated by these bribes, the pursuivants were indefatigable in their searches. The priests were obliged to conceal themselves in haystacks, or in the depths of forests and marshes, where cold and exposure caused the death of many; but even in the woods they were not safe, as the priest-hunters would surround them with nets and hunt them out with dogs, like game. This barbarous practice was used in a wood near Boscobel, where only a few years before the Catholics had saved the life of the king. In the course of 1679 two Jesuits, Father Charles Baker (whose real name was David Lewis) and Father Philip Evans, were executed in Wales, and several secular and religious priests were put to death throughout England for taking part in the pretended conspiracy. Every kind of insult was heaped upon the martyrs: Father Humphry Evans, Rector of the College of St. Francis Xavier, and who for some time had been crippled and bed-ridden, was dragged from his bed and violently beaten, while he continued to repeat, 'Fiat voluntas Dei.' Father Cotton, alias Neville, a venerable missionary, was flung down a whole flight of stairs, and died a few days later. In Staffordshire, Father Atkins, an old man of eighty, paralyzed, deaf, and nearly speechless, was tried and condemned to death for high treason. The sentence had to be shouted into his ear; but he received it with intense joy, and with a great effort was able to say, 'Most noble lord judge, I return you my warmest thanks.' It was probably thought that the execution of one so aged and

infirm would rouse the indignation even of a bigoted people. To the father's bitter disappointment, he was left to die in Stafford gaol. In Morpeth prison Father Wilkinson was poisoned, out of hatred to the faith, proofs being wanting to secure conviction upon his trial: his enemies gave out that he had destroyed himself, and they buried him under a dunghill with every species of indignity; but, ten years later, the Catholics dug up his body, and found it white and flexible and perfectly incorrupt. This is not the only instance of the miraculous intervention of Providence in favour of the persecuted missionaries. Father Waldegrave, a celebrated member of the College of St. Aloysius, was ill of a fever and given up by the doctors as lost; but having invoked the five Jesuit martyrs of Tyburn, he mixed some of their relics with the water which he drank, whereupon the fever left him, and he was suddenly restored to perfect health. On another occasion, during the disturbance caused by the plot, Father Waldegrave, when on his road to visit a sick person, was met by an assassin, who raised a bludgeon to fell him to the ground; but suddenly the arm of the murderer became powerless, and he was unable to stir till the father had continued his journey in safety. The man himself related the fact, which he attributed to 'Jesuit witchcraft.'

The increased violence of the persecution had no power to damp the fervour with which young and ardent spirits embraced the missionary's career, and the *Annual Letters* of the Society, immediately after the pretended plot, give a touching picture of the effect produced upon the English students at St. Omer College by the martyrdoms in England. They describe the piety of these youths, their courage, and the patience with which they bore the calamities of their families in England. In 1679 fourteen amongst them entered the English Province of the Society; and after the execution of the Tyburn martyrs the whole seminary would have joined the Society had the Father Provincial allowed it. Every Sunday, all the year round, and in times of great calamity on other days, the Blessed Sacrament was exposed in the college church, the students

taking turns to pray before It, for their persecuted brethren beyond the sea.

On the 16th of February 1685 (new style), Charles II. breathed his last, and was happy enough to die a Catholic by the care of his brother the Duke of York, who then succeeded him on the throne, under the title of James II.

The new sovereign was a sincere Catholic, and his intentions were good, although his intellect was not of a high order, and his character deficient in firmness and prudence. He immediately made a public profession of his faith, liberated all Catholic prisoners; and though he could not as yet effect a general restoration of the ancient faith, yet the openness with which he practised his religion considerably alarmed his Protestant subjects.

It would be too long to relate how the king's intentions were frustrated by the bigotry or treachery of those around him, and how his weak, yet presumptuous, character was still an obstacle to his designs. We must be content with following throughout his reign the history of the English Province, several of whose members filled important posts about his person.

The confessor of the king, upon his accession, was a French Capuchin, who was dismissed on account of his nationality, and Father John Warner, a famous controversialist, was chosen to replace him. He was a man of a singularly modest and upright character, extremely averse to politics, and in his difficult position he won the esteem of Catholics and Protestants alike. When the Revolution broke out, however, he was ill-treated and thrown into prison; but, on being released at the end of a month, he succeeded in joining his royal penitent at St. Germain. Father Warner subsequently accompanied King James on his ill-fated expedition to Ireland, and returned with him to St. Germain, where he died in 1692.

The confidence of the king during his brief reign was shared almost equally between Father Warner, his confessor, and another yet more celebrated member of the English Province, Father Edward Petre, whose family had already given several

members to the English Province. He was the son of Sir Francis Petre of Cranham, a faithful adherent of Charles I., and of Elizabeth Gage, and was born in London in 1631. In 1652 he entered the novitiate at Watten, and upon the death of his elder brother he succeeded to the baronetcy conferred on his father by Charles II. when in exile. After his return to England Father Petre became Superior of the Hampshire district; but he was arrested in connection with the pretended plot and imprisoned in Newgate, where he was 'an angel of comfort' to his fellow-prisoners, one of whom, Father Lacey, died in his arms. In 1680, Father Petre was released, through the intervention of the Duke of York; and a Latin account, existing among the archives of the Society in Rome, tell us that he devoted himself 'to collect together the scattered remains of the sad shipwreck of the English Province, such as its books of accounts, deeds, documents, &c.' Until a new Provincial could safely be sent to England he was named Vice-Provincial, an office he filled during four years with remarkable prudence and charity; and on the accession of James II. he was appointed over the new royal chapel in St. James's Palace, a mark of favour that created great envy and caused many attacks to be directed against the Society. This ill-feeling considerably increased when King James, with characteristic imprudence, named Father Petre Privy Councillor and Clerk of the Closet, and accusations of ambition and worldliness, of which he seems to have been wholly undeserving, were showered on the father himself. The real mover of this unpopular measure was the king's minister the Earl of Sunderland, who, during the last reign, had been the bitter adversary of the Duke of York, but who, by dint of dissembling, had retained the important office of Secretary of State. Lingard, though by no means favourable to Father Petre, Pèrè d'Orléans, D'Oliver, and other historians agree that the Jesuit was outwitted by the unscrupulous and able minister, who, in order to curry favour with the king, advocated the elevation of Father Petre, while at heart he rejoiced at the unpopularity this measure must bring upon his royal master. 'He made the presence

of the Jesuit a screen for himself,' says Lingard; 'for as long as the former occupied a place in the council, to him chiefly would attach the odium of every measure offensive to the feelings or prejudicial to the interests of Protestants.*' It is difficult to estimate the exact amount of influence exercised by Father Petre. Barillon, the French ambassador, asserts that he opposed the rigorous measures taken by the king against the Anglican Bishops, and towards the end of the reign he seems to have advised the king to remain at his post; for in after years, at St. Germain, James was heard to say that those who attributed his misfortunes to Father Petre were greatly in error, as his affairs would have been in a far different condition had he followed the father's advice.

The unusual position into which Father Petre had been forced, a position totally at variance with the rules of his Order, exposed him to much misconception, and was unfavourably regarded by the heads of the Society. Unfortunately, the original correspondence of Father Petre, when at court, with his brethren at St. Omer, was lost in the plunder of the English College at Bruges in 1773; yet sufficient information may be gathered from the *Annual Letters*, and from the king's correspondence with Rome, to convince any impartial person that he bore his honours with regret and reluctance. The *Annual Letters* written at the time tell us that his conduct was ever modest and disinterested, and that he repeatedly on his knees begged the king to let him retire from court; but not only did James refuse the desired permission, he also wrote to Pope Innocent X. to demand the Roman purple for his favourite. The Pope refused it; whereupon the king, hearing that Father Petre had been accused of ambition at Rome, renewed his demand in a letter dated Dec. 22, 1687, adding, 'He is by no means caught by the prospect of the sacred purple, nor is there any one whose soul has so utter an aversion to any kind of canvassing for honours.' A memorial presented to the Pope about the same time, by the king's envoy, mentions the father's desire to retire from court,

* Vol. x. p. 110.

which, it is added, 'causes no small disquiet to his majesty.' The Pope, however, persisted in his refusal, on the ground of the anger that such a step would cause in England, where the king's confessor was already an object of continual attacks and calumnies.

In the general panic caused by the Revolution of 1688, Father Petre retired to France, where he became Rector of the English College of St. Omer. He died at Watten in 1699, much beloved and respected for his religious virtues, ability, and kindness of heart. On the death of his eldest brother, Sir Francis Petre, some years previously, he had succeeded to the baronetcy, though he never assumed the title.

If by his injudicious conduct with regard to his Jesuit adviser, King James compromised his friend and injured the Society, he in other respects proved himself a valuable protector to the Jesuits in England, and it is a relief to turn from the bloody persecutions of the last reign to the brief interval of peace and prosperity enjoyed by Catholics under the last Stuart king. Not only did priests and religious venture to appear once more in public, but, in spite of the bigotry of the people, Catholic chapels and schools were opened throughout England; and in London especially, the Benedictines, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Jesuits had houses and chapels, where the services were numerous attended. On the accession of King James, Father Keynes, Provincial of the English Jesuits, assembled the fathers, who were scattered in private families, and established them in a house on the banks of the Thames, close to the old Savoy Palace. It is described as commanding a view over the open fields that extended on the opposite shore as far as Westminster Bridge, and here, with the approval of the king and the Father General, a college was opened, with Father Charles Poulton, alias Palmer, as its Rector. Prospectuses were issued, announcing that Greek and Latin were taught, that the education was gratis, and boys admitted without distinction of religion. On the feast of Pentecost, 1687, the new school was solemnly opened, and on the first day it numbered two hundred and fifty scholars, many of whom were Protestants, who

became sincerely attached to the school, and whose parents and friends eventually embraced the true faith. Controversial lectures were delivered every Sunday at Vespers, and so great was the attendance that it became necessary to enlarge the chapel. The king took a deep interest in the progress of the college, and visited it several times, when he was received with great honour by the scholars, who addressed to him speeches in Greek, Latin, and English. Some time afterwards a second college was established in the heart of the city, and was speedily attended by a large number of pupils. Its Rector was Father Charles Petre, brother to Father Edward.

All over England the Jesuits displayed similar activity, while some of them opened free schools. Others gave missions in the country, after which numbers of people flocked to receive the Sacraments. At the king's special desire they founded a mission at Oxford, the bulwark of heresy, and, in order to have greater influence over the students, several of the fathers went previously to receive the doctor's degree at the University of Treves. The Master of University College, Oxford, was a Catholic, and had a chapel served by the Jesuits. In Lancashire the *Annual Letters* tell us there 'was a great and joyful harvest.' At Wigan the fathers opened a school with one hundred scholars, and the chapel was too small for the number of people who attended. At Durham, Newcastle, Lincoln, Pontefract, Bury St. Edmunds, and Norwich they likewise had schools and chapels, and at Pontefract especially the sermons of Father Henry Hamerton produced numbers of conversions.

Among the illustrious members of the Society who flourished about this time we must not omit to mention Father John Warner, alias Clare, the most celebrated convert of his day. He was known in the world as Sir John Warner, of Parham, in Suffolk, and had been created a baronet by Charles II. in return for his valuable services. In June 1664, Lady Warner became a Catholic through the means of her cousin Father Hanmer, a Jesuit, and the way in which Sir John received the news of her conversion illustrates his loyal and generous character. While advising her to proceed with due caution he

added that, if he could share her conviction that the Catholic Church was the only true one, no temporal consequences would hinder him from joining it. At length, after much study and frequent interviews both with Protestant divines and Jesuit fathers, his doubts were dispelled, and in 1664 he was, in his turn, admitted into the Catholic Church.

Together with the light of truth there came to Sir John Warner and to his wife an ardent desire to consecrate themselves wholly to God's service; and having disposed of their estates in favour of Francis Warner, brother of Sir John, and secured portions for their two daughters, they embarked for France. Lady Warner entered the convent of the Poor Clares at Gravelines, where she died in 1670, under the name of Clare of Jesus, and Sir John proceeded to the Jesuit novitiate at Watten. He subsequently became Rector of Watten, and in 1689 Provincial of the English Jesuits.

Unfortunately the bright gleam of sunshine that broke over the Catholics of England after the accession of James II. was of short duration; and when, in 1688, the last Stuart king was driven from the throne the horrors of religious persecution were once more enacted. One of the chief causes of the king's unpopularity was his attachment to the Church, an attachment often imprudent in its manifestations, but thoroughly sincere; and the Revolution that sent him into exile was characterized by its anti-Catholic tendency. The schools and chapels so lately opened were plundered and destroyed, and the priests had to fly as in the worst days of Elizabeth. The London colleges were the first attacked; Father Poulton, Rector of the Savoy College, was conveyed to Newgate, where he died at the age of eighty, with the hymn of St. Francis Xavier on his lips, 'Jesu, ego amo Te.' The other fathers, after some months' imprisonment, succeeded in making their way to Belgium. The same scenes of destruction took place all over the country; the *Annual Letters* tell us that 'the fathers had to fly, seeking safety in rough and impassable localities, in the depth of the cold of winter, concealing themselves by day in the woods or on the top of hills, venturing only to travel by night.' In

Lancashire, Father Clement Smith remained in the woods for several days without food—every one refused to shelter him; and once he was nearly lost in the quicksands. On another occasion he spent whole weeks without a change of linen; and when at last he found a refuge he was for a year unable to light a fire or a candle for fear of endangering his hosts. He died, exhausted by his sufferings, at the age of thirty-eight. At Berwick-on-Tweed, Father Worsley was confined for nineteen months in an underground dungeon, loaded with chains, which we are told he regarded as 'valuable ornaments and jewels,' and surrounded by reptiles, which had been bred in his damp prison. At Pontefract, Father Every was so closely pursued that in the months of December and January he spent the day in some ditch or hole. Later on, for a whole year he was confined to one room, unable to open his window, or even to walk up and down, lest he should betray himself.

At the same time the laws against the Catholics were revived. A letter from Father Humberston, the Provincial, written as late as 1700, gives a list of the penalties imposed upon the so-called 'recusants,' who were, moreover, declared incapable of inheriting or of possessing honours and titles, and of buying or selling lands. At this period, the English Province numbered 340 members; and ten years later, in 1710, the *Annual Letters* give the following statistics of the result of their labours—1804 Extreme Unctions, 2081 baptisms, 12,476 penitents under their direction, and 3537 Protestants received into the Church between 1700 and 1710.

In spite of the continual sufferings to which the English Catholics were still exposed, it may be said that the worst days of persecution were now at an end; and we shall no more follow the martyred Jesuits along the well-known road from Newgate to Tyburn, though, indeed, long years of struggle and difficulty must still be borne ere the blessings of religious liberty can be fully enjoyed.

CHAPTER VI.

Father Michael Angelo Tamburini, Fourteenth General of the Society, 1706-1730.

THE General Congregation of the Society assembled on the death of Father Gonzalès proceeded, on the 30th of January 1706, to the election of Father Michael Angelo Tamburini, a native of Modena, who had filled several important posts in the Order, and enjoyed a great reputation for virtue and wisdom. The period during which Father Tamburini governed the Society was filled with events of importance, and was, in many respects, a time of difficulty and trial. In France, after their long contest with the Jansenists, the Jesuits were exposed to the yet more formidable attacks of the infidel philosophers whose pernicious teaching spread rapidly through the kingdom, and gradually prepared the way for the ruin of the Society. In the missions the Order continued to number countless confessors and martyrs, men whose deeds earned for them a glorious place in the annals of religion and science; but their work was hampered and well-nigh destroyed by the long disputes on the rites and ceremonies of China and Malabar, which will form the subject of a separate chapter. The theological discussions that marked the early years of Louis XIV. continued throughout his reign, and the Jesuits found themselves unavoidably involved in these controversial disputes. The apparent submission of the Jansenists in 1669 had been a mere matter of form, and concealed on their part an obstinate resolution to maintain their own peculiar views. In August 1694, however, the sect experienced a severe loss in the person of Antoine Arnauld, who had been for so long the leader of Jansenism in France. He died at Malines at the age of eighty-three, hopelessly attached to his errors. Nicole soon followed him to the grave; and their disciple Quesnel became, after

their death, the leader of the party. But with Arnauld and Nicole passed away the first generation of French Jansenists, men of intense pride and obstinacy, but possessing remarkable talents that were not inherited by those who subsequently assumed the leadership of the sect.

The year before Arnauld's death Quesnel published his *Moral Reflections on the New Testament*, a book filled with errors, but so ably written that Louis de Noailles, Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, approved it for his diocese in 1695. It was rapidly distributed throughout France; but the Jesuits, whose suspicions were roused by the praises lavished on it by the Jansenists, examined it, and became convinced of its dangerous tendency. In the mean time De Noailles had been translated to the see of Paris, where one of his first acts was to condemn a Jansenist book called *Exposition de la Foi touchant la Grâce*, written by De Barcos, a nephew of St. Cyran. The Archbishop was a sincerely pious prelate, but of a thoughtless and uncertain character; and he did not perceive that the doctrine he now condemned was identical with what he had approved in Quesnel's book. The Jansenists, however, did not fail to make use of this inconsistency, and published a clever satire, in which the texts of the two works were amusingly compared. The real author of this satire was a Benedictine monk, a violent Jansenist; but he published it anonymously; and, according to the Protestant Schoell,* he so successfully imitated the Jesuits' style of writing that the book was falsely attributed to them by the archbishop, whose irritation was carefully fostered and encouraged by the Jansenists, for the twofold object of screening themselves and of implicating the Society.

However, just about this time, 1703, Louis XIV. fully realized that their pretended submission to Rome had in no way destroyed the spirit of rebellion peculiar to the Jansenists, and that they were dangerous not only in religion, but also in politics. He discovered that a conspiracy to undermine his authority had been planned by Quesnel and his disciple Gerberon, and the persons implicated in the plot were imprisoned.

* Créteineau-Joly, vol. iv. p. 380.

in the Bastille or at Vincennes; their papers were seized and sent for examination to the Jesuit theologians in Paris.

Two years later, in July 1705, Pope Clement XI., by the Bull 'Vineam Domini Sabaoth,' formally condemned the errors of Jansenism, and in particular blamed the 'respectful silence' with which the members of the sect had received the previous decisions of the Holy See. The Bull was sanctioned by parliament and accepted by the clergy; but the Jansenists throughout the kingdom rejected it. The nuns of Port Royal des Champs, who in 1669 had been allowed to return to their monastery, were especially distinguished by their resistance; and in 1708 the convent was suppressed by a decree from Rome, the nuns dispersed, and the abbey destroyed. By a curious coincidence it was a great-nephew of the first Arnauld, the Marquis de Pomponne, who displayed the greatest zeal in enforcing the sentence.

Father de Lachaise, the king's confessor, died in 1709, the year after the suppression of Port Royal des Champs. During the last years of his life his age and infirmities obliged him to appear at court but very rarely. The weakness which he displayed during the contest between the king and the Holy See, when he suffered the influence of his royal master to interfere with his loyalty to Rome, prevents him from being considered as irreproachable in the exercise of his difficult functions; nevertheless his gentle and conciliating disposition rendered him generally popular. Among his friends Fénelon occupies a high place. Father de Lachaise had admired the *Maximes des Saints*; when the book was condemned at Rome he submitted his judgment to the sentence, but continued to regard the writer with affection; and when, after the publication of *Telemachus*, Fénelon was banished from court, his Jesuit friend was almost the only person who ventured to speak to the king in his praise. Madame de Maintenon in her letters remarks with surprise that 'Father de Lachaise dared to praise Fénelon's devotion and generosity in the presence of the king.'*

* Letter of Madame de Maintenon to the Card. de Noailles. Créteineau-Joly, vol. iv. p. 37.

in 1703, the conspiracy of the Jansenists against the government was discovered, it was found that Rollin the historian, then rector of the university, a man of great learning, but of childlike simplicity, had been unwittingly drawn into the plot. On account of his responsible position the king was prepared to make him pay a heavy penalty for his error; but at the intercession of Father de Lachaise he relented, and restored him to liberty.*

The functions of confessor to the king now devolved on Father Michael Letellier, whose stern and inflexible character contrasted with the gentleness and polish of his predecessor, and excited the dislike of St. Simon, who calls him 'cruel and ferocious.' His parents were poor peasants near Vire, in Normandy, a fact which he openly avowed, to the great scandal of the courtiers. He constantly refused to use the carriage drawn by six horses, which the king used to send to bring him to Versailles, and his rough frankness was a somewhat unusual feature in the fastidious Court of Versailles.

Father Letellier was a determined adversary to the Jansenist doctrine, and he is painted in darkest colours by the writers of the sect, who attribute the destruction of Port Royal to his influence; whereas the mere study of dates shows that the monastery was suppressed in 1708, before the death of Father de Lachaise, and therefore before his successor had entered upon his duties at court. Like Father de Lachaise he had a warm friendship for Fénelon, then in disgrace with the king, and his wish to serve his friend inspired the latter with the fear that he might, on this account, forfeit the king's confidence. In his letters he repeatedly entreats his Jesuit correspondent to run no risk for the sake of 'a man who is, thank God, in peace in the humiliating condition wherein God has placed him.'† Though removed from the court where he had once filled so important a post, Fénelon watched with interest the course of public events, and was dismayed at the progress of Jansenism in France. It is curious to find the

* Créteineau-Joly, vol. iv. p. 341.

† *Œuvres de Fénelon*, vol. xxv. p. 241. Créteineau-Joly, vol. iv. p. 391.

gentle Archbishop charging Father Letellier, in his letters, with excessive condescension towards the schismatics ; for the 'ferocious and cruel' Jesuit described by St. Simon was so fearful of a yet further rupture between Rome and the Jansenists, that he spared no pains to gain them to the Church by persuasive and conciliatory measures. Father Letellier's moderation, however, was the result of reflection, not of weakness ; and when he felt it his duty to act with energy his native vigour manifested itself.

In 1710, the Bishops of Laon and La Rochelle having condemned Quesnel's *Reflections*, Cardinal de Noailles chose to regard this step as a personal insult, because he himself formerly had approved the book, and he openly attacked the two prelates. Father Letellier, on the contrary, warmly commended them, and used all his influence to induce the other Bishops to follow their example, whereupon the Cardinal complained to the king. These theological discussions, which now have but an historical interest, were at that time the subject of passionate debates. 'Father Letellier was almost as much spoken of as Prince Eugène and Villars. Quesnel and the Cardinal de Noailles occupied as large a share of public attention as the victories of Berwick or the campaigns of Marlborough.*' Finding that his complaints were disregarded by the Courts of Rome and Versailles, the Cardinal proceeded on his own authority to suspend from all ecclesiastical duties the Jesuits in his diocese, except those who were confessors to the king and to the princes, and whom, for this reason, he dared not attack. As he had, however, promised to submit to the decision of Rome regarding the doctrines in Quesnel's book, which were the real subject of discussion, Louis XIV. begged Clement XI. for an explicit declaration ; and the Pope replied by the Bull 'Unigenitus Dei Filius,' dated September 8th, 1713, by which 101 propositions extracted from the work were condemned as heretical.

Rome had now spoken with unmistakable clearness and authority, and Cardinal de Noailles had a grand opportunity

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. iv. p. 396.

offered him for repairing past errors; but though, to avoid a rupture with Rome, he agreed to condemn the *Reflections*, yet to conciliate the Jansenists he declined to accept the Bull. In the mean time the 'Unigenitus' was sanctioned by the king, accepted unconditionally by 108 Bishops, and with certain modifications by thirteen others, one only refusing absolutely to submit. The Jansenists protested against the Bull, and strove to neutralize its effect by inundating the kingdom with absurd and malicious anecdotes against the Jesuits, who were its chief supporters; and their audacity was encouraged by the great age of the king, whose long and brilliant reign was closing amidst threatening clouds. A great change had come over the Court of Versailles: the hitherto invincible armies of France had been defeated and crushed, her conquests torn from her; and of the numerous and blooming family group that had once gathered round the throne of Louis there remained but one fragile child, on whom rested the hopes of France. A change too had taken place in the soul of the king, and in the bereaved monarch who bore his sorrows with dignified resignation it was hard to recognize the imperious and despotic ruler of former days. The Jansenists watched with eager eyes the failing strength of the king, after whom they saw in the distance the regency of Philip of Orleans, a prince without faith or morals, under whom they expected full liberty to propagate their teaching.

But though broken by age and grief, Louis retained all his intelligence and energy, and, foreseeing with anxiety the future in store for France, he resolved to make a last attempt to crush the Jansenists, and for this purpose he convoked a national synod. Before the meeting of the assembly, President des Maisons, on the part of Cardinal de Noailles, visited Father Letellier, and proposed to him certain modifications, which he was advised to suggest to the Pope, in order to make the acceptance of the Bull more easy. The father positively declined to promote what were in his eyes unlawful concessions to the cause of heresy, and the president, irritated at his firmness, reminded him of the king's advanced age, and

represented that at any moment the Society, deprived in France of its only protector, might be exposed to the revenge of those whom he now declined to conciliate. To this Father Letellier coldly replied, 'that if so many of his Order went to seek suffering and death in foreign lands, the least he and his brethren could do was to wait for the same fate in France, if such was God's good pleasure.'

Shortly afterwards, Des Maisons' gloomy prophecies were fulfilled. On the 1st of September 1715, Louis XIV. breathed his last, leaving his heart to the professed house of the Jesuits in Paris, where it was duly deposited. The Jansenists surrounded the regent, and gained him over by their flatteries; Cardinal de Noailles became president of the council for ecclesiastical matters; and Father Letellier was exiled first to Amiens, then to La Flèche, where he died four years later.

At the same time, in order to render the late king's confessor odious to the people, the Jansenists spread the report that numberless members of their party had been thrown into prison through his influence, and the charge has been repeated by modern writers hostile to the Society. Its falsehood is proved by the writings of the Jansenists themselves. Thus the Jansenist *Nécrologe*, in which are recorded the names of the so-called martyrs of the sect, mentions only two Jansenist prisoners in the Bastille during the six years that Father Letellier was confessor to the king, and other books, also written by members of the sect, mention four prisoners at the Bastille and two at Vincennes during the same period. To these six prisoners amount the *countless* victims of Father Letellier's cruelty, and no authentic evidence can be produced to show that he had any share in the detention even of these few.*

The regent had consented to the banishment of Father Letellier, but, in spite of his irreligion and immorality, he refused to sanction all the measures against the Society. Thus when the University of Paris, no longer awed by the majesty of Louis XIV., revived its old grievances against the Jesuits,

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. iv. p. 415.

and demanded that their pupils should be debarred from taking degrees, Philip of Orleans replied that he would never permit so great an injustice. He, however, allowed his council in 1716 to suppress the Congregations of our Lady which the Jesuits had established in the army, where they produced wonderful good; and the injustice and absurdity of this measure aroused the indignation of the Marshal de Villars, who saved the French monarchy at the battle of Denain, and who was himself a pupil of the Society. 'When I was at the head of the armies,' he exclaimed, 'I never saw soldiers more active, more prompt in obeying orders, more intrepid, than those belonging to the congregation.'*

Meanwhile, the young king was growing up to manhood, and Cardinal Dubois, who, though no friend to the Jesuits, was the opponent of Cardinal de Noailles, caused Father de Lignières, a Jesuit, to be appointed confessor to the sovereign. But neither he nor his successors, Fathers Perusseau and Desmaretz, ever exercised the influence enjoyed by the confessors of Louis XIV. At their own desire they renounced the right to distribute ecclesiastical benefices, and confined themselves solely to the exercise of their spiritual duties. A little later, Cardinal de Noailles made his long-deferred submission to the Bull 'Unigenitus,' and in 1729, his successor to the see of Paris, Charles de Vintimille, restored to the Jesuits the faculties of which they had been deprived since 1716.

During the last few years an important and menacing change had been taking place in the public mind; the chief leaders of Jansenism had passed away, and with them died the prestige of intellectual brilliancy that Pascal, Arnauld, and the first 'solitaires' had shed over their party. The close connection existing between opposition to Rome and opposition to the government had at length awakened the attention of even the careless Philip of Orleans, and the numbers of Jansenists whom he imprisoned as rebellious and turbulent subjects prove that his severity towards them far surpassed that of Louis XIV., which has excited so much hostile criticism. In consequence,

* Ibid. vol. iv. p. 419.

the heresy that had at one time threatened to master the whole of France was, in spite of the writings of Quesnel and the protection of De Noailles, falling gradually into contempt and oblivion; but in its stead grew up an equally perilous spirit of free-thinking philosophy, allied to a corruption of morals of which the regent gave the example. The subtle discussions on grace and free-will which had occupied the Court of Louis XIV. were replaced by a total negation of all religion; and the tide of rebellion and incredulity, destined ere long to sweep away the altar of God and the throne of the fleurs-de-lys, was making a terrible advance.

While their brethren in Paris were involved in theological discussions, the Jesuits in the provinces, less exposed to public notice, were engaged in varied works of zeal and charity; they were equally at home in the palaces of the great or in the huts of the peasants, in the royal chapel of Versailles or amidst the inhabitants of the Cevennes. 'The Jesuit in this century is the indispensable man,'* says the historian of the Society; but it was especially where there was peril or sorrow that they were ever foremost. Thus, when in 1720 the plague broke out at Marseilles, the fathers were the most valuable auxiliaries of the heroic Bishop, who himself had for some time belonged to the Society. Over a thousand persons were carried off daily; the magistrates and judges had either died or fled, and a Jesuit, Father Claude Milley, consented to exercise their functions. At length, all the fathers, Father Milley included, succumbed to the plague, excepting one aged man, Father Levert, who had been a missionary in Egypt and Syria. He continued the work for which his brethren had laid down their lives, and when the Pope sent a ship laden with provisions to the city, where famine was raging as well as pestilence, he assisted the Bishop to distribute the food sent by the common father. At last, when the plague had well-nigh disappeared, the heroic missionary, who had passed unscathed through the fearful ordeal, died of exhaustion in the arms of Belzunce.

While these events were passing in France, the neighbour-

* *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 405.

ing kingdom of Spain was divided between the rival claims of Philip V., grandson of Louis XIV., who was proclaimed King of Spain on the death without issue of Charles II. in 1700, and of the Archduke Charles of Austria. The latter demanded the support of the English, and his alliance with a Protestant nation contributed to render his cause unpopular with the clergy and the religious orders, most of whom sided with Philip V. When the young prince left Versailles to take possession of the throne, he was, at the desire of Louis XIV., accompanied by Father Daubenton, a Jesuit, who had been his confessor from his childhood. Later on, through the manoeuvres of the able and ambitious Princesse des Ursins, the father had to leave Spain; but he was succeeded by Father Robinet, also a Frenchman, remarkable for his energy in the reform of abuses, but whose uncompromising character rendered him little suited to a court atmosphere. The archbishopric of Toledo, one of the richest in Spain, having become vacant, the queen, Elizabeth Farnese, demanded that it should be given to Cardinal del Giudice, a prelate who already possessed considerable riches. Before giving an answer, the king consulted Father Robinet, who, on the ground that the Cardinal was already very rich, and an Italian by birth, advised him to select in preference Valero Lera, a poor country priest of remarkable holiness, who had rendered valuable services to the king during his struggle for the crown, and who, having been named Bishop of Badajoz, displayed singular prudence and sanctity in the exercise of his functions. Philip V. acted upon the suggestion; Lera became Archbishop of Toledo; but the queen, who could not forgive Father Robinet for thwarting her plans, shortly afterwards obtained his removal. Father Robinet joyfully left the court, where he had only remained from obedience; and by his advice Philip V. recalled Father Daubenton, who was then Assistant for France in Rome, and who remained with his royal penitent until his death in 1723. When he felt his end approaching he asked the king's permission to remove to Loyola, as he wished to breathe his last in the house of St. Ignatius. By the express command of Philip V. his funeral was attended

by the ministers and courtiers, and the honours reserved for the grandees of Spain were rendered to his remains.

Like all the members of the Society who became confessors to royal personages, Father Daubenton has been made a special object of accusation and calumny. An apostate Franciscan named Bollando, in a book which was suppressed in Spain, relates that the father, having revealed to the Duke of Orleans the secret desire of Philip V. to abdicate the throne, spared no pains to encourage the idea in order to serve the policy of France, and that Philip, after discovering his treachery, reproached him so bitterly that Daubenton died from the effects of the royal displeasure. This sensational history, which Voltaire alone has repeated, is contemptuously denied by writers most hostile to the Society—St. Simon, the Abbé Grégoire, and Duclos. The facts of the case are that the king, who was heartily weary of the cares of royalty, conceived a desire to follow the example of the Emperor Charles V. ; and the Regent Philip of Orleans greatly encouraged the project, as he wished to see his daughter, who had married the king's eldest son, Queen of Spain. Father Daubenton, on the contrary, earnestly opposed the plan, and as long as he lived Philip would not execute it. The version of his dying in disgrace at court is sufficiently disproved by the honours decreed to him by his royal penitent, who deeply mourned his loss.* Father Bermudez, who succeeded him as confessor to the king, was a man of less energy, and he allowed Philip V. to carry out his long-projected abdication in 1725 ; five months later, however, the premature end of his eldest son, Don Louis, who died without issue, obliged the king to resume the reins of government.

It may be remembered that a Jesuit, Father Salerno, received in 1712 the abjuration of the hereditary Prince of Saxony and Poland, whose marriage with an Archduchess of Austria he afterwards successfully negotiated. The Emperor Joseph I. and the King of Poland united to demand the Roman purple for Father Salerno ; the Pope willingly complied, and the Jesuit became a cardinal in 1719. Six years before, a similar honour

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. iv. p. 435.

had been conferred on Father Tolomée, a man of eminent piety ; and in 1720, Father Alvarès Cienfuegos, a celebrated Spanish father, was likewise made a cardinal at the request of the Archduke Charles of Austria.

These nominations, which were the result of the demands of crowned heads, became a pretext for the attacks of the adversaries of the Order, and were a matter of regret to the Jesuits themselves, whom obedience alone constrained to accept them. Cienfuegos was the last Jesuit cardinal before the suppression of the Society.

At this period, 1719, the Order possessed several houses in Russia, where its members had been willingly admitted by Peter the Great, who even consulted them on different occasions. But as their views, particularly on the subject of the Greek Church, did not coincide with his own, he summarily banished them from his dominions, with characteristic despotism.

While in the different countries of Europe the Jesuits were thus taking part in the important events of the day, in the kingdom of Naples a missionary of the Order was engaged in a work similar to that accomplished by Father Maunoir for his native Brittany, and by Francis Régis for Southern France. St. Francis Girolamo, the apostle of Naples, was born at Grottaglia, in the province of Otranto, the 17th December 1642. He was distinguished from his infancy for his ardent charity, and at the age of sixteen he was sent to pursue his theological studies at the Jesuit schools of Tarento. When only twenty-three he was ordained priest, with a dispensation on account of his youth ; but five years later he felt himself called to a yet more complete self-sacrifice, and solicited admission into the Society, where, during his novitiate, the reality of his vocation was tested by severe trials. Convinced at length of the depth and truth of his religious calling, his Superiors determined to utilize his rare gift of preaching, and when he petitioned to be sent on the mission they replied that Naples must for him take the place of India or Japan. It was then that he began his missionary career ; on the public squares at Naples, and in the neighbouring towns and villages, his voice was heard for over

thirty years, with its warm and persuasive eloquence, so well suited to the emotional people whom he addressed. Everywhere miracles of grace crowned his efforts, and his gentleness and charity produced almost as great an impression as his burning exhortations. At length, exhausted by fatigue, he fell dangerously ill, and during his agony his deathbed was surrounded by weeping multitudes, who came to receive the apostle's parting blessing. He died on the 11th of May 1716, at the age of seventy-four, and was canonized by Gregory XVI. in 1837.

With this brief account of the apostle of Naples we close the generalate of Father Michael Angelo Tamburini. He died on the 28th of February 1730, and Father Francis Retz, Assistant for Germany, was appointed to assemble the Congregation for the election of a new General.

CHAPTER VII.

Missions in the East.

It has been seen how, under the patronage of Louis XIV., the Jesuits established missions in Persia; the king likewise assisted, as far as lay in his power, their apostolic exertions in Turkey, Greece, and Syria, where they evangelized a race hardly less ignorant than the poor savages of more distant lands.

In 1680 a mission was founded at Adrianople, the habitual residence of the sultan, and at Constantinople several fathers were in constant attendance upon the galley-slaves, among whom were many Christian captives. A letter of Father Cachod, written in 1707, gives a picture of these hotbeds of pestilence, where thousands of human beings were huddled together, and where many members of the Society died martyrs of charity. 'I feel,' he writes, 'as though I had now conquered the fear of infection. . . . I have just come from the galleys, where I gave the last Sacraments to and closed the eyes of ninety persons. . . . The greatest risk I ever incurred in my life was, I think, in the cabin of a man-of-war. The slaves, with the consent of their gaolers, made me enter in the evening, to hear their confessions all night and to say Mass for them in the morning. We were all shut up with double locks, according to custom. Out of fifty-two slaves whose confessions I heard, and to whom I gave Holy Communion, twelve were ill, and three died before I came away. Imagine what the air must have been in a place thus shut up, without the smallest opening.'*

In Greece, as in Turkey, the Jesuits were untiring in their labours; at Scio they founded a college, where there were soon three hundred pupils, and a mission, which in 1695 numbered

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 4.

eighty thousand Catholics. At Smyrna, Thessalonica, Naxos, Trebizond, Damascus, and in the islands of the Archipelago they likewise established houses of the Order. Their course was a difficult one, as they had to steer their way between the brutal tyranny of the Turks and the obstinacy of the Greek schismatics, but by dint of patience and perseverance they gained to the Church a large number of converts.

In 1706 a French doctor named Ferrand described to the fathers at Constantinople the pitiable condition of the Christian slaves in the Crimea; how among them there were Polish, Hungarian, and Austrian Catholics, some of whom had become Mahometans to escape further suffering; and others had fallen into a depth of degradation where the very name of God was forgotten. This picture of woe deeply moved Father Duban, one of the fathers; he started for the Crimea, and found the prisoners in a state even worse than that described. Alone and unaided he began his task; he had to contend with the jealous tyranny of Gazi Guiray, the khan or padishah of the Crimea, and for the first few months his efforts seemed fruitless; but, by degrees, the prisoners, touched by his kindness, gathered round him, and a new life of Christian regularity and virtue was inaugurated among them. The fame of Father Duban's courageous undertaking having reached France he was created French consul in the Crimea, other fathers were sent to join him, and ere long a flourishing mission arose on the hitherto desolate shores of the Black Sea.

It is characteristic of the Jesuit missionaries that, while devoting themselves heart and soul to the propagation of the faith, they never neglected the interests of science. Thus we find one of the missionaries in Greece, Father Richard, ascending Mount Athos in order to make scientific observations and to study ancient manuscripts found in the monasteries, and Father Braconnier rendering valuable services by his skill in interpreting ancient inscriptions. But it was more especially in China that the Jesuits carried their missionary work to perfection, and that they attained the highest reputation as astronomers and mathematicians.

It may be remembered that a violent persecution arose against the Christians during the minority of the Emperor Kang-Hi; Father Schall was thrown into prison and condemned to death, but the sentence was afterwards reversed, and the venerable missionary peacefully expired in 1666. Three years later Kang-Hi attained his majority, and one of his first acts was to name Father Ferdinand Verbiest, a Belgian by birth, President of the Royal Society of Mathematicians. In his frequent journeys the emperor desired the companionship of Father Verbiest; and on one occasion, when he accompanied the court to Tartary, the father was placed under the special guardianship of the sovereign's nearest relations, ten horses from the imperial stables were set apart for his use, and his safety was the object of constant care and attention. Once, when the party had crossed a dangerous stream, Kang-Hi missed the father, and, to the astonishment of all present, he insisted upon crossing the river a second time in search of him.

At the request of his imperial patron Father Verbiest established a cannon foundry, and taught the Chinese the manufacture and use of artillery. He had at first refused to impart a knowledge that might serve for purposes of destruction; but the interests of religion demanded his compliance, as Kang-Hi, in return for this important service, promised to give the Jesuits new facilities for preaching the faith in China. Under these favourable auspices religion made rapid progress; in the year 1671 alone Father Verbiest converted twenty thousand pagans, and in 1672 he received into the Church an uncle of the emperor.

About the same time Father Xavier d'Entrecolles, having observed that the porcelain made in China was superior to that of Europe, took up his abode for a whole year at King-te-Tching, the only city in the empire where it was manufactured. He carefully studied the manufacturing process, and addressed the result of his observations to the French Government, by whom they were successfully turned to account. In his deeply interesting letters he also enters into details respecting the

mode of inoculation practised by the Chinese to preserve their children from smallpox, and gives curious descriptions of the plants and trees found in the empire.*

The flourishing state of the Chinese missions, where Christian churches might now be counted by hundreds, excited the admiration of Pope Innocent XI., who, in 1681, addressed a Brief to the Jesuit missionaries, in which he says: 'It has been especially welcome to us to observe with what wisdom and tact you have applied the use of human science to the salvation of the people of China and to the service and increase of religion.' And he concludes thus: 'There is nothing that we may not hope for, with the help of Heaven, from men such as you.†

In the year 1694 the Jesuits of Peking alone baptized 530 adults; in 1695, 614; and in 1696, 633. Out of from twenty to thirty thousand children who were yearly exposed by their parents, about three thousand received baptism at Peking. In the provinces one missionary alone baptized fifteen hundred persons in the course of two years, Father Laureati baptized nine hundred in ten months, and Father Vanderbeken received five hundred converts in less than five months in the one town of Can-tcheou.‡

This wonderful success was due, in great measure, to Father Verbiest, whom a Protestant historian thus describes: 'His character for humility and modesty was only equalled by his well-known application and industry. He seemed insensible to everything but the promotion of science and religion; he abstained from idle visits, the reading of curious books, and even the perusal of European newspapers; while he incessantly employed himself either in mathematical calculations, in instructing proselytes, in corresponding with the grandees of the empire in the interests of the mission, or in writing to the learned of Europe inviting them to repair to China. His private papers are indicative of the depth of his devotion, the rigour of his austerities, his watchfulness over his heart amid the

* *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (édition 1781), vols. xviii. xix. xxi. xxiv.

† Crétineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 41.

‡ *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. xvii.

crowd of business, and the ardour with which he served religion.*

Upon the death of Father Verbiest in 1688, the emperor himself pronounced a eulogy upon his learning and virtue, and caused his remains to be laid, with great state, near those of Father Ricci.

The influence enjoyed by Father Verbiest was inherited by Fathers Gerbillon and Bouvet, who arrived at Peking a few weeks after his death. The former was charged by Kang-Hi with a diplomatic mission to the Czar of Russia. He was accompanied by Father Pereira, another eminent missionary. In order to do honour to the two Jesuits, the emperor arrayed them in his own garments, and, as the mandarins who escorted them wore collars to which superstitious meanings were attached, he permitted the fathers to wear instead their crucifixes and rosaries. The object of the embassy was to determine exactly the respective frontiers of the two empires; and the Jesuit envoys accomplished their task in a manner so satisfactory to the emperor that, on their return, he appointed Father Gerbillon to be his professor of mathematics and Father Bouvet his teacher of philosophy. Every day they spent four hours at the palace, and when their imperial pupil took up his residence at some distance from Peking they used to start at four in the morning, in all weathers, and not return till night, when they often had to sit up to prepare their demonstrations for the morrow. The fatigue caused by these daily journeys, arduous labours, and long vigils, which continued for several years, was a severe trial, during which they were supported only by the knowledge that by pleasing the emperor they were serving the interests of religion. Their patience and courage reaped their reward, when, a little later, Kang-Hi issued an edict to allow the free exercise of the Christian faith throughout his dominions, and permitted Father Gerbillon to erect a large church within the precincts of the imperial palace. It must have been a happy day for the Jesuit apostles when, in 1702, Father Gerbillon said

* Medhurst, *China: its State and Prospects*. Marshall, *Christian Missions*, vol. i. p. 71.

the first Mass in the noble structure that rose in the very centre of heathen despotism, a splendid testimony to the faith of Christ. To the mandarins who complained that the new building overshadowed part of the palace Kang-Hi replied : 'These strangers render me important services, and I know not how to reward them ; offices and employments they refuse, money they will not touch. Their religion is the only thing that interests them, and in this alone I can give them any gratification.'

The emperor's gratitude to the fathers further increased after a dangerous fever, which brought him to the brink of the grave. All remedies had failed, when Fathers de Fontaney and Visdelou arrived at the palace with the quinquina powder lately discovered by the Jesuits in Peru. After having been tried on some of the nobles the remedy was administered to the emperor. The fever instantly abated, and ere long the patient was restored to health.

In his effusion of gratitude Kang-Hi, besides giving the fathers a new house, sent them a quantity of gold nuggets, the sale of which produced 200,000 francs.* From that time the emperor held the medical skill of the Jesuits in high esteem. If any members of his household were ill he invariably sent for the lay-brothers Fraperie, Baudin, and De Rhodes, whose knowledge of medicine was renowned, and in his frequent journeys he insisted on being accompanied by one or other of the lay-brothers.

In 1697, at the emperor's desire, Father Bouvet went to

* This money was invested by the Jesuits in the English East India Company, on the condition that the interest should be paid to the missionaries of the Society in China and India. At the time of the suppression the Company confiscated the sum, and began to pay the revenues to the hospitals. But though they no longer existed as a Society, there were still many Jesuits in India, who were employed as secular priests on the mission. They sent an envoy to London to remonstrate on the unjust use made of the money ; the directors of the Company acknowledged the validity of their claims, and ordered that the arrears should be paid to them, adding that the interest should be exactly paid till the death of the last Jesuit missionary. In 1813, the Jesuits of Pekin and Pondicherry being all dead, the Propaganda decided that the money should be given to the Lazarists of China. Crétineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 43.

Europe, in order to bring back more missionaries, and also to offer to Louis XIV. a present of Chinese books. He returned with six fathers, among whom was Father Dominic Parennin, a native of Pontarlier, who, upon the death of Father Gerbillon in 1707, became the emperor's intimate friend and companion. He was a man of commanding presence, at once dignified and gentle, and his extraordinary facility for learning the Chinese dialects, his quickness of observation and wonderful memory, made his society particularly agreeable to the emperor, who appointed him a mandarin of the first class and ambassador to the Court of Peter the Great. Voltaire himself acknowledges Father Parennin's learning, and admires the talent with which he reported on the state of science in China to the French philosophers.* Scarcely less celebrated was Father Gaubil, an eminent astronomer, and so well versed in Chinese and Tartar literature that the literates regarded him as their master; according to the learned Orientalist, M. Abel de Rémusat: 'The proud literates were greatly astonished to see a man, who came from the most distant regions of the world, able to explain difficult passages of their sacred books, to compare the doctrine of the ancients with that of modern times . . . and this with a clearness, ease, and facility that obliged them to own that the Chinese learning of this European doctor far surpassed their own.'†

Father Gaubil was director of the college established at Peking for young Chinese. He also was imperial interpreter for the Tartar and Latin languages, and in consequence he had to translate all the letters received from the Russian Government, with which the Court of Peking entertained close relations. However difficult and delicate the matter in hand, these translations had to be made rapidly in the presence of the tribunal and in the midst of constant noise and interruption. Besides his voluminous correspondence with the scientific academies of Europe Father Gaubil composed several important works—a treatise on Chinese chronology and astronomy, a history of

* *Siècle du Louis XIV.*, ch. xxxix.

† *Biog. Universelle*, article 'Gaubil.' Créteineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 63.

Genghis-Khan and of the dynasty of the Moguls. 'It is difficult,' says M. de Rémusat, 'to imagine where he can have found time to compose these works, which are almost all very deep and complete, and which treat of most difficult subjects.'

Among his brethren Father Gaubil was regarded not only as a scholar of extraordinary acquirements, but also as a very holy missionary. 'It was difficult to know him without feeling drawn to love him,' writes Father Amiot; 'his countenance, which was always calm, his gentle disposition, agreeable conversation and manners, disposed every one in his favour.'^{*} In spite of his scientific labours he devoted much time to the exercise of his ministry. In 1741 he writes to his brethren: 'The number of our Christians amounts to over 50,000. They often come into the city to receive the Sacraments, to consult us and give us an account of their respective missions, and to ask us for religious books, pious pictures, medals, or rosaries. The Chinese priests baptize on an average 1200 adults a year. We count from five to six hundred persons who yearly receive the same grace in our three churches at Pekin.'[†]

Before entering into the details of the cruel persecution that about this period tried the faith of the Chinese Christians, and before giving a sketch of the painful discussions on the ceremonies and rites that had so disastrous an effect on the missions, it is necessary to glance at the state of religion in the Indian peninsula, where the ingenious and patient devotedness of Robert de' Nobili worked such wonders.

He found a worthy successor in Blessed John of Britto, a Portuguese of illustrious birth, who, when a child, had been cured of a dangerous illness through the intercession of St. Francis Xavier. He was brought up at the Court of Lisbon with the royal princes; and it was not without much difficulty that he obtained from John IV. permission to enter the Jesuit novitiate. In 1673, at his earnest prayer, he was sent on the Indian mission. Like Robert de' Nobili, he embraced a life of extraordinary austerity; and God bore witness to his holiness

^{*} *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. xxiii.

[†] *Ibid.* vol. xxii.

by miracles so frequent that they became things of daily and common occurrence. In 1682, on Easter Sunday, 5000 neophytes received Holy Communion at his hands. 'It seemed to me,' he wrote, 'like a feast of paradise;' and in 1686, in the space of ten months, he baptized 2070 heathens. Perils and hardships only increased his zeal. Hearing that the Christians of Marava were cruelly persecuted, he set forth to confirm them in the faith, but was himself seized, beaten, and nearly suffocated. From his prison in Marava he wrote joyfully to his brethren: 'We are happy; and we bless the Divine Will, which permits us to shed our blood for God's holy law.' However, the crown of martyrdom, that almost seemed to rest on his brow, was still far away. Deeply struck by the prisoner's courage, and by his forcible demonstration of Catholic truth, the king revoked the sentence of death against him, and restored him to liberty; and shortly afterwards Father de Britto was sent to Portugal on business connected with the affairs of his Order. He received an ovation at the Court of Lisbon, and the friend of his boyhood, Pedro II., who was then on the throne, spared no means to detain him in Portugal. But John de Britto's heart yearned for his Indian children; and he at length obtained the king's unwilling consent to his departure. At the last moment, however, Pedro secretly ordered that all the ships in the Tagus should be removed; and the vessel bound for India had already sailed when the father reached the port. Nothing daunted, he embarked in a small open boat, and succeeded in overtaking the ship. After his return to India, in the course of fifteen months, he baptized 8000 infidels; but the persecutions of the Brahmins obliged him to remain concealed in the depths of the forests and jungles, where he was tracked like a wild beast. In the midst of hardships and perils his soul overflowed with joy; and after describing his daily life to one of his brethren, he concludes his letter with the heartfelt exclamation: 'O my father, what are the grandeurs of Europe worth by the side of this!'

At length, however, he fell into the hands of his enemies,

and, by order of the King of Marava, he was beheaded on the 4th of February 1693. The executioner himself was moved by the martyr's cheerfulness and courage; but the saint, seeing that he hesitated, affectionately embraced him, and bade him obey without fear the orders he had received. His holy remains were laid near those of St. Francis Xavier at Goa; and during the ten years that were employed in collecting facts relative to his future beatification, innumerable witnesses came forward to bear testimony to his sanctity, and to his wonderful gift of miracles. Few missionaries baptized a greater number of infidels; and Father Bouchet, who himself converted 30,000 idolaters, used to say of John de Britto: 'I know no missionary who has converted so many souls to God.' The effect produced by his martyrdom was such that the whole district embraced the Christian faith.

When the news of the saint's glorious death reached Lisbon, his mother, Doña Beatrice Pereyra, repaired to the palace in her court dress by order of the king; and all the nobles in the kingdom were invited to pay homage to the martyr's mother, who during several days was treated with the honours reserved to the Queens of Portugal.

Scarcely less famous than John de Britto was Father Constantius Beschi, who arrived in India in 1700, and of whom a Protestant missionary said that he was 'the best Tamil scholar of his age,'* and 'that his name is venerated even among the Hindoo *litterati*.'

Like Robert de' Nobili, whose mode of life was, as has been seen, sanctioned by a decree from Rome, Beschi adopted the habits and dress of the most severe among the Saniassis or penitents, in order to obtain access to a caste which inveterate prejudices condemned to hopeless darkness. He acquired so perfect a knowledge of the Sanscrit, Tamoul, and Telenga languages as to be able to compose poems, in which he related the sufferings and death of Christ, and explained the mysteries of the true faith. The elegance and perfection of these verses excited great admiration among the learned Hindoos, and

* *The Land of the Veda*, by Rev. P. Perceval, ch. vi. Marshall, vol. i.

served to acquaint them with the doctrines of Christianity. So great, indeed, was Father Beschi's reputation that the Nabob of Trichirapalli appointed him his prime minister. The father, whom the Hindoos surnamed 'the penitent without stain,' accepted this office, as likely to serve the interests of religion among the higher castes; and from that time he was obliged to go out always accompanied by thirty horsemen and twelve standard-bearers, and followed by a train of camels. But in the midst of this display of Eastern splendour the missionary never lost sight of the one object that had brought him to India: the exterior pomp to which he submitted, as well as the voluntary austerities which he bore without flinching for forty years, served alike to draw souls to Christ; and he baptized a number of the hitherto inaccessible Brahmins, who, in token of their conversion, used to cut off their hair, which was sometimes four or five feet in length, and hang it up in his church at Tirouca-valour.

Father Bouchet, a contemporary of Beschi, also embraced the life of a Brahmin. It was he who, in one year, heard 100,000 confessions; and his disregard for temporal objects was such that the heathens observed, when they were sacking his house, 'This strange man is as little concerned as if we were pillaging his enemy's dwelling; he does not even look at us.' He was several times arrested and condemned to death, and on one occasion his hands were already enveloped in linen soaked in oil, preparatory to his being burnt alive; but each time an inexplicable change came over his heathen tormentors. It seemed as if his gentleness, modesty, and grave dignity exercised an irresistible power, and they always released him at last. A letter, written in 1700 by Father Bouchet to Father le Gobien, gives an interesting picture of the mission of Madura at that epoch: 'Our mission of Madura,' he writes, 'is more flourishing than ever. We have had four great persecutions this year. One of our missionaries had his teeth knocked out with a stick; and now I am at the court of one of the native princes in order to obtain the deliverance of Father Borghese, who has been for forty days in the prisons of

Trichirapalli, with four of his catechists. But the blood of our Christians, shed for Christ, is now as ever a fruitful seed, bringing forth innumerable converts. For my own part, during the last five years I have baptized more than 11,000 persons, and since I have been on the mission nearly 20,000. I have the care of thirty churches and of about 30,000 Christians. . . . You have heard that the missionaries in Madura eat neither meat, fish, nor eggs; that they never drink wine or other liquors; that they live in poor straw-covered cabins, without beds, seats, or furniture; that they have to eat without tables or napkins, knives, forks, or spoons. This seems extraordinary; but, believe me, my dear father, this is not our greatest trial. I confess to you frankly that, for the twelve years that I have been leading this life, I have not given it a thought.*

Father Bouchet's letters to Europe are peculiarly interesting. They abound with details respecting the geography of the Indian peninsula, its products, the religion of the inhabitants, their habits and customs. He also gives extraordinary examples of the visible power exercised by evil spirits in heathen countries, and of the fearful apparitions which sometimes tormented those who wished to embrace the faith.

Father Xavier Borghese, to whose imprisonment Father Bouchet alludes, had, together with one of his brothers and two cousins, renounced every advantage that a noble birth and a great fortune could offer. In him 'every good and perfect gift seems to have been united;† and the heathens, amazed at his courage, used to say, 'This man is a rock, at whose feet threats and words break like the waves.' No less holy was Father Martin, whose letters give touching pictures of the virtue and piety of the Hindoo converts. We learn from him that it often happened for a missionary to hear confessions in several villages without finding one person guilty of mortal sin, and that the rich converts were in the habit, during Lent, of feeding five, or sometimes thirty-three, poor persons, in honour of our Lord's Wounds, or of the years of His life on earth. He

* *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. x. p. 150.

† Marshall, vol. i. p. 239.

also mentions the interesting fact that the veneration entertained for St. Francis Xavier by the pagans was such that there was cause to fear lest they should place him among their idols. 'We only baptize our converts,' he writes, 'after putting them through great trials; and after three or four months' instruction, when once they become Christians, they live like angels, and the Church of Madura offers a real picture of the primitive Church.'*

Father Simon Carvalho, a contemporary of Father Martin, was commonly surnamed the 'Holy Father.' In spite of his weak health he laboured unceasingly, and in the third year of his apostolate he baptized 1240 infidels. Father Francis Laynez, another of these heroic Indian missionaries, in 1700 baptized 5000 converts, each one of whom he had himself carefully instructed; and on another occasion in the space of twenty-two months he received into the Church 10,000 persons. During his long career he suffered every trial. He was almost torn to pieces by the pagans; calumniated, accused, imprisoned; and on one occasion he spent five months in the open air, sleeping under the trees and employed in instructing the natives who sought him in his hiding-place. Clement XI. obliged him to accept the bishopric of Meliapour; and he died in 1715, after devoting over thirty years to the salvation of the Hindoos.

At this period the Jesuits in India might be divided into two distinct classes: the apostles of the Brahmins, and those of the Pariahs. The constant hope of the fathers was that in time the inveterate prejudices that divided the castes would disappear, and all their efforts tended to this object; and it may be remembered how at the end of a few years Father de' Nobili succeeded in abolishing them in the minds of his neophytes. As long, however, as these prejudices were generally accepted, the missionaries resolved to yield to them rather than let them impede the progress of truth, and thus two classes of missionaries were created. To the first belonged, as has been seen, Fathers de' Nobili, Beschi, and

* *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. x. p. 43.

Bouchet, who, under pain of losing all influence with the Brahmins, were bound to keep completely aloof from the Pariahs, and to follow a mode of life combining a certain amount of prestige with the most severe bodily privations. The apostles of the outcast Pariahs were, however, the most envied and happy; and a letter from the Superior of the mission to the Father General in 1747 describes how each father pleaded that his age, character, and health especially fitted him for the office.* The *Annual Letters* from Goa for 1747 and 1749 thus address them: 'Follow the royal road of the Cross, faithful companions of Christ, our Chief and Master; you have become, in the words of the Apostle, the scum of the earth, rejected by all; but in reality you are the true glory of our Society, the brightest ornaments of this Province.'*

Perhaps the hardest trial attending the distinction, which circumstances rendered necessary, was the complete separation which it involved between the two classes of missionaries. While the Brahmin Jesuit passed by on horseback, or in a palanquin, escorted by the priests and learned men of the higher castes, the Pariah missionary went on foot, clothed in rags; he was forbidden even to rest under the porticoes of the houses; his food was the putrid meat on which his disciples lived; and if he met any of his Brahmin brethren, he could not recognize them except by prostrating himself in the dust as they went by. The lifelong barrier which the Jesuits voluntarily erected between themselves is perhaps the strongest test of their apostolic devotion; they could give no greater proof of their thirst for souls than by the sacrifice of what to apostolic men is the solace and support of a lifetime of toil—the sympathy of fellow-labourers, sons of a common mother.

A missionary who went to India after the suppression, and who, according to his own statement, was converted from his prejudices against the Jesuits by the evidences that met him of their zeal and holiness, says: 'Nothing honours religion

* *Mémoires historiques sur les Missions*, par P. Bertrand, S.J., 3me partie, chap. iii. p. 356.

† Créteineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 36.

more than these means adopted by apostolic zeal ; nothing can do greater credit to a priest than sacrifices such as these, inspired by the desire to win men to truth.* And the same spectacle of heroism and patience drew from an apostate this emphatic acknowledgment : ‘The Jesuits have been the greatest missionaries upon earth.’†

* Perrin, *Voyage dans l'Indoustan*, vol. ii. pp. 106-107.

† *Travels and Adventures of Dr. Wolff*, chap. vii. p. 144. Marshall, vol. i. p. 243.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Chinese Ceremonies and the Malabar Rites.

IT is painful to turn from these stupendous labours crowned with proportionate success to the long controversies which, during many years before the suppression of the Society, spread trouble and division among the missionaries, hampered their efforts, imperilled their work, and were a melancholy prelude to the fatal blow of 1773. It has been mentioned in a previous chapter that the Jesuits, both in China and in India, encountered some opposition from members of other religious orders, who criticised certain concessions made by them to deeply-rooted national habits and prejudices. It would be too long to enter into all the details of this complicated debate, which continued for about half a century, and of which a slight sketch will suffice.

The Chinese ceremonies and Malabar rites consisted chiefly, the first, in certain honours paid by the people to their ancestors and to the famous philosopher Confucius; the second, in the wearing of certain cords, and in the dispensation from some of the ceremonies of baptism, on account of the natives' invincible horror of human saliva. Another point under discussion was as to what Chinese word best expressed the idea of God. The decrease of Christianity that took place from the moment the Chinese ceremonies were prohibited clearly proved that if, as some writers have thought, the Jesuits erred on the side of condescension, they had at any rate not exaggerated the extraordinary importance attached by the natives to these outward forms.

In the eyes of the Chinese mandarins and literates these forms were simply civil ceremonies, divested of any religious signification; but to the common people they had a superstitious meaning, and were therefore tainted with idolatry.

The Jesuits, before deciding the matter, took the opinion of the mandarins as to the real sense of the ceremonies, and having been assured by them that they were purely social and civil duties, they thought it lawful to permit them, and were strongly inclined to take this course by their desire to draw as many souls as possible to the haven of salvation. As regarded the lower classes, the missionaries believed that with time and instruction they would be led to look upon the ceremonies in the same light as their more educated countrymen, and to divest them of any idolatrous import. The root of the difference lay in this: the Jesuits, in permitting certain forms, measured the whole nation by the standard of the literates and educated classes, to whom the rites were mere civil formalities; they felt certain that the lower orders could be brought to the same standard of enlightenment, and they regarded the risk of destroying the missions as so serious that they were disposed to push toleration to its utmost limits. On the other hand, the Popes who subsequently condemned the ceremonies took their views from the poor and ignorant portion of the nation, who, compared with the literates, formed the majority; they did not, like the Jesuits, foresee that the ruin of the missions would be the consequence of the prohibition of the ceremonies, and they were unwilling to incur a present risk in order to avoid one that seemed to them distant and uncertain. It must not be supposed, however, that the Jesuits accepted these forms indiscriminately, or regarded them as permanent institutions. The Chinese ceremonies were divided by them into three classes: the first they absolutely condemned as superstitious; the second they also forbade, because, although considered by many natives as mere civil forms, they were not commanded by law, and were therefore not necessary; the third they regarded as social or civil observances, and permitted because they were strictly enforced by the laws of the empire. But even this permission they considered only as a temporary concession to the inveterate prejudices of the people, and in a letter to Pope Clement XI. they thus expressed their views on the subject: 'We desire with all our hearts that it

were possible for us to abolish all the customs and rites of the pagans, in which there appears the slightest suspicion of evil. But lest by this severity we should close the entrance of the Gospel and the gate of heaven to a large number of souls, we are obliged, according to the example of the fathers of the primitive Church, to tolerate those usages of the gentiles that are purely civil, endeavouring, nevertheless, whenever we can do so without risk, to suppress them by degrees, and replace them by Christian ceremonies.*

At the same time, while the matter was being earnestly discussed at Rome, the Jesuits in China proposed to address a memoir to the emperor, requesting him to determine the exact sense attached to the ceremonies, as, according to the laws of the empire, the sovereign alone had the right to determine these matters, and if he decided that the ceremonies were mere social formalities, his subjects would be henceforth obliged to regard them solely in that light. Kang-Hi, who took a keen interest in the controversies, replied that the ceremonies were simply civil usages, to which no religious meaning was attached; and the famous German philosopher Leibnitz, who, together with many learned men in Europe, attentively followed the debates, warmly approved the prudence of the step taken by the Jesuits, and considered that the emperor's reply satisfactorily settled the question.† But Pope Clement XI. was still undecided: on the one hand, he feared to keep the heathens out of the Church by excessive severity; on the other, he dreaded any concession that might compromise the integrity of the faith: he therefore resolved to send a Legate to India and China, in order to examine the state of affairs and make a report to the Holy See. The decision itself was a wise one, but the choice of the Legate was unfortunate, as events subsequently proved.

Charles Maillard de Tournon, Patriarch of Antioch, whom Clement XI. appointed his envoy to the East, displayed in the exercise of his mission a hastiness and violence much at variance with the prudence and moderation recommended by

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 45.

† Ibid. vol. v. p. 47.

the Holy See, and his previous prejudices against the Jesuits prevented him from judging impartially matters where they were concerned. He landed at Pondicherry in 1703, and his arrival caused great dissatisfaction among the Portuguese. The Archbishop of Goa, Patriarch of the Indies, issued a pastoral, forbidding all the members of his flock to recognize the authority of Tournon, who, he pretended, had not submitted his credentials to the rightful authorities. The deference shown by the Jesuits of India to the Pope's envoy contrasted with this act of rebellion, which was probably suggested by the Portuguese Government. Their General had informed them of the mission intrusted to Tournon by Rome, and they recognized his authority with a promptitude that greatly displeased the Archbishop of Goa and the Portuguese Government. The celebrated Father Laynez, who was then Bishop of Meliapour, ordered his flock to obey the Legate in all things; and Tournon himself, at first deeply gratified by the Jesuits' respect and submission, asked the opinion of Fathers Bouchet, de la Breuille, Tachard, and Berthold, all experienced missionaries, who advised him to proceed with caution and prudence. But, disregarding their suggestion and yielding to his natural impetuosity, Tournon issued a pastoral, in which the Malabar rites, authorized by the fathers, were unconditionally condemned. The violent and threatening tone of this decree, rather than its actual purport, raised a storm of rebellion; the Archbishop of Goa and other Bishops declined to acknowledge it, the local government of Pondicherry declared it to be illegal, and the Jesuits, alarmed at the outburst, endeavoured to persuade Tournon to adopt a more moderate course. In his pastoral he had acknowledged the services rendered to him by the missionaries of the Society, whose experience had assisted him and whose obedience had caused him 'abundant joy;*' and when they represented to him the evils resulting from his violence, he agreed to retract the censures that he had issued against those who tolerated the rites. But being pressed for time, and on the point of leaving India, he contented himself with a verbal

* *Mémoires hist. sur les Missions*, par P. Bertrand, S.J.

permission ; and when the Jesuits asked for a written one, he replied that his word sufficed to set their consciences at rest ; and that besides he would write to the Pope to apprise him of all he had done. The Jesuits then, as well as the Bishops, ceased to consider themselves bound by a decree which had been drawn up in haste and without sufficient knowledge of the matter in question, and which, moreover, had been verbally cancelled by its author. They wrote to Rome, requesting the sanction of the Pope to continue their former line of conduct with regard to the rites ; but the Roman Inquisition replied by enjoining upon them to observe the Legate's pastoral, 'till the Holy See shall have otherwise decided upon the representations of those who may think it right to appeal against the tenor of these decrees.* The right thus conferred upon the partisans of the rites of making representations to Rome was confirmed by a letter addressed to the missionaries by Cardinal Falerani in 1708, where he informs them, in the name of Clement XI., that they must subordinate the execution of the decree to the requirements of the greater glory of God and the salvation of souls.†

These words fully absolve the Jesuits of India from the charge of disobedience, as, in their eyes, the ruin of the missions must be the inevitable consequence of the execution of the decree. The right of appeal being given to them, it is not to be wondered at that they made use of it. When, later on, the question was irrevocably decided, we shall see that they freely and fully obeyed ; but until then they continued to write, to represent, and to implore, clinging to every means of averting the step they dreaded. Here, as in China, there may possibly have been on their part an error of judgment ; but if, in the opinion of some, condescension towards national prejudices was carried too far, the respect due to the Holy See was never violated.

From India, Tournon proceeded to China, where, as has been seen, the question of the ceremonies excited as much

* *Mémoires hist. sur les Missions*, par P. Bertrand, S.J., p. 326.

† *Ibid.* p. 327.

discussion as that of the Malabar rites. That the Jesuits did not oppose his action is proved by the fact that, upon the emperor's refusal to grant him an audience, the fathers, who were in favour at court, exerted themselves so effectually that in June 1706, Kang-Hi consented to receive him. During this interview, Tournon unwisely betrayed his disapproval of the Jesuits' toleration of the ceremonies; and the emperor, who was already irritated by these endless controversies, ordered the legate to leave Peking, but not before he had himself assured him that the ceremonies under discussion had a purely civil meaning. Previous to his departure, Tournon published a pastoral, very similar in its tone to that which he had issued in India; in it he absolutely forbade the ceremonies in honour of Confucius and the ancestors, and likewise condemned the use of the words 'Xanti' and 'Tien,' which had been chosen to express the idea of the one true God.

Kang-Hi was incensed at this decree; in addition to his fear lest these discussions should spread discord in the empire, where the Christians formed a considerable body, he regarded it as a personal insult that the explanations he had given should not have satisfied the Legate, and he ordered that Tournon should be given up to the Portuguese. As we have seen, they were the bitter adversaries of the Cardinal, whom they suspected of a design to procure their expulsion from China, and they imprisoned him at Macao, where he died in June 1710. Nothing can palliate the course pursued by a Catholic nation towards an envoy of the Holy See, whose greatest crime was imprudence and hastiness; but, according to the Jansenists and other enemies of the Society, the real authors of Tournon's imprisonment were the Jesuits, whom he disliked, and who had opposed some of his acts; and, in this instance, the Jansenists, forgetting their own antecedents, found it politic to be deeply scandalized at what they termed the fearful rebellion of the missionaries, to whose revenge the Cardinal was a victim.

There exists no evidence to show that the Jesuits, either directly or indirectly, countenanced Kang-Hi or the Portuguese

in their treatment of Tournon, but, on the contrary, there are ample proofs of their personal deference towards the Legate during his stay at Pekin. Father Gerbillon, who enjoyed great credit at court, risked the emperor's favour by his respect for Tournon; his brother-missionaries relate that Kang-Hi's friendship for him cooled considerably, 'on account of his appearing too much attached to the Patriarch of Antioch, and always ready to excuse him to the princes and nobles;'^{*} and the other missionaries were often reproved by the emperor for the same cause.

The debates, which in the missions excited such poignant emotion, were followed with scarcely less interest by the Catholics of Europe, with malicious enmity by the Jansenists and with curiosity by the Protestants, especially by Leibnitz, who was favourable to the view held by the Jesuits.

Together with all the members of other religious orders labouring in China, the Jesuits appealed against the decree of Tournon; but, after a lengthy examination, Pope Clement XVI., moved by the accusation directed against the Church of encouraging superstition, issued a Brief, dated September 25th, 1710, condemning *some* of the practices hitherto allowed by the Jesuits, on the ground that, although they were merely civil forms in the eyes of the literates, they had a religious meaning to the mass of the people. The members of the Society in Europe entirely agreed with the Pope; and in November 1711, Father Tamburini, the General, had an interview with the Holy Father, in which he protested his unreserved submission to the decree, adding that if any Jesuit in any part of the world should act otherwise he could no longer be considered a child of the Society.

This loyal and explicit declaration was the result of a spontaneous movement on the part of the Jesuits of every province; the missionaries immediately renounced the ceremonies which the Pope condemned, but there were others upon which no censure had been passed, and these they continued to permit. At the same time they wrote to Rome to represent their opinion

^{*} Crétineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 50. *Lettres édif. et curieuses*, vol. xxvi.

that the abolition of the ceremonies would involve the ruin of Christianity in China, where their position even now was one of great difficulty. Those who in Europe accused them of seeking by subtleties to evade the decrees of Rome little knew how hard it was for them to steer their course between the commands of the Pope and the orders of the emperor. From the beginning Kang-Hi had regarded the discussions with displeasure, and as early as 1706 he had forbidden the missionaries to teach that the national practices were contrary to the Christian law; at the same time his personal friendship for the fathers prevented him from punishing their submission to the Holy See; but their position was none the less precarious and difficult.

Meantime Clement XI., after further deliberation, issued the Bull 'Ex illa die,' dated the 19th of March 1715. It was the first explicit and definite decree on the subject, and it ordered the missionaries to break completely with *all* the ceremonies; at the same time Ambrose de Mezzabarba, Patriarch of Alexandria, was sent as Papal Legate to China, where he arrived in 1720, much to the displeasure of Kang-Hi. Like his predecessor, Mezzabarba found in the Jesuits his most zealous auxiliaries. Immediately on his arrival Father Laureati, Visitor of the mission, gave him his written promise to promote the execution of the Bull; and as no one dared provide the Legate with means of reaching Peking, Father Laureati obtained for him the desired permission. At Peking, Mezzabarba found another friend in Father Pereira, who persuaded the emperor to receive him, though Father Laureati had been thrown into prison for his efforts on his behalf.

The interview between the Legate and the emperor was an important one. Mezzabarba and the Jesuits united to implore Kang-Hi's permission to execute the decrees from Rome, but the emperor replied by demanding that some consideration should be shown to his Christian subjects. Mezzabarba appears to have been greatly impressed by Kang-Hi's solemn assurance that the ceremonies had merely a social meaning, and that it was impossible for the Christians to live in China as loyal sub-

jects unless they observed them. At the same time the emperor spoke with deep respect of the Christian faith, and discoursed so wisely on the unity of God and the immortality of the soul that the Legate was fascinated, and resolved to make every concession in his power. He also was alarmed at the consequences that the Papal decree might have in the missions, and he thought himself justified in modifying its prohibitions, while, at the same time, he promised to convey the emperor's explanations to Rome and to demand the Pope's final decision on the subject.

The conciliatory tone taken by Mezzabarba pacified Kang-Hi, who, at the suggestion, it must be said, of the Jesuits, treated the representative of Rome with high honour. But the Legate's adjournment of the question to another decision of the Holy See prevented the Bull 'Ex illa die' from being regarded as the final solution of the long-debated question, and the Jesuits, although they had fully accepted the Papal decree, gladly took advantage of the concessions made by Mezzabarba after his interview with the emperor, and which, they trusted, would allay the general discontent. Nevertheless these long controversies hampered the progress of Christianity in China. In 1721 there were in Peking nine members of the imperial family and several hundred persons of lower rank who wished to embrace the faith, but who were held back by the idea that in accepting the Papal Bull they ceased to be loyal subjects; and Father Laureati wrote to Rome in March 1721: 'The mission is in the arms of death.'*

On the 20th of December 1722, Kang-Hi breathed his last; he had a sincere admiration for the Christian faith and a real affection for its apostles, but his evil passions prevented him from embracing the pure law of the Gospel. His son and successor, Young-Tching, was, on the contrary, a declared enemy to the faith, and his first act was to publish an edict against the Christians. The Jesuits, whose learning he admired, were unable to obtain a reprieve, and in the course of the year 1723 three hundred churches were destroyed. The fiery ordeal

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 57.

through which the Chinese Christians had now to pass proved that the work commenced by Ricci had been erected on a solid foundation. The imperial princes who had embraced the faith were the first to suffer; they were given their choice between apostasy and exile, and all of them, thirty-seven in number, with their wives and daughters, cheerfully set out for their place of banishment in a distant part of the empire. Brought up in the midst of Oriental luxury, they endured poverty, hunger, disease, and the weight of their heavy chains with calm and simple heroism. One of them, Prince John, wrote to his director, Father Parnin: 'What we now desire, and what you must beg of God for us is, that by the help of His grace we may correct our faults, practise virtue, conform ourselves to His holy will, and persevere to the end in His divine service. This is the only object of our desires; the rest we count as nothing.'*

Another prince was laden with such heavy chains that his flesh was bruised and torn; but when his servant offered to cover the injured places with linen he refused his services, saying: 'Did you ever hear that in the night of His Passion our Lord tried to loose the cords that bound Him, or that He placed bandages under them to relieve the smart?'

The life led by the imperial exiles was most edifying; they used to assemble several times a day to pray and meditate, and they were never heard to utter a word of complaint. Through the means of a few devoted Christians they contrived to correspond with their Jesuit teachers, who were prevented from joining them, but who strove by every means to soften their sufferings. Father Parnin relates that the missionaries used to collect alms sufficient to relieve the noble prisoners, who were deprived of the very necessaries of life. Their alms were gratefully received, but, adds the father, 'The princes replied to me in these words: "Say to the fathers that if they think they incur no risk we gratefully accept their alms, but if by sending them they are exposed to any danger we beg them to abstain from doing so." They would have preferred suffering, hunger, and misery rather than expose us in any way to the

* *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. xx.

emperor's wrath.' Prince Joseph, one of the exiles, who for several years was a close prisoner, did not touch meat for over two years, because, not being certain of the days on which abstinence was obligatory, and having no one to enlighten him, he preferred a perpetual abstinence to a possible infringement of the laws of the Church. Prince Francis, although in want of food and clothes, applied the money sent him to the ransom of some Christian slaves whose souls were in peril.*

Young-Tching died in 1735, and his successor, Kien-Long, immediately recalled those of the exiled princes who still survived. Among these noble sufferers was a son of Kang-Hi, and as he and his companions passed through the streets of Peking the people knelt down in reverence and admiration. But the new emperor's favourable dispositions speedily changed, and a terrible persecution commenced, during which Christians of every rank and age were submitted to frightful torments; but, with very few exceptions, they persevered in the faith. One Christian, named Lawrence, who was scourged with such violence that the rods broke in the hands of the executioners, met his mother at the door of the chamber of torture. 'Come, my dear son,' she exclaimed joyfully, 'let us thank God for the grace He has granted you.'

The position of the missionaries at this period was one of great difficulty. The emperor disliked them as priests, but on account of the services they rendered to science he treated them with a certain degree of consideration. A letter, written from Peking by Father Gaubil in 1726, describes their condition: † 'The literates and persons of rank who wish to become Christians abandon us as soon as we explain to them the Papal decrees, even with the concessions made by the Patriarch Mezza-barba. The emperor dislikes religion, and for this reason the princes and nobles fly from us. We seldom go to the palace: the emperor needs us for his mathematical studies, for the Russian affairs, and for the instruments and other things from Europe. He fears that if he banishes us from this city and

* *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. xx.

† Créteineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 60.

from Canton, the European merchants will no longer come to Canton, and for this reason he tolerates our presence.' He adds: 'It is useless to fill your heart with grief by asserting that, if it had not been for the past controversies, there would now be four or five million Christians in China.'

The work which seemed at this time to give the missionaries most consolation, and which prospered in spite of persecution, was the baptism of the unfortunate infants who, abandoned by their parents, were exposed to death. Father Gaubil thus alludes to it: 'The French Jesuits have undertaken to establish at Canton the good work of baptizing abandoned children. Father de Bodin, a holy missionary, has done much for it, and I believe that, during the last two years, 2500 children have been baptized.' In another letter, the same father enters into further details, to show the care with which the Jesuits provided for the education of the children who survived.

The concessions made in China by the Patriarch Mezza-barba did not meet with approval at Rome, and in 1735 a Brief from Pope Clement XII. confirmed his predecessor's decree against the rites and ceremonies. Much has been said of the subterfuges by which the Jesuits are accused of having eluded the Pontifical decrees. True it is that, as long as any latitude was left to them, they gladly availed themselves of it; and, convinced that the existence of the missions depended on a certain amount of temporary concessions, they strained every point to obtain the sanction of the Holy See. That they perseveringly upheld their views is undeniable, but that they only did so within lawful limits is likewise certain, and the strongest proof of their loyal spirit of obedience is to be found in the private letters exchanged at this period between the General and the missionaries. These letters, which were not intended for publication, may be regarded as the spontaneous expression of the writer's feelings: they have fallen into the hands of the bitterest enemies of the Society, and not a word has been extracted from them to betray insubordination or revolt.* On October 11th, 1736, Father Retz, who was then

* *Mémoires historiques sur les Missions*, par P. Bertrand, S.J., p. 334.

General, wrote to Father Pinhero, the Jesuit Bishop of Meliapour, to congratulate the missionaries on their prompt obedience. In November 1735 he wrote again, to exhort them to perfect submission; and to this they replied that, when the decree of Clement XII. had been received in 1735, they had made it public in all the places where they exercised their ministry; moreover, that the Jesuits in India had given the Governor of Pondicherry a written protestation of submission to the Brief.

When Clement XII. thought it necessary to issue another Bull on the subject, Father Retz, fearing that the missionaries might think that their obedience was questioned, wrote thus to Father Vasconcellos in October 1739: 'Our dear missionaries will no doubt be distressed to see the suspicions that have been conceived of their promptitude and fidelity in the execution of the Pontifical decrees, and the rumours circulated against them on the subject. I beg and entreat of them, in the name of Jesus Christ, generously to offer this sacrifice to God, and to rejoice at this new opportunity of gaining merits.' He goes on to exhort them to speak of the decrees with caution, and to execute them 'promptly, exactly, inviolably,' and commands them to send back to Europe any one who should resist.*

This letter proves both the loyal submission of the Father General to the Holy See and his full confidence in the submission of his subjects, against whom malicious reports were busily circulated in Europe. These rumours were too often believed by persons of good faith, who did not sufficiently consider the immense difficulties encountered by the missionaries. Before they were able to secure the perfect observance of the Papal decrees they had to reform habits and ideas which were part of the very being of the native Christians, and, to accomplish so thorough a transformation, time and patience were absolutely necessary. The distances that separated them, not only from Europe, but also from each other, were likewise too often forgotten. In a book written in 1745, by John de St.

* Ibid. pp. 334-337.

Facondo, an Augustinian—and which cannot be suspected of partiality, for it was dedicated to Benedict XIV., the Pope who most emphatically condemned the rites and ceremonies—we find it stated that, previously to 1741, the Jesuits of Macao, Peking, Meliapour, Madura, Cochin China, Siam, Malabar, and China had sent in their full adherence to the decrees. In the course of that year, 1741, Father Cajetan Barretto, the Provincial, sent in the few signatures that were still missing, excusing himself for the delay on the ground that many missionaries had been almost beyond reach, as they were concealed in the mountains and forests from their persecutors.*

The Jesuits had therefore completely submitted before 1742, when Benedict XIV. issued the Bull 'Ex quo singulari,' in which he confirmed the sentence of his predecessors on the subject of the rites, annulled the permissions given by Mezza-barba, and, without mentioning names, reprovved those who had 'sought to elude the previous Bulls.' These expressions were instantly taken up by the enemies of the Society as intended to condemn its missionaries; but that such was not the Pope's intention is proved by a letter addressed by him in 1748 to the Bishop of Coimbra, in which he says, 'We have certainly spoken of the disobedient, and if there are any such of the Society, or of the Order of St. Francis or St. Dominic, or of the secular clergy, all must consider themselves equally compromised and reprovved.' He adds that if he had intended to speak of the Jesuits in particular he would have forbidden them to receive novices until they had obeyed, and expresses his surprise at the evil construction put upon his words.†

The Pope's motive in publishing this new Bull was to defeat the malicious reports that were current in Europe concerning the pretended encouragement given to superstition in the missions. Unfortunately, too, the solemn adherence of which mention has been made, and which was sent to Europe by the Jesuits in 1741, had not arrived in Rome before the

* *Des Jésuites par un Jésuite*, par P. Cahours, S.J.

† *Suppression of the Society of Jesus in the Portuguese Dominions*, by Rev. A. Weld, S.J., p. 176.

publication of the Bull of 1742, owing to delays only too common in those days of perilous navigation. However, the Jesuits received the new Bull with perfect submission. The days of representations and entreaties were over, and from Peking to Macao, from Meliapour to Cochin China, from the coasts of the pearl-fisheries, sanctified by the steps of Francis Xavier, to the wild mountains of Thibet, from the prisons and palaces of China to the Pariah huts of Madura, rose one unanimous protestation of obedience.

On November 12, 1744, we find the General, Father Retz, writing to encourage his subjects in the path of submission: 'I beg earnestly of all our fathers,' he says, 'to cast aside all reasons of human wisdom, and to submit their judgment to the Constitution of the Sovereign Pontiff; for, whatever disastrous results we may fear, we must abandon them to Divine Providence. If these disasters come to pass we shall not, it is true, reap an abundant harvest of souls, but we shall offer the sacrifice of our obedience, which is better than victims.*' In 1746 and 1749, Father Retz congratulates his subjects on their zeal in enforcing the Papal decrees; but, like them, he foresaw the ruin of the missions, and he urges the fathers to offer to God this painful sacrifice. That the missionaries obeyed is proved by their letters; that they suffered acutely is equally evident. Their position in Madura was peculiarly trying, as the Portuguese clergy refused to recognise the Bulls, unless sanctioned by government; while the Jesuits accepted them wholly and unconditionally, and were thereby exposed to the reproaches of the native Christians, who blamed them bitterly for enforcing what their fellow-priests disregarded.

'While we are here,' writes Father Lichieta, 'struggling and suffering agonies in order to enforce the entire observance of the decrees from Rome, at Rome itself we are described as rebels to those very decrees;' and in 1748 another missionary says: 'As regards the last Bull, we observe it in all its rigour, and we see those of our neophytes, whom we dismiss because they refuse to observe it, received with open arms by the very

* *Mém. hist.*, par P. Bertrand, S.J., p. 341.

men who accuse us of being rebels to the Holy See. . . . God will judge us all !*

In China the position of the fathers was not much better, although some of their number—Father de Ventavon, the famous mechanic, Father Hallerstein, the mathematician, and Brothers Attiret and Castiglione, the painters—were obliged by the emperor to reside at court, where they rendered him valuable services. Their life, though brilliant in appearance, was one of continual fatigue and danger. Brother Attiret, who is described as full of vivacity, talent, and piety, was the emperor's favourite painter. He used often to speak to his imperial patron on behalf of the Christians, and it was only the knowledge that he was serving the interests of religion that enabled him to bear a life of extraordinary fatigue. 'Though Brother Attiret did not enjoy good health,' writes another missionary, 'he was obliged to paint from morning to night, with no other rest than what he obtained during meals and during the night. . . . On his return from Tartary, where he had accompanied the emperor, the poor dear brother was so overcome and fatigued that he could hardly be recognised. We saw him arrive thin, pale, bent, and walking with great difficulty and pain.†' Brother Attiret died on the feast of the Immaculate Conception, 1768, and on his deathbed he exclaimed, alluding to the feast, 'What a beautiful devotion, and how well it is taught in the novitiates of the Society !'

In the provinces of China, at a distance from the capital, by a strange contradiction, the Jesuits were cruelly put to death, and Fathers Henriquez, de Horta, de Athémis, and de Benth gained in turns the martyr's crown. It was Father de Benth who, with heroic constancy, repeated the Holy Name of Jesus, until he was beaten across the face so violently that he died of the wounds.

However, as long as they could retain a footing at Peking the missionaries continued to exercise their influence over the native Christians, whose courage proved them worthy of their

* *Des Jésuites par un Jésuite*, par P. Cahours, S. J.

† *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. xxiii.

teachers ; and in a later chapter it will be seen that, until the fatal moment of the suppression of the Society, the Jesuits, in the words of their historian, saved the faith in China by ' placing it under the safeguard of science.'*

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 67.

CHAPTER IX.

Missions in Africa and America.

It may be remembered that, as far back as the time of St. Ignatius, several members of the newly-founded Institute were sent to preach the faith in Africa, and the severe trials through which they passed have been related.

The scene of their labours was the country known as Ethiopia or Abyssinia, which was governed by sovereigns with the title of emperor, and which, though Christian in name, since the ninth century had been infected by schism and completely separated from the Church. Its inhabitants, moreover, had adopted many of the customs of the Mahometans, by whom they were surrounded, and were plunged in a state of deplorable ignorance and corruption.

In 1580, Father Paëz Castillan was sent to Ethiopia to continue the work commenced by Fathers Nuñez and Oviedo, and on reaching his destination, after some months' captivity in the Turkish galleys, he converted Atznaf Seghed, the Emperor of Ethiopia, whose successor, Susneios, likewise embraced the true faith. Father Paëz died in 1622, deeply regretted by the sovereign, who, when exhorted to moderate his grief, replied, 'How can you tell me to be comforted? I have lost my most faithful friend; I have lost my father. The bright sun, whose rays dispelled the darkness that covered Ethiopia, is now eclipsed.*' Four years later Father Mendez, another Jesuit, was consecrated Patriarch; but a portion of the nation, headed by some members of the imperial family, rebelled against Susneios, whose efforts to reëstablish Catholicity were marked by more zeal than prudence. Father Mendez was banished, and the emperor, enfeebled by age and infirmities, was unable to defend the faith, which he continued to profess till his death. His successors, urged on by the schismatical monks and priests,

* *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. iii. p. 408.

persecuted the Jesuits ; and under the Emperor Seghed II. several members of the Order gained the palm of martyrdom. Thus in 1635, Fathers Paëz and Pereira were executed ; three years later, Fathers Francheschi, Rodriguez, and Almeida were stoned to death ; and in 1640, Father Bernard de Noguera was the only Jesuit left in Ethiopia. Prince Zela Christos, uncle to the emperor, and a fervent Catholic, was deprived of his honours and possessions, and banished to a remote part of the empire, whence, in 1649, he addressed an eloquent appeal to Catholic princes on behalf of the suffering Church of Ethiopia. ' Covered with dust and ashes,' he writes, ' I beg and implore all the faithful to come and help us promptly, lest we perish. . . . If there are still any Christians beyond the seas let them prove it to us, and recognise us as their brethren in Jesus Christ ; for like them we defend the faith ; let them deliver us from the captivity of Egypt.' To this appeal Father de Noguera adds a few lines : ' These are the words of Zela Christos, our friend. He dictated them to me in 1649. It is now my turn to weep. My companions are walking skeletons ; they have been dragged to prison and scourged ; their flesh is falling away, and they are suffering all the horrors of extreme poverty.'* In 1653 the royal exile and his Jesuit friend were gathered to their rest ; but their pathetic appeal roused keen sympathies in Europe, and many ineffectual attempts were made by the Jesuits to reënter the land from which they were excluded under pain of death.

Perhaps the most interesting of these attempts was that made in 1698 by Father de Brévedent, who accompanied a French physician named Poncet, sent to Ethiopia by Louis XIV. The premature death of the father prevented him from rendering to religion all the services that might have been expected ; but during the journey he lost no opportunity of preaching the faith. Once, when he was able to baptize a little Mahometan girl, he was so joyful that ' he assured me,' writes his companion, ' that if in all his life he had done nothing but send this soul to heaven, he should feel that he had been amply

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 17.

repaid for the sufferings and fatigues of the journey.* On reaching a small village, half a day's distance from Gondar, the capital of Ethiopia, he fell so ill that it was impossible to proceed farther; and on the 9th of July 1699 he died, like St. Francis Xavier, in sight of the spot where he had hoped to preach the truth. M. Poncet, his companion, says that he never knew 'a man more intrepid, more ardent, or more firm in upholding the rights of religion, or more modest and religious in his manners and conduct.†

Happier than Father de Brévedent, whose desires were thwarted by his untimely death, was the famous Father Claude Sicard, who, in 1706, was sent to the missions of Syria and Egypt. He possessed invincible courage and perseverance, robust health, and an ardent zeal for the glory of God. From Aleppo, where he thoroughly mastered Arabic, he was sent to Cairo, as Superior of the Jesuit mission established in that city by Louis XIV. His principal work was the conversion of the Copts, who had separated from Rome in the seventh century. They began by embracing the doctrines of Eutyches, who denied that there were two natures in Jesus Christ; and to this heresy they added the errors of a fanatic monk named Jacob, after whom they were sometimes called Jacobites, and many of the superstitious practices of the Mahometans and Jews, among whom they lived.

The success with which the Jesuits combined their apostolic labours for the salvation of souls with their researches in the service of science was never more forcibly illustrated than in the case of Father Sicard. The Duke of Orleans, who was then regent, and the French scientific academies, begged him to pursue his researches into the ancient monuments of Egypt; and, with the full approval of the Father General, Father Sicard rendered his extensive journeys as fruitful to the cause of science as to that of religion. Deeply interesting are the accounts of his visits to the vast deserts of Sceté and Thebaïd, where, from the lips of the degenerate Coptic monks, he gathered the traditions of the saintly anchorites of bygone days.

* *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. iii. p. 271.

† *Ibid.*

After visiting the caverns of Lower Thebaïd, he writes : ' My imagination represented to me in each cell those holy and famous hermits, Macarius, Anthony, Paul, as though they had been present. . . . I could not refrain from envying the lot of these angels upon earth, these columns of sanctity, and great examples of penance ; and I could hardly leave the spot. With some trouble I climbed up to all the places inhabited by these courageous solitaries ; and from time to time I found crosses, images, and oratories carved by them.* In the ancient monasteries were many Greek and Egyptian inscriptions, which the Coptic monks requested the father to explain, as they could barely read even their own language ; and, amazed at his learning, they listened with attention to his explanation of the Catholic doctrine. Often he would take up his abode in the different monasteries for ten days at a time, in order to give a series of conferences on religious subjects, which always obtained many conversions.

The remains of pagan Egypt and its natural curiosities were likewise studied by Father Sicard. He visited the cataracts of the Nile, the ruins of Elephantine, Memphis, and Thebes ; and the result of these expeditions were voluminous memoirs on the antiquities and natural history of Egypt. These notes were accompanied by drawings and plans, designed by the father, and which all French *savants* have since followed. They were to form the basis of an immense work upon ancient Egypt, which death prevented him from completing, but the mere fragments of which excited the enthusiasm of the scientific world in France. One of his most interesting expeditions was to the Red Sea, which he describes as filled with petrified plants ; and where he was able to determine, with apparent precision, the spot where it was crossed by the Israelites flying before Pharaoh. The ardour displayed by Father Sicard in his learned researches did not lead him to forget that he belonged to an order of apostles ; and we find him on every occasion endeavouring to spread the true faith. After a long day's journey down the Nile, he once stopped to pass the night at a

* *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. v. p. 147.

village named Etris. 'In the evening,' he relates, 'after the shepherds and labourers returned to their homes, I assembled the Coptic men and boys by moonlight to give them some instruction. I found these good people hungering after the Word of God; for they very seldom hear it. . . . I explained the principal articles of the Creed. They listened to me with great docility; and I charged those amongst them who seemed the best instructed to repeat in the different houses what I had taught. After my instruction several among them asked me to let them make their confession, which they did, with sentiments that afforded me great consolation.*'

Father Sicard did not always meet with so reassuring a reception. On one occasion he encountered a band of Arabs. 'Their chief,' he says, 'seeing nothing in my worn-out cassock that could tempt his avarice, was dazzled by the brilliancy of my red shoes, such as are always worn here by country priests. He politely asked me for them; but I refused in the same manner. Another then asked me for money. "I have none," I replied. "Then," said another, "give me a good remedy for a wound that pains me greatly." I gave it to him willingly; thereupon the whole band took me for a famous physician, and each one began to explain his particular ailments, and to ask for remedies. I gave them the benefit of what knowledge I possess; and then I said that they had infirmities far more dangerous than those for which they desired a cure, and that these infirmities were the evil inclinations that led them to rob, to pillage, and to commit many other crimes, rendering them odious to God and to man. . . . They listened more attentively than I could have hoped. This led me to exhort them to change their mode of life, and to assure them that Divine Providence would provide for their sustenance. After this exhortation we parted good friends. God grant that the words He put into my mouth may have a good effect.†'

A martyr's death was the worthy crowning of Father Sicard's laborious career. He was returning from Upper Egypt in order to put the finishing stroke to his work upon Egypt, when

* *Ibid.* p. 18.

† *Ibid.* p. 34.

he heard that pestilence was raging at Cairo. 'Then,' says an historian, 'the joys of science vanished before the Jesuit's duties.*' He immediately set off for the unfortunate city, and devoted himself to the sick and dying. But ere long he felt the first symptoms of the disease; and after struggling against it for two days he had to give up his charitable labours. He received the last Sacraments, and expired on the 12th of April 1726, at the age of forty-nine. His brethren thus described the sorrow caused by his death: 'The grief felt by the faithful and by the infidels alike is a singular proof of the esteem, respect, and love entertained for Father Sicard. . . . As for us, who for twenty years have had the honour and consolation of possessing him in our mission, we deeply regret this dear missionary, who gave us such rare examples of the most excellent virtues.†

In the mean time, on the western coast of Africa, in Senegambia, Guinea, and Congo, other members of the Society were engaged in apostolic labours. At Angola and Congo they established colleges; and at Loando they founded an association for the assistance of the shipwrecked sailors who were often cast on these inhospitable and perilous coasts.

Among the readers of modern books of travel how few there are who, when admiring the perseverance of Baker, Livingstone, Stanley, and other African explorers, are aware that the route pursued by these brave men was trodden more than a hundred years ago by numerous Jesuit missionaries, eager to extend the reign of Christ! The pomp of a public funeral is bestowed on Livingstone, and the honours of knight-hood conferred upon Baker; but the very names of the first pioneers of science and civilisation are forgotten or unknown.

Among all the countries evangelized by the missionaries of the Society, there are few where their influence has left traces more lasting than in Canada, where, as has been seen, they landed for the first time in the reign, and under the patronage, of Henry IV. of France. Their enterprising spirit has excited the admiration of Protestant writers. 'The Catholic priest,' says Washington

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 13.

† *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. v. p. 367.

Irving, 'went even before the soldier and the trader. From lake to lake, from river to river, the Jesuits pressed on, unrelenting, and, with a power which no other Christians have exhibited, won to their faith the warlike Miamis and the luxurious Illinois.*' 'The history of their labours,' says another American, Mr. Bancroft, 'is connected with the origin of every celebrated town in the annals of French America; not a cape was turned, not a river entered, but a Jesuit led the way.†'

Thus it was a Jesuit, Father Allonez, who made known Lake Superior, and Father Marquette who discovered the mouth of the Missouri. This last, of whom the Protestant writer above quoted says that 'the people of the West will yet build his monument,' died of fatigue in 1675, on the banks of a stream known from that day as the Black Robes river. It is difficult, indeed, among the countless missionaries of Canada, to make a choice; and it would be too long even to name those who deserve a special mention. Perhaps one of the most famous was Father Marest, who, in the course of one of his expeditions, arriving faint and weary at a Christian settlement, was unexpectedly welcomed by his own brother, also a Jesuit, whom he had not seen since they parted fifteen years before in their native France. In 1649, Father Marest accompanied a French expedition to Hudson Bay; and he relates how, when the 'Land of the North' came in sight, the hymn 'Vexilla Regis,' was sung by the crew in atonement for the outrages offered to the crucifix by the English and Dutch heretics settled in these distant regions. In another letter, written in 1712, Father Marest describes the life of a Jesuit in Canada. During a certain time every year, the Indians used to abandon their settlements in order to hunt the wild animals, whose flesh formed their chief nourishment. The summer hunting-time lasted only three weeks; but the winter hunts extended over four or five months. Though the fathers had induced the Indians to form regular settlements, they found it impossible to make them give up these periodical returns to their wandering

* Marshall, *Christian Missions*, vol. ii. p. 290.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 293. *History of the United States*, by G. Bancroft.

habits ; and they resolved to mitigate the evil by accompanying their converts. 'It is at this time,' writes Father Marest, 'that we long to multiply ourselves, in order not to lose sight of the Indians. All we can do is to visit their different encampments, in order to keep up their piety and to administer the Sacraments.*' And again: 'Though the summer hunting-time is the shorter of the two, it nevertheless cost the life of Father Bineteau. He used to follow the Indians during the great heats of the month of July. Sometimes he was in danger of being stifled by the high grass ; or, again, he suffered cruelly from thirst, and could not find a drop of water in the dried-up prairies. In the daytime he was bathed in perspiration, and at night he had to lie down on the ground, exposed to the dew and to the cold air. . . . These fatigues brought on violent sickness, of which he died in my arms.†

The hardships endured by the missionaries were amply repaid by the consolations afforded to them. Among the most ferocious Indian tribes was that of the Iroquois, who, during a considerable period, resisted all the advances of the Jesuits ; but when once the light of the Gospel had penetrated among them, bright examples of sanctity were to be found even amidst this once savage people. Thus Father Cholenec, in 1715, gives a touching account of the Iroquois saint, Catherine Tegahkonita, who resided at the Christian colony of St. François Xavier du Sault, where, says the same missionary, 'fasts, severe disciplines, belts armed with iron points, were common austerities.†

Like the Japanese Christians, the converted Iroquois prepared themselves by these severe penances for the sufferings of martyrdom, which they endured with heroic courage. One of them named Stephen was taken prisoner by a heathen tribe ; his fingers were cut off one by one, his body covered with wounds, a lighted torch thrust down his throat, and finally he was slowly roasted alive. He kept his eyes steadily raised to heaven throughout this long agony ; from time to time only he

* *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. vi. p. 346.

† *Ibid.* p. 345.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 38.

was heard to say : ' My sins deserve yet more sufferings than those you can inflict ; the more you torture me the greater you make my reward.'

The greatest obstacle encountered by the missionaries came, not from the savages themselves, but from the English and Dutch traders who had settled in Canada, and whose national animosity towards the French combined with their anti-Catholic prejudices to impede the progress of the fathers. In the neighbouring States, then a British colony, penal laws similar to those of England had been issued against Catholic priests, and although Canada itself was not ceded to England until 1763, a petty warfare existed many years previously between the French colonists and their English neighbours. In the eyes of the missionaries the progress of English influence was the ruin of their apostolic labours ; for with the errors of Protestantism the English introduced among the Indians the use of intoxicating liquors, which gradually threw them back into a state of degradation as deep as that from which they had been rescued. Hence the efforts made by the Jesuits to preserve the influence of France, and the detestation with which they were looked upon in consequence by the English settlers.

The Indians themselves, unless maddened by drink, quickly distinguished between the unselfish zeal of the French Black Robes and the interested advances of the English ministers, whose professions of friendship concealed a political purpose. On one occasion the English governor of Boston endeavoured to alienate the natives from the French by alluring promises, stipulating only that they should receive a Protestant minister. To this proposal the representative of the Indians replied : ' You saw me long before the French did, yet neither you nor your ministers ever spoke to me of the Great Spirit, or of prayer. They looked at my beaver-skins and at my furs, and thought only of them ; these were what they cared for, and if I brought them a large quantity I became their great friend. On the contrary, one day I lost my way, and arrived at a large Algonquin village near Quebec, where the Black Robes taught.

I had barely arrived when a Black Robe came to see me. I was loaded with furs, but the French Black Robe disdained to look at them; he spoke to me at once of the Great Spirit, of paradise, of hell, and of prayer, which is the only road to heaven. I listened to him with pleasure, and I stayed in the village to hear him. At length prayer was pleasing to me, and I asked him to instruct me. I begged for baptism and received it. . . . I have learnt the prayer of the French, and shall hold to it till the world comes to an end. Keep, then, your workmen, your money, and your minister; I speak to you no more.*

Among the Jesuit martyrs in Canada one of the most celebrated, Father Sebastian Rasles, fell a victim to the animosity of the English. He had founded a flourishing Christian colony among the tribe of the Abenakis at a short distance from the British settlements, and his letters give interesting pictures of the piety of his converts, the rude splendour of their religious services, and their attachment to their teacher. On one occasion, the report having spread that Father Rasles had fallen into the hands of the English, the Indians, who were out hunting, immediately returned to deliver him, and two young men were sent in advance to visit his cabin. 'When they entered,' writes Father Rasles, 'I was occupied in writing the life of a saint in their language. "O, father," they cried, "how happy we are to see you!" "I am equally glad," I answered; "but what brings you here in this frightful weather?" "We have come," they said, "because we were told that the English had carried you off; we were going to follow their track, and our warriors, who will arrive soon, were to pursue them and attack the fort, where, had the news been true, you would have been imprisoned." "You see, my children," I replied, "that your fears are unfounded; but the love shown for me by my children fills my heart with joy, because it proves their attachment to the religion of prayer."† Nevertheless, the vicinity of the English was a source of real danger, of which Father Rasles was fully aware. 'The English,' he writes, 'regard me as an

* *Ibid.* p. 211.† *Ibid.* p. 219.

invincible obstacle to their design of taking possession of all the lands of the Abenakis. . . . They have resolved upon my destruction, but neither their animosity nor the fear of death can ever separate me from my flock.’*

Only a year after these words were penned (in August 1724) an English force suddenly invaded the little colony. The inhabitants, unprepared for the attack, were speedily overpowered, and Father Rasles, while endeavouring to protect his flock, was struck down at the foot of a great cross in the centre of the village. When the enemy had retreated his mutilated remains were reverently interred by his weeping children, and a Catholic church now marks the spot dyed with his blood.

Father Rasles’ facility for learning the Indian dialects, his firmness, kindness, his pathetic and winning eloquence, obtained for him an extraordinary influence, which was no doubt the indirect cause of his death. Among the French colonists his reputation of sanctity was such that when prayers were asked for his soul, a Sulpician priest of Montreal exclaimed in the words of St. Augustine: ‘It is doing an injury to a martyr to pray for him.’†

The apostolic labours of the missionaries of Canada were repeated by their brethren in the more southern states of America. In 1682, Father Mongin writes from the West Indian Islands: ‘We have four houses for negroes in the island of Martinique, one in Guadaloupe, two in the island of St. Christopher, and one at Cayenne. We are the only priests for the French, the Indians, and the negroes alike.’‡

Among the missionaries of Guiana the most famous was Father Lombard, who after fifteen years of apparently hopeless toil erected the first Christian church. The letters of his brethren give a graphic picture of his difficulties, and the means by which he conquered them. He established himself on the banks of the Kouron, at a comparatively easy distance from many different tribes; here he cultivated the land and built a large house and chapel. When this was done he begged

* Ibid. pp. 148-225.

† Ibid. p. 237.

‡ Ibid. vol. vii. p. 185.

that a child from each tribe might be intrusted to his care, and after some difficulty the natives yielded to his winning manner, and before long he was surrounded by a little band of pupils, whom he carefully educated. When they were about seventeen, and formed to solid habits of piety, they returned to their homes, and other children came to take their place; but every month the former pupils were bound to give the father an account of the conversions they had obtained among their tribes, and he would then set off in order to administer the Sacraments to the new converts. At length the number of Christians became so great that Father Lombard found it impossible to visit them all, and he induced them to form a large colony on the banks of the Kouron. He himself gave them a rule of life; and in 1726, Father Crossard thus describes the aspect of this settlement, which had been organized by the unaided efforts of one man: 'I could not repress my tears on seeing the modesty, recollection, and devotion with which these savages of different nations assisted at the divine sacrifice. They sang High Mass with a piety that would have touched the coldest and most distracted soul. . . . There were a great many communions at the end of Mass, and they spent an hour and a half in thanksgiving. Comparing what I witnessed with the idea I had formed of the savages, I could not help exclaiming: "O my God, what piety! what respect and devotion!" Could I have believed it had I not witnessed it?'

To the labours of the Jesuits in California the following extract from a Protestant writer bears witness: 'The Jesuits had covered the sterile rocks of Lower California with the monuments—agricultural, architectural, and economical—of their patience and aptitude; not only leaving to their successors apposite models and tolerable workmen, but also bequeathing to them the invaluable lesson that nothing is impossible to energy and perseverance.'

Fathers Piccolo and Salvatierra were the first missionaries

* *Ibid.* p. 281.

† *Journey round the World*, by Sir George Simpson. Marshall, vol. ii. p. 250.

who landed in California in 1697, and their first act was to erect an image of our Lady in the most suitable spot they could find, in order to place their labours under her patronage. At the outset, the natives imagined them to be merchants who had come to monopolize the trade of pearls, and attacked them with stones and arrows; but by degrees they were conquered by the kindness of the fathers. In 1702 four flourishing missions were established, and a little later the whole country embraced Christianity. By letters-patent of the King of Spain the Jesuits were subsequently appointed to be the sole administrators of justice in California.

In the hopes of gaining some of the wildest tribes, Father Salvatierra ventured alone into their district, with no weapon save a lute, on which he played with much skill. He used to sing, 'In voi credo, O Dio mio,' accompanying himself on his instrument; and by degrees the Indians would issue from their hiding-places, and gather round him to listen. They thus became familiarized with his presence, and were gradually induced to listen to his explanation of the words he had been singing.

It was also in California that the missionaries, unable to convey to the minds of the Indians the idea of the Resurrection, as there was no word in their language by which it could be expressed, took a fly and put it into some water until it looked as if it were dead; they then laid it in the sun, and by degrees, through the influence of the heat, it completely revived. Upon this the Indians who were present exclaimed; 'Ibimuhucité;' and the word was henceforth adopted to express the Resurrection.

In Brazil, on the banks of the Amazon, other missionaries were carrying on a similar apostolate; and here, as elsewhere, the Jesuits opposed the tyranny of the European colonists, who prospered through the misery of the unhappy Indians. 'They were,' says a Protestant writer, 'the only missionaries who uniformly opposed the tyranny of the Portuguese.*' But the evil was not to be cured in one day; and it needed all the

* Southey, *History of Brazil*. Marshall, vol. ii. p. 158.

firmness and ability of Father Anthony Vieyra to bring about a peaceful understanding between the Indians and their conquerors. Among the missionaries of the Society Vieyra occupies a prominent place, and in a previous chapter it has been seen that he was equally eminent as an orator, a diplomatist, a controversialist, and a scholar; indeed a Protestant writer describes him as holding a place, 'not only amongst the greatest writers, but among the greatest statesmen of his country.*' In Portugal he was the chosen friend and councillor of John IV., to whom, when urged to accept a bishopric in Europe, he had replied that he would not exchange his missionary's garb for all the mitres in the Portuguese dominions. By his efforts numerous Christian settlements were founded on the banks of the Amazon, which in many parts resembles an open sea, and a treaty of peace was concluded with the Indian tribes, who from the depths of their impenetrable forests had for many years defied the armies of Portugal. The fame of Vieyra's defence of their rights had reached the ears of these wild barbarians. When he fearlessly ventured among them he was received with demonstrations of delight, and over 100,000 Indians agreed to the treaty of peace which he drew up. In order to commemorate this solemn occasion the father celebrated a Mass of thanksgiving, in presence of the Indian and Portuguese representatives; from the altar-steps he explained to each their duties with regard to the treaty; and after the envoys of Portugal had sworn to observe it the Indian chiefs deposited their bows and arrows at the feet of the Jesuit, and, with their hands in his, swore fidelity to God and allegiance to the king. The treaty was observed with more loyalty by the natives than by the Europeans, whose hypocrisy Vieyra strongly blamed. So energetic, indeed, were his remonstrances that in 1661 the Portuguese, having imprisoned all the missionaries of the province of Para, threw the father himself on board ship, and sent him back to Lisbon. Here, however, he successfully pleaded the cause of the Indians at court, and in 1663, Alphonso VI. issued a decree to reëstablish the missionaries in

* Southey. *Marshall*, vol. ii. p. 151.

the province whence they had been expelled. In 1680, Pedro, Alphonso's successor, published a new edict, forbidding the Portuguese to reduce the Indians to slavery, and intrusting the temporal as well as the spiritual organization of the native tribes to the fathers of the Society of Jesus. Having thus provided for the welfare of his converts, Father Vieyra returned to Brazil, where he died in 1697. He had spent seventy-five years in the Society.

The companions who seconded and completed Vieyra's labours were worthy of their chiefs; among them must be mentioned Father Louis de Figueyra, who in 1643 was going to Brazil for the third time with a band of missionaries, when a violent storm destroyed the vessel. The father refused to leave the sinking ship as long as one person remained on board. Out of his fourteen companions two died of hunger and thirst, after tossing about for several days in a small boat; three were saved; and the nine others, including Father de Figueyra, were thrown on a neighbouring island and devoured by cannibals. Scarcely less eminent were the Venerable John Lobato, who died in 1630, at the age of eighty-nine, and whose miracles were so numerous that a rich Brazilian committed the unheard-of indiscretion of building a chapel and an altar to him in his lifetime, and Father Joseph Soarès, the inseparable companion of Father Vieyra.

Most touching was the friendship of these two great men, and the eagerness with which Soarès shared Vieyra's trials and persecutions, while he refused all share in his honours. Four years after his death Father Vieyra, surrounded by a dazzling light, appeared to his friend: 'Come, Father Joseph,' he said; 'come, it is time; fear not;' and a few hours later the venerable religious calmly breathed his last. To these names must be added those of Father Fritz, who in 1707 published the first map of the great river Amazon, which he followed from its mouth to its source; and of Father Richler, a Bohemian by birth, whose apostolic labours are thus described by his brethren: 'It would be difficult to give an exact idea of the labour he went through in order to learn the language of the natives,

and then to make the Gospel truths penetrate into their minds and hearts. During eleven years he made more than forty expeditions, the shortest of which was of two hundred miles, and in these journeys he had to traverse dense forests and rapid rivers. . . . In all his wanderings he relied only on Providence for the necessities of life, and he would never carry any provisions. He walked barefooted through paths overgrown with thorns and brambles, exposed to the stings of venomous insects, whose bites cause ulcers and sometimes death. . . . Often he was so destitute that, having no cloth, he had to make himself a covering of bark to wear, which was like a rough hair-shirt rather than a garment.* In 1695, Father Richler was massacred by the Indians. It was estimated that in the course of his eleven years of missionary life he converted over twelve thousand infidels.

In 1721 there arrived on the Brazilian missions one whose name in connection with widely different scenes will reappear at a subsequent period of this history. Destined in his old age to win a martyr's crown in Portugal, Father Gabriel Malagrida, an Italian by birth, spent the best years of his manhood toiling for Christ among the torrid plains and dense forests of the province of Maranhao in Brazil. On one occasion, together with several of his neophytes, he fell into the hands of a hostile Indian tribe; his companions were massacred before his eyes, and he himself, reserved for a more lingering agony, was bound to a stake, around which the savages danced with ferocious glee. One of them had already raised his tomahawk over the Jesuit's head, when an old woman rushed forward and arrested his arm: 'Hold,' she cried; 'and beware of killing an envoy of the Great Spirit, for his death will bring evil upon thee! I once knew one who slew a Black Robe, and he died in tortures, devoured by worms.'

The Indians, whose superstition equalled their cruelty, became alarmed; the father was unbound and cast into a small boat, which was sent adrift on the neighbouring river. Malagrida's tears flowed fast at the thought of the glorious palm

* *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. viii. p. 291.

which had slipped from his hand just as he was about to grasp it; but as he was drifting down the broad sheet of water his attention was aroused by a faint cry of 'Father, father!' and looking round, he perceived, crouching in the long grass, one of his young neophytes, who, although grievously wounded, had succeeded in making his escape. The Indian got into the boat, where Malagrida bound up his wounds with strips of his cassock, and the two continued their journey, the boy guiding the frail little bark with the dexterity peculiar to his race. After three days' lonely and perilous navigation, they reached the settlement of a friendly tribe; but neither the missionary nor his companion had tasted food for four days, and they looked more like spectres than living men; Malagrida's teeth were so firmly clenched that they had to be parted with an iron instrument; and the Indian died at the end of a few days, exhausted by his sufferings.

Before closing the brief record of Brazilian missionaries we must mention Father Bartholomew de Gusmao, the inventor of balloons. After trying different experiments, he constructed a balloon in linen, which answered his purpose, and, full of his discovery, he started for Europe, and at Lisbon offered to ascend in the balloon he had made. But so extraordinary did the proposal appear to those who ignored the natural laws on which the invention was founded, that it was assumed evil spirits must be at work, and the Portuguese Inquisition took alarm. Father de Gusmao then suggested that the Grand Inquisitor should ascend in the balloon; but this harmless joke excited great scandal; the father was accused by the most credulous of being possessed by the devil, and was accordingly sent to prison, whence his brethren afterwards procured his deliverance. He died in Spain in 1724.*

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. iv. p. 278. Although Father de Gusmao was the first to construct a balloon on the principles afterwards adopted by Montgolfier, the theory had been advanced some years before by another Jesuit, Father Terzi, born at Brescia in 1631. He was a man of great imagination, and a hundred years before the Abbé de l'Épée, or Sicard, he invented signs to be used by the blind to communicate their thoughts. Idem, p. 280.

The reductions of Paraguay, of which a sketch has been given, continued at this period to present a spectacle of wonderful fervour, and of all the missions undertaken by the Jesuits throughout the world, these were perhaps the most successful.

In 1726, Father John Fernandez, in a report addressed to the Prince of the Asturias, says that among the Indians are to be found 'the piety, detachment, innocence, and holiness of the early Christians.' In 1717 there were among the different tribes over 120,000 Indians, all of whom had been baptized by the missionaries.* 'Self-interest and cupidity,' writes another missionary, 'are entirely banished from this blessed land. . . . The simplicity and candour of these good Indians are admirable. Missionaries, who have directed them for a long time, assure me that in nearly all their confessions it is difficult to find matter for absolution. . . . They have no genius for invention, but they possess great facility for imitating every kind of work, and their dexterity is wonderful. As instances of their workmanship, I have seen five pictures and books printed or written by hand. Organs and other instruments are common amongst them; they make watches, draw out plans, engrave maps; in fact they excel in every species of work, provided they have models. Their churches are beautiful, and adorned with the most perfect ornaments their industry can produce.†

But beyond the reductions, where, under the government of the Jesuits, the Christian Indians spent innocent and industrious lives, there were many wild tribes who were still a prey to idolatry, and among these other missionaries pursued their apostolic task. A few names only can be mentioned in this brief record. In 1711, Father Cavallero, of whom his brethren said that St. Francis Xavier had no more perfect imitator, gained the martyr's crown among the Puyzocas. Many times before he had been miraculously preserved from harm, and the history of his journeys reads like a romance. Once, the chief of an unconverted tribe having begged him to visit his people,

* *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. ix. pp. 7, 8.

† *Ibid.* vol. viii. p. 178.

Father Cavallero gladly consented; but on reaching the encampment he perceived that he had fallen into a snare. Flights of arrows were discharged at him as he advanced alone and unarmed, but although directed with the dexterity peculiar to the Indians, they fell harmlessly at his feet. Then, approaching the chief, who stood by in amazement: 'Do not you see,' he said, 'that all your efforts to hurt me are useless unless God allows them to succeed? How can you say that the demons whom you adore are the lords of heaven and earth—they who are only vile creatures condemned by divine justice to eternal fire?' A few days later, the chief and the whole tribe received baptism at Father Cavallero's hands.

Another celebrated missionary was Father Julian Lizardi, who, with Father Chomé and Father Pons, had been appointed to preach to the Chiriguanes, a tribe so savage that the great Franciscan apostle, St. Francis Sollano, had failed to convert them. The reduction governed by Father Lizardi was invaded by these barbarians in May 1735, just as the father was about to begin Mass; he was seized and placed by the savages on the summit of a rock, while they discharged at him a flight of arrows, one of which pierced his heart. Some weeks later, the Christians, who came to seek for his body, found it lying on the rock and perfectly incorrupt; his Breviary was by his side, open at the Office for the Dead.

To these names might be added those of Father Castañares, also a martyr, whose gentleness exercised a strange influence over the wildest tribes; of Fathers Aguilar, Quiroga, Suarez, Hervas, and others, many of whom were men of noble birth and great abilities, who might have taken a high place in the European world of literature and science. Father de Quiroga, for instance, had been distinguished in the Spanish navy before entering the Society, and in his apostolic journeys he was charged to observe the bays and landing-places along the coast of Patagonia. Although the Kings of Spain had repeatedly given them public testimonies of their approval and confidence, the Jesuits in Paraguay, as in other colonies, had much to endure from the ill-will of the European colonists,

against whose unjust exactions they defended their converts. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Don Joseph de Antequera, Governor of Paraguay, banished the Jesuits from the city of Assumption because they opposed his unjust measures; later on, his abuse of authority caused him to be degraded from his high office and condemned to death. In his prison he sent for two Jesuits, Fathers Cavero and Galezan, and humbly begged their pardon for his treatment of the missionaries.

This incomplete sketch of the labours of the Society in Paraguay may be fitly concluded by the letter addressed to the King of Spain, in 1721, by Don Pedro Faxado, Bishop of Buenos Ayres. Alluding to the attacks against the missionaries, he says: 'These fathers, whose only object is the service of God, the preservation and progress of these flourishing missions, have supported these attacks with a constancy and patience that have greatly edified me; . . . not only do they seem insensible to the blows directed against them, but they reply to the insults of their enemies by their good deeds. . . . I venture to assert, sire, that if the fathers were less holy they would have fewer enemies. . . . I have often visited their missions, and I attest that, in the whole course of my life, I have never seen more order than among these people, nor more zeal than among the fathers. . . . Among those numerous tribes of Indians, naturally inclined to every vice, reigns such innocence that I do not think a mortal sin is ever committed among them. The care, attention, and vigilance of the missionaries prevent the smallest faults. . . . As for their supposed riches, nothing can be more imaginary; what the poor Indians gain by their labour is employed in procuring for them a little meat, vegetables, and Indian corn, coarse clothes, and the necessary articles for the Church. If the missions produced so much would the province be in debt as it is now? Would the colleges be so poor that the fathers have barely enough to live upon?'

The concluding words of the report, although intended for the apostles of Paraguay, may be fully applied to all those

whose labours have formed the subject of this chapter. 'As for me,' continues the Bishop, 'who am perfectly informed of all that takes place in the missions, I cannot help applying to those who direct them these words: "O quam pulchre est casta generatio cum claritate!" How beautiful is the race of pure souls, whose zeal converts infidels into children of the Church, training them in the fear of God, forming them to Christian virtues, and enduring odious calumnies in order to maintain them in the path of piety!'

* *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. ix. p. 237.

CHAPTER X.

Father Francis Retz, 1730-1751; Father Ignatius Visconti, 1751-1755; Father Louis Centurioni, 1755-1758: Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Generals of the Society.

UPON the death of Father Tamburini, February 28th, 1730, a General Congregation was convoked, and Father Francis Retz, Assistant for Germany, was unanimously elected as his successor. The new General was born at Prague in 1673, and had filled the office of Rector in the principal houses of the Order in his native province of Bohemia, where he enjoyed general esteem. Although his election took place on November 30th, 1730, the Congregation was prolonged until the 13th of February following, and several decrees relating to the interior administration of the Society were drawn up. One of these specified that the Jesuit writers should not make arrangements with librarians or editors without express permission from the Provincial, and that all their writings, especially those relating to difficult and disputed subjects, should, before publication, be carefully examined by several censors appointed for the purpose. These rules had already been laid down by previous assemblies, but it was thought necessary to give them new force, and especially to impress upon the fathers that in all controversies bitterness and violence must be avoided. A prophetic instinct seemed to warn the heads of the Order that an era of trial was at hand, and that lessons of patience and meekness must prepare its members for the approaching storm. Father Retz died at the beginning of 1751, and the brief reigns of his immediate successors enable us to unite in one chapter the events that occurred under their administration. The first, Father Ignatius Visconti, was elected on July 4th, 1751, eight months after the death of Father Retz. He belonged to the great historical family, which for many years exercised

supreme influence at Milan, but his talents and holiness, far more than his birth, fitted him for the responsible post of chief of the Society. Like his predecessor he was the personal friend of Pope Benedict XIV.; but at the end of only four years he died; and six months later, in November 1755, Father Louis Centurioni was elected to succeed him. The new General governed barely two years, during which he was a victim to constant physical suffering, increased no doubt by the anxiety and sorrow caused by the formidable league which was organized in Europe against the Society.

The storm was already threatening when Father Retz assumed the government of the Order, though his administration may be regarded as a period of comparative tranquillity, during which many new colleges and residences were founded, and a Jesuit saint, Francis Régis, was raised to the altars of the Church.

As has been mentioned, the sceptical philosophy of the eighteenth century had commenced its campaign against religion, and its first blows were naturally directed against the vanguard of the Church, the Society of Jesus. The great controversies that had divided Europe in the early days of the Order were no longer the absorbing interest of the day, but the errors of Protestantism and Jansenism, although they were in a measure successfully opposed by the defenders of the Catholic faith, had loosened the bonds of respect and submission which bound the minds of men to the authority of the Church; in place of the self-sufficiency of the first and the subtle theories of the second had grown up a spirit of total negation of all spiritual authority. By degrees, an open profession of atheism replaced the lengthy theological discussions which previous generations had carried on with such passionate vigour; in France the evil was hastened by the deplorable moral effects of the government of Philip of Orleans, and religious and social barriers alike were broken down by the rapidly-increasing tide of rebellion and immorality.

The Jansenist party in France was fast dying out; but its last efforts were directed against the Society of Jesus; the

Jesuits were no longer attacked with the brilliancy that characterized Pascal's famous letters, but every effort was made to discredit them by absurd accusations. Thus, in 1718, the Jesuits of Brest were accused of having murdered a man named Ambrose Guis, in order to seize his fortune; and though the relatives of their supposed victim and the authorities of Alicante, in Spain, produced evidence to show that he had died in the latter town in 1661, the charge was renewed in 1759. The enemies of the Jesuits, however, often defeated their own object, and Baron Grimm, a notorious infidel, remarks: 'The fathers are under the greatest obligation to their enemies for having so greatly exaggerated this latter affair, even to the point of quoting decrees of the Council of State that never existed, that the government forbade all further proceedings.*'

About the same time, Father Girard, at Toulon, a man of great piety, but credulous and simple, was accused of horrible crimes by a supposed visionary, named Catherine de la Cadière, a tool of the Jansenists; but in spite of the efforts of his enemies, Father Girard's innocence was established by the parliament of Aix, October 10th, 1731. The following year a yet more improbable tale was brought forward; the Jansenists asserting that Father Chamillard, a Jesuit, had recently on his deathbed protested against the Bull 'Unigenitus.' They even added that the body of this convert to Jansenism emitted a sweet fragrance and worked numerous miracles, and, strange to say, the story was eagerly caught up and believed. The amount of truth contained in it may be measured by a letter from Father Chamillard himself, who, alive and well, wrote an energetic contradiction of the whole fable; his letter, dated February 15th, 1732, concludes thus: 'We feel honoured by the outrages of our adversaries, when we reflect that those who so cruelly insult us by their speeches and writings are the same men who blaspheme what is most venerable and sacred in the Church and State.†'

Although contemptible in themselves and comparatively harmless in their effects, these accusations show the tendency

* *Correspondance*, vol. ii. p. 408.

† Crétineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 176.

of the public mind in France, and form a prelude to the formidable league which, under the next General of the Order, the philosophers and Jansenists formed to destroy the Institute of St. Ignatius.

We must now notice the man who was to be the most powerful instrument in this work of destruction, and whose example in Portugal was only too faithfully imitated by the Courts of France, Spain, and Austria.

In 1750, John V., King of Portugal, died, and was succeeded on the throne by his son, Joseph I., a weak and depraved prince, ready to fall a prey to any ambitious spirit who would flatter his passions and work on his suspicious and timid character. Such an one was Sebastian Joseph Carvalho, Marquis of Pombal, the most inveterate of all the enemies who, from the time of its foundation, have persecuted the Society of Jesus. He was born in 1699, and under John V. had been Portuguese ambassador at the Courts of London and Vienna. On his return to his own country he presented himself as a candidate for the vacant post of Secretary of State, and endeavoured to interest in his favour the pious queen, Marianna of Austria.

John V., however, distrusted him, and declined to raise him to the post he coveted; but on the accession of Joseph I. matters changed. As long as it suited his convenience Pombal successfully feigned sentiments contrary to his real feelings, and he succeeded in deceiving the new king's confessor, Father Joseph Moreira, a Jesuit, and a man of simple and unsuspecting character. Through Moreira's intervention, he was at last raised to the office of Secretary of State, and 'never,' says a Jesuit writer, 'was meddling with things outside the sphere of duty more terribly punished.'*

The character of the new minister is best described by a narrative of his acts. When once he had attained the height of his ambition he speedily threw off the mask, and the Jesuits learnt his real nature. His subsequent persecution of the Society was the fruit of no sudden impulse, but the result of a deeply-

* *The Suppression of the Society of Jesus in the Portuguese Dominions*, by the Rev. A. Weld, S.J., p. 10.

planned scheme and of intense hatred for the Church, whom he attacked in the persons of its soldiers. 'Obedience to the Holy See was an insupportable yoke to him, and he saw no real independence till he could emancipate himself from it. He aimed, in fact, at nothing else than the attainment for himself of the character of a Reformer, and the establishment of a national and schismatical Church on the model of that to which the Jansenists were then struggling to reduce the Church of France.* In order to promote this design, he endeavoured to bring about a marriage between the Princess Mary, heiress to the crown of Portugal, and the English Duke of Cumberland, and the opposition of the Jesuits to this plan increased his hatred towards the Society.

As has been seen, a singular friendship had, with very few exceptions, constantly existed between the Kings of Portugal and the Order of St. Ignatius since the early days when Francis Xavier and Simon Rodriguez first came to Lisbon; the fathers had been the chosen advisers of the royal family; and even when Joseph I. ascended the throne, Fathers Moreira, Oliveira, Costa, Aranjuez, and Campo were confessors to the princes and princesses of his family.

To succeed in his purpose of destroying the Society, Pombal proceeded with extreme caution and astuteness. He began by giving the king books written against the Order, to poison his mind against those whom he had been taught to venerate. Then, acting upon his naturally jealous temper, he persuaded him that his brother Don Pedro was a dangerous rival to his authority, and was supported by the Jesuits. At the same time he caused infamous libels against the Society to be widely distributed throughout the kingdom. When he thought that his influence over the king was sufficiently firm, he began a system of opposition to the fathers, and invented pretexts for banishing some of them from the capital.

At this juncture took place the terrible earthquake, by which more than half the city of Lisbon was destroyed. The Jesuits distinguished themselves by their charity in assisting

* Ibid. p. 14.

the unhappy sufferers ; and among the most zealous was Father Gabriel Malagrida, of whom mention has been made in a previous chapter, and who had been recalled from Brazil by the queen-mother, Marianna of Austria, who had implicit trust in his wisdom and holiness.

In a first impulse of gratitude, Joseph I. recalled the fathers, whom his minister had banished, and promised the Jesuits of Lisbon that their house, which the earthquake had destroyed, should be rebuilt at the expense of government. Father Malagrida, in particular, seemed likely to obtain an influence over him ; but Pombal, alarmed at the reaction which was taking place in the weak mind of the king, resolved to remove the father from Lisbon. After the earthquake, Malagrida wrote a book, in which he exhorted the people to regard the terrible calamity as a chastisement and a warning from Heaven. This pamphlet was distributed throughout the city ; and a copy was given by the author to Pombal himself, who seized the opportunity to accuse Malagrida of exciting the people by alarming predictions, and in consequence exiled him to Setubal in November 1756.*

While these events were passing in Portugal, the Jesuits in South America were likewise suffering from the persecuting spirit of Pombal. The golden age of the reductions of Paraguay had come to an end ; and the people who for so many years had been guarded from oppression and cruelty were to be exposed defenceless to the rapacity of their European conquerors.

In 1747 the Portuguese Governor of Rio Janeiro, Gomez d'Andrada, imagining that the vigilance with which the Jesuits guarded the reductions of Uruguay from the invasion of strangers was prompted by their desire to monopolize the gold-mines which he fancied existed in the country, proposed to his government that the flourishing Portuguese colony of San Sacramento should be exchanged for the seven reductions of Uruguay, which belonged to Spain. The Spanish Government agreed to the transaction, as San Sacramento was in a favour-

* *Histoire du P. Malagrida*, par le P. P. Mury, S.J.

able position for commerce, and known to be a fertile and rich colony ; whereas the seven reductions possessed no advantages save the supposed gold-mines imagined by Gomez d'Andrada. So convinced was he of their existence that, in order to monopolize these hidden treasures, he stipulated in the treaty of exchange that the inhabitants of the reductions, over 30,000 in number, should emigrate to a distant territory, abandoning their settlements to the Portuguese, who came to work the supposed mines of gold. But it was not so easy to transfer the inhabitants from one territory to another, as though they had been inanimate objects ; and the Jesuits were requested by the Court of Spain to induce their neophytes to accept this enforced desertion of their homes, their churches, and the fields they had cultivated for over a hundred years. That the fathers did their best to persuade the Indians to submit to an inevitable evil is proved by many testimonies. A letter from Father Francis Retz, who was then General, written in 1750, states that if necessary the Father General himself would go to Paraguay, in order to use his influence for the purpose. In obedience to their Superior the missionaries endeavoured to meet his views ; but, on hearing of the arrangement between the two courts, the Indians unanimously declared that they would rather die than be expatriated. By degrees, however, they yielded, not without many difficulties ; and Pombal, who, in the mean time, had taken the reins of government in Portugal, accused the Jesuits of encouraging their discontent.

No doubt the fathers keenly felt the cruelty of the measures they were ordered to support. 'Nevertheless,' says the Protestant historian Schoell, 'it is proved that outwardly at least they took all the necessary steps to induce the Indians to obey ; but it may be supposed that their exhortations, dictated by a feeling of duty, but repugnant to their feelings, had not the warmth which would have characterized them under different circumstances. This supposition, however, cannot suffice to constitute an accusation of rebellion.*' Indeed, the diligence with which the fathers observed the injunctions laid upon them

* *Cours d'Histoire des Etats Europeens*, vol. xxxix. p. 51.

by the two courts has made some historians, M. Créteineau-Joly in particular, accuse them of sacrificing the Indians in order to propitiate the European governments. This reproach appears hardly fair. No resistance on the part of the Indians could have prevented the execution of the treaty; and a course of submission was most likely to modify its evil effects. Moreover resistance would have confirmed the Portuguese in their belief that the gold-mines existed, and were worked in secret by the Jesuits.

From that fatal hour the peace and happiness enjoyed by the reductions came to an end. Accused of rebellion in Spain and Portugal, the Jesuits were bitterly blamed by the Indians for sacrificing their welfare to the rapacity of the Europeans. Thus, on both sides, they encountered reproach and suffering, their self-abnegation was misconstrued, and Pombal's desire to loosen the bonds that united the Christian Indians to their Jesuit rulers was only too successfully accomplished.

The gold-mines were subsequently proved to have existed only in the imagination of Gomez d'Andrada. In vain did engineers sent by the Portuguese Government explore the forests, creeks, and mountains of Uruguay; no trace of the treasures could be discovered. D'Andrada, bitterly deploring his error and its fatal consequences, besought the Jesuits and Pombal to have the treaty annulled; but the former were powerless to do so, and the latter, rejoiced at the irreparable injury inflicted on the missions of Uruguay, contented himself with disgracing the unfortunate governor, to punish him for having publicly confessed his regret and remorse.* Pombal's animosity was, however, not yet satisfied. By his orders a pamphlet, professing to be an exact account of the reductions of Paraguay, was distributed throughout Europe. The Jesuits were described as having founded an independent sovereignty in those distant regions, of which one of their fathers, named Nicholas Plantics, had been proclaimed emperor, under the title of Nicholas I. But here the minister's hatred overstepped

* Créteineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 132. *History of the Suppression, &c.*, by Rev. A. Weld, S.J., p. 77.

the limits of popular credulity. The French philosophers themselves sneered at his ridiculous invention. At the Court of Spain the libel was received with indignation; and on three different occasions, in 1758, 1759, and 1761, it was burnt on the public square of Madrid by the common executioner.

The charge was further refuted by Zevalos, Governor of Paraguay, who, after visiting the reductions, declared, in an official report addressed to the Spanish Government, that instead of rebels he found loyal and obedient subjects; instead of bandit chiefs, zealous and devoted apostles; and everywhere a people civilized and converted by the sole influence of charity and good example.* But although in this instance his manoeuvres were partially unsuccessful, Pombal continued to bring forward accusations against the Society; and the chief instrument of his attacks was an ex-Capuchin named Norbert, to whom he paid a pension to reward him for his writings in favour of the Jansenists and against the Jesuits. Norbert, who was sometimes called Platel, or Parisot, and whom one of his former Superiors described as 'a man without good faith or probity; a dangerous spirit, whom it is necessary to distrust; in fine a man capable of anything,'† was, moreover, closely allied with the Protestant sects of Germany.

In 1744 he published a book, called *Mémoires historiques sur les Affaires des Jésuites*, in which the fathers were accused, among other crimes, of making their apostolic mission a pretext for commercial transactions. The work was referred for examination to a congregation, among whose members were Cardinal Passionei, the Pope's minister, and the Franciscan Ganganelli, afterwards Clement XIV. A pupil of the Society at that time filled the pontifical throne. Benedict XIV., of the Lambruschini family, had been elected in 1740. He was in many respects an eminent Pontiff; and although, as has been recorded, on the subject of the Madura and Chinese rites he held views opposed to those of the Jesuits, his esteem for his former teachers is sufficiently proved by the praise he bestowed upon them in his Briefs and Bulls. His minister, Cardinal

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 134.

† Rev. A. Weld, p. 108.

Passionei, on the contrary, regarded all religious orders, that of St. Ignatius in particular, with undisguised dislike. It was said that he refused to admit into his library a single writer of the Society; whereupon D'Alembert mockingly observes: 'I am sorry for the library and for its master. The one has lost many good books; the other being otherwise, as I am assured, so philosophical, certainly was not so on this point.*'

Had Norbert's book contained a single well-founded accusation, Passionei was not the man to let it pass unnoticed; yet, when called upon to examine the work, he only endeavoured to justify it on the ground that the writer had not intended to accuse the fathers of commercial transactions, but had simply quoted the opinions of others on the subject. Thus, remarks M. Crétineau-Joly, this avowed opponent of the Jesuits, who would have welcomed a well-grounded accusation, tacitly acknowledges that, up to that time at least (1745), the fathers were innocent of the charge.† In spite of Passionei's attempt to defend Norbert, the book was condemned by Benedict XIV. in April 1745, and its author was expelled from Rome.

The accusations brought forward by the apostate monk have been repeated by other enemies of the Society, but they are unsupported by even a shadow of evidence, while, on the contrary, abundant proofs exist of the Jesuits' innocence. The fathers in Canada were accused of trading in peltries, and in 1643 the directors of the Company of New France, whose rivals in trade they were said to be, made a judicial declaration that the charge was false. In China, Father de Goville was accused of being a money-changer; and to defend himself he summoned numerous witnesses—merchants, seamen, persons of every class, some of whom were known to be enemies of the Society—and all deposed that the charge was unfounded. In Paraguay the fathers were charged with secretly working for their own benefit mines of gold and silver; and in 1657, Don Juan Valverde, Visitor of the reductions on behalf of the King of Spain, declared in an official report that 'all that had been said about

* *Sur la Destruction des Jésuites en France* (1765), p. 38.

† Crétineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 138.

the mines was false.' This testimony was further confirmed and repeated, in 1743, by a decree of the King of Spain, Philip V., the person most interested in the discovery of the supposed mines.*

It must be observed, moreover, that in Paraguay their peculiar position as the temporal as well as the spiritual rulers of the Indians imposed unusual duties upon the missionaries. The ecclesiastical canons, as well as the Constitutions of their Order, forbade the Jesuits to buy in order to sell again for their own profit; but in Paraguay they had full permission to sell, on behalf of their neophytes, the fruit, vegetables, and other produce of the soil. They were in the position of procurators or guardians to simple and ignorant children, whose temporal interests were committed to their care; they gained nothing by their administration of the Indians' commercial transactions, for, as has been seen in a previous chapter, the Indians alone reaped the benefit of their labours. 'Not a dollar was paid into the chests of the college; not even,' says Muratori, 'was a tithe or tribute or payment of any kind made by the reductions to the fathers. On the contrary, the alms of the faithful and the little they could save from what the charity of the king allowed for their own support were applied to relieve the sick, to arrest the poverty, and provide against the improvidence of these poor creatures, whom it required generations to raise to the careful habits of civilized life.†

This state of things continued publicly for a hundred and fifty years; by repeated decrees the Kings of Spain acknowledged that, on account of the incapacity of the Indians, it was necessary that the missionaries should administer their temporal affairs, and gave them full authority for doing so. The Bishops of Paraguay equally approved of the system, and praised the scrupulous fidelity with which the Jesuits discharged their trust. The testimony of Don Pedro Faxado, Bishop of Buenos Ayres, has already been quoted; in a report addressed to the Spanish Government in 1721 he says: 'I venture to at-

* Rev. A. Weld, S.J., p. 40. Crétineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 138, note.

† Rev. A. Weld, S.J., p. 47.

test to your majesty that in the whole course of my life I never witnessed more perfect disinterestedness than that of these fathers, who take nothing from the Indians, either for their clothing or their support.*

The position of the Jesuits in Paraguay, though exceptional, was therefore perfectly lawful, and sanctioned by competent authority. This, however, mattered not to Pombal; he had resolved to destroy the Society in the Portuguese dominions. But in order to do so effectually wholesale accusations did not suffice; it was necessary to obtain some kind of sanction from the Holy See. In 1757, therefore, he addressed to Pope Benedict XIV. a long list of charges against the Jesuits, especially in Portugal and the colonies, and, feigning a deep zeal for the interests of the Society itself, he petitioned that a Visitor might be named and armed with a Brief for the reform of the Institute, which had, he pretended, deviated from its original fervour.

Had Pombal openly betrayed his hatred towards the Jesuits, Benedict XIV. would have suspected evil, and the scheme would have failed; but by feigning religious zeal he hoped to deceive the aged Pontiff, who lay on his deathbed labouring under a mortal sickness, and events proved that he had calculated aright.

So little had the Society degenerated from its primitive fervour that Benedict XIV. himself had, during his long pontificate, repeatedly praised the religious spirit of its members. In his Bull 'Devotam,' in 1746, he says that the Society has rendered to the Church the greatest services, and has ever been governed with as much success as prudence; in another Bull, 'Præclaris,' in 1748, that 'these religious are everywhere regarded as the good odour of Jesus Christ, and are so in effect;' and the same year, in the Bull 'Constantem,' that they give to the world examples of religious virtue and great science.†

From the colonies came similar testimonies. The Bishop of Cordova, in Tucuman, wrote in 1750 to the Pope to praise

* *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. ix. pp. 241-247.

† Rev. A. Weld, S.J., p. 116.

the Jesuit missionaries, of whom he says that 'they are certainly worthy to share the greatest favours I can bestow, and to receive a constant increase of benefits from your Holiness, and to be embraced by you with ever greater affection. . . . O, would that their numbers were increased and multiplied to the greatest possible degree!' In 1758, the very year that Pombal wrote to Rome, we find several Portuguese Bishops, among them the Archbishop of Evora, writing to the Father General to praise the regularity, fervour, and valuable services of the Jesuits in Portugal.*

It is possible that the Pope, in spite of his physical prostration and of Pombal's artful manœuvres, might have resisted the minister's demand had he not been surrounded by influences hostile to the Society. Cardinal Passionei, in particular, implored him, in the name of religion, to yield; and at length, on the 1st of April 1758, the dying Pontiff signed a Brief of reform, and intrusted its execution to Cardinal Saldanha, a Portuguese and a *protégé* of Pombal. But he had hardly put his name to the paper when, fearing lest he had unwillingly injured the Society whom he truly loved, he sent for Cardinal Achinto, and dictated to him directions, full of careful consideration and prudence, intended for the guidance of Saldanha in his delicate task. He was instructed to act with extreme discretion and gentleness, to observe strict silence on the accusations that might be brought forward, to weigh them carefully, to guard against the influence of the enemies of the Society, to keep aloof from ministers and politicians, and, above all, to take no decision, but simply to address a report to Rome.† It will be seen later how these instructions were ruthlessly set aside.

A month afterwards, on the 3d of May 1758, Benedict XIV. breathed his last in the arms of a Neapolitan Jesuit, Father Pépé; the day before, after having received the Holy Viaticum, he had signed a declaration of the heroic virtues of St. Francis Girolamo: this was his last act as Vicar of Christ upon earth.

* *Clément XIII. et Clément XIV.*, par P. de Ravignan, vol. ii. pp. 66, 68.

† Créteineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 142.

When the Brief of reform, for which they were totally unprepared, reached the Portuguese Jesuits, they received it with a submission which we shall find repeated on a larger scale fifteen years later, and which M. Créteineau-Joly blames as a want of moral energy. But the obedience that suppressed even a whisper of discontent, though the blow came from the hand of the common father, was rather the triumph of that self-renunciation which the soldier-saint of Loyola had so sedulously taught his sons.

Totally disregarding the instructions drawn up for him by the dying Pope, Saldanha, under the influence of Pombal, proceeded with unheard-of rapidity and violence. He was told to observe strict secrecy, and he caused the Brief to be published throughout the kingdom; he was warned to keep aloof from politicians, and he blindly followed in all things the wishes of Pombal; finally, he was ordered to proceed with extreme caution and to abstain from any decision, and thirteen days only after the arrival of the Brief, without having questioned a single member of the Order, he declared that the fathers of the Society in the Portuguese dominions were guilty of carrying on commercial transactions, contrary to the canon law.* The Jesuits' papers, accounts, and correspondence were given up to be examined, and not a single indication could be discovered of any trading negotiations.†

Unable to find the shadow of a proof wherewith to support his assertions, Pombal cast aside all semblance of justice and resolved to crush his victims by mere force; the Patriarch of Lisbon, Don Emmanuel de Atalaya, was aged and infirm, and the minister commanded him, in the king's name, to forbid the Jesuits in his diocese to exercise any religious ministry.

No reason was given for this extraordinary proceeding beyond the wish of the king, and the Patriarch, who esteemed and loved the Jesuits, refused to commit an act of injustice, which moreover exceeded his powers; but the minister was inflexible, and after five hours' stormy discussion Atalaya yielded.

* Rev. A. Weld, p. 138.

† Ibid. p. 144. Créteineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 145.

On June 7th, 1758, his pastoral was published, and it fell like a thunderbolt upon the Jesuits in Lisbon. The Archbishop of Evora, hearing that the Patriarch had shed tears over his weakness, exclaimed : 'Tears are not enough ; he should have shed the last drop of his blood.*' So bitter, however, was the old man's regret that it shortened his days ; he died a month afterwards, and before receiving the last Sacraments he drew up a formal document declaring that the Society was innocent of the charges brought against it. A few days after he had breathed his last Cardinal Saldanha was appointed Patriarch of Lisbon.

This same year (1758) Father Centurioni, General of the Society, died in Rome, and a new pilot took his place at the helm of the tempest-tossed bark of the Order of Jesus about the same time as a new Pontiff ascended the throne left vacant by the death of Benedict XIV.

* Rev. A. Weld, p. 147.

CHAPTER XI.

Father Lorenzo Ricci, Eighteenth General of the Society, 1758-1773.

DESTRUCTION OF THE SOCIETY IN PORTUGAL.

ON the 21st of May 1758, a few weeks only after the dying hand of Benedict XIV. signed the Brief of reform, Father Ricci was elected to govern the Society by the General Congregation, the last that for many long years was to assemble within the walls of the Gesù.

The new General was born at Florence in 1703, of an illustrious family. In happier days he would have passed comparatively unnoticed among the heads of the Order. He was a brilliant scholar, and possessed a refined and cultivated mind, and a dignified power of endurance that manifested itself in the hour of suffering; but his gentle and retiring disposition, and insufficient acquaintance with the complicated machinery of human politics and passions, rendered him little fitted for the stormy scenes among which his lot was cast, and where, perchance, even the great Aquaviva would have failed to steer his bark in safety.

A man of more energetic character might have battled with the storm; Ricci could only bow his head before it; his was not the heroic courage that struggles and resists, but the spirit of silent sacrifice that patiently endures to the end.

The new General had a clear foresight of the trials awaiting him, and it was with genuine terror that he heard of his election. Six years afterwards, when the celebrated Father Pignatelli went to Rome on his expulsion from Spain, Father Ricci showed him a letter he had received from a religious of great holiness, Father Paradisi; it ran thus: 'Very Reverend Father, —In my meditation this morning the Lord made known to me

many things upon which I should be silent if God, in His own special designs, had not ordered me to communicate them to your paternity. The Lord, then, wishing to renew the spirit of the Society, and the virtues of humility, faith, and piety in the whole Church, has given to the Evil One power to excite against us Jesuits the most terrible persecution. We must adore the divine decrees, and prepare ourselves by resignation and patience. Your paternity will witness the evils about to fall upon us, and you will drink the chalice of sorrow to the dregs. The blackest calumnies, the most complete spoliation of all we possess, will be our slightest sufferings. After these disasters, however, the Society will not perish, and God will put an end to its misfortunes in a way very glorious for us. I beg your paternity to pardon the freedom of my language, but I am bound to add that when all things will be thus happily restored you will already be in possession of eternal rest.*

The fathers who formed the General Congregation by which Ricci was elected seem also to have had a clear foreboding of the coming storm, and among the decrees that were issued by them we find one in which an interior spirit of piety and recollection is earnestly recommended. 'For,' continues the decree, 'should God for secret motives, which we can only adore, permit us to become a prey to adversity, the Lord will not abandon those who are intimately united to Him. As long as we can seek Him with pure and true hearts we shall need no other support.† While sovereigns and politicians were planning its destruction, these were the only defensive measures adopted by the Society of Jesus.

Two months after the election of Father Ricci, on July 6th, 1758, a new Pope ascended St. Peter's throne. Charles Rezzonico, who took the name of Clement XIII., was born at Venice in 1693; in 1743 he became Bishop of Padua, and in 1757 he was made cardinal. Historians hostile to the Church, whose testimony cannot therefore be suspected of partiality, recognize his holiness, charity, and integrity. The Abbé

* *Vie du P. Pignatelli*, par le P. Bouffier, S.J., p. 167.

† *Clément XIII. et Clément XIV.*, par P. de Ravignan, p. 57.

Clément, who was sent to Rome by the Jansenists during the conclave, says that 'at Padua, Rezzonico was always called the Saint. He was an exemplary man, who, in spite of the immense revenues of his diocese and his own patrimony, was often through his almsgiving reduced to being without linen.* The famous astronomer Lalande describes him as a man of irreproachable morality, great gentleness, and piety.† Duclos recognizes his honesty of purpose and sweetness of disposition;‡ and those who include the Jesuits and their defender in a common feeling of aversion can address to him no reproach graver than that of being 'a Pope of the eleventh century who had wandered into the seventeenth.'§

Clement XIII. was remarkable for his personal humility; but he had exalted ideas of the dignities befitting his position, and when called upon to act as the Vicar of Christ he was full of majesty and courage. He was also vigilant and active, a zealous adversary of Jansenism, and very strict on the subject of religious discipline.

It was a path strewn with thorns and hemmed in by difficulties innumerable that lay before the new Pope, and the sorrow he felt on his election may be easily understood. In a previous chapter it has been seen that a spirit of religious and social rebellion was widely spread throughout Europe in the middle of the seventeenth century. Its chief object was to destroy the authority of Rome, and in consequence its first blows were directed against the Order universally recognized as the bulwark of the Church. Since their foundation the Jesuits had been foremost in the theological battle-fields of Germany, France, Holland, and England; they had borne the heat of the day and the fatigue of the contest; and now, as of old, they had their place to the front, and received the first attack of the enemies of the Church. A spirit less courageous than that of Clement XIII. might well have been disheartened at the array of formidable enemies united by a common bond of enmity to religion. In Portugal, Pombal was the real sove-

* P. de Ravignan, vol. i. p. 26. † Ibid. p. 30. ‡ Ibid.
§ *Histoire de la Chute des Jésuites*, par A. de St. Priest, p. 83.

reign, and, including the Church and the Jesuits in his hatred, he had determined to separate Portugal from the first, and to utterly destroy the second. In France, Louis XV., although not personally hostile to religion, was sunk in vice; the brilliant gifts that had earned for him the title of 'Louis le bien-aimé' had long since been wasted by a course of self-indulgence and depravity; and the exemplary lives of the queen and her children, though they redeemed the honour of the *fleurs-de-lys*, could not counterbalance the influence of the free-thinking statesmen who ruled in the king's name. Less absolute than Pombal, Choiseul, the French minister, was nevertheless regarded by Voltaire and his party as a worthy representative of their teaching. Witty, brilliant, irreligious, and wholly unprincipled, he detested the Jesuits, and was supported in his hatred by the Jansenists, the parliament, and by Madame de Pompadour, who, as we shall see later, had private motives of aversion towards the Society. In Spain the religious character and strict morality of Charles III. contrasted favourably with the corruption of the French and Portuguese monarchs; but he was prone to trust men unworthy of his confidence, and even at the Court of Spain the atheistical spirit of the day was represented. Roda, a Jansenist, Campomanes, a determined enemy of the Bishops and the Jesuits, and D'Aranda, the intimate friend of the French free-thinkers, were the king's principal advisers. At Naples, Tanucci, another member of the party, held the reins of government; while in Austria, Maria Theresa, although professing devotion to the Church, was surrounded by men like Van Swieten and De Haën, two ardent Jansenists. In presence of these elements of opposition and strife, the cause of justice was represented by the gentle and dignified Pontiff, on whose shoulders rested the weight of the universal Church, and who was ably assisted by his courageous minister, Cardinal Torregiani.

The Society of Jesus at this period, in spite of the attacks already directed against it, was numerous and flourishing, and its members were entirely devoted to their spiritual duties. A cordial union with the Bishops characterized this last age of the

Society, as may be gathered from the letters of two hundred Bishops, written to Clement XIII. in favour of the Jesuits during the years from 1759 to 1764.*

A few days after the accession of the new Pope, Father Ricci presented to him a memorial on the condition of the Society in Portugal; it was characterized by moderation and modesty, and stated simply that the Portuguese Jesuits had been condemned unheard and untried, and that the General besought the Holy Father to allow the accusations against them to be duly examined. The Pope received this address kindly; a commission was appointed to examine the affair, and its report was favourable to the Jesuits. But Pombal's resolve to crush the Society was not to be checked, and about this time an event occurred which he used in favour of his designs.

In September 1758 it was stated that an attempt had been made to assassinate King Joseph; and soon afterwards, by order of Pombal, several members of the illustrious family of Tavora, who had a personal grievance against the king and his minister, were thrown into prison on the charge of regicide. The whole affair was enveloped in a mystery calculated to create consternation, and sufficient evidence has since come to light to indicate that the supposed conspiracy was invented by Pombal himself to serve his evil designs.† In defiance of all legal forms, he himself presided at the tribunal before which the Tavoras were tried, and where they were cruelly tortured in order to drag from them a confession of their supposed crime. It was then reported that one of their number, the Duke de Aveiro, under the pressure of torture, had confessed his own guilt and had implicated the Jesuits in the plot; and though De Aveiro afterwards deposed that he had only made this avowal in the agony of the racking, and had subsequently retracted it, one of Pombal's chief objects was attained.

The Jesuits' share in the supposed regicide was never be-

* P. de Ravignan, p. 56: 'Pièces justificatives,' No. 1.

† 'The absence of any real plot was, moreover, practically acknowledged on the accession of Mary, by the official declaration of the innocence of all who had been the victims of the savage cruelty of Carvalho on this occasion' (Rev. A. Weld, p. 195).

lieved even by their enemies. The French philosopher La Condamine, writing to Maupertuis, March 27th, 1759, says: 'No one shall ever persuade me that the Jesuits committed the horrible crime of which they are accused.' To which the infidel Maupertuis replied: 'I think as you do about the Jesuits. . . . I should not believe them guilty even if I heard that they had been burnt alive.*' The guilt of the Tavoras themselves is more than doubtful, and the illegality of the proceedings by which they were tried has excited general indignation.

The trial was conducted without witnesses or examination of the prisoners, and one eminent lawyer who protested against this violation of justice was cast into prison and loaded with chains.

On January 13th, 1759, at Belem, the different members of the illustrious family perished on the scaffold. The first to die was Doña Eleonora, the aged Marchioness of Tavora, whose execution was hastened, as Pombal knew that the queen was interceding for her life; so majestic was her aspect as she ascended the scaffold holding her crucifix in her hand, that the executioner knelt to beg her pardon. It is a proof of the absolute power exercised by Pombal that although the indignation of the Portuguese nobility at this wholesale execution was intense, none dared resist him; the terror which the minister inspired was greater even than the hatred felt for him throughout the kingdom.

Immediately after the execution of the Tavoras, Pombal proclaimed that the Jesuits were their accomplices; Father Henriquez, the Provincial; Father Malagrida, against whom no crime was alleged except that he had once given the Spiritual Exercises to the Marchioness of Tavora; and Father Costa, confessor to the king's brother, Don Pedro, were thrown into prison. The last was racked in hopes that he might implicate his royal penitent; but in the midst of tortures the father constantly maintained his own innocence and that of the prince and the Society, against whom not a particle of evidence could

* Créteineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 154. See *The Suppression of the Society*, by Rev. A. Weld, S. J., chap. vii.

be adduced. At the same time the Jesuits throughout Portugal were the victims of relentless persecution; the execution of the Tavoras had struck such terror into the public mind that the minister's most arbitrary measures drew forth no protest. The University of Coimbra, which had been directed by the fathers since the early days of the Order, was taken from them and given up to infidel and Jansenist professors, under whose rule science and literature fell into a deplorable state of degeneracy, while the faith and morals of the students became corrupted.* The Jesuits' possessions were sequestered, their houses placed under guards, and the fathers themselves left destitute, while violent attacks upon the king and his minister, attributed to them, were widely distributed throughout the kingdom by order of Pombal.

Now that time and research have brought to light these mysteries of iniquity, it has been discovered that the greater number of these libellous pamphlets were secretly printed in Rome under the care of a certain Pagliarini, a *protégé* of Pombal.†

In consequence of these violent proceedings two hundred Bishops, many Cardinals and Prelates, addressed letters to the Pope, imploring him to act in favour of the persecuted religious of the Company of Jesus. His reply was firm and calm: hearing that he was reported to have refused admittance to the General of the Society, he ordered Cardinal Torregiani to write, in his name, to the Catholic Bishops throughout the world, a letter, dated February 28th, 1759, in which he speaks in high terms of the religious, 'who have deserved so well from the Church and the Holy See.'‡

A little later, on April 20th, Joseph I. wrote to inform the Holy Father of his determination to banish all the Jesuits in his dominions. The Pope's reply, dated August 1759, is marked by firmness and moderation combined. He knew that Pombal's object was to cause a schism between Rome and Portugal, and to avoid so great an evil he restrained his legiti-

* *Des Etudes et de l'Enseignement des Jésuites.* Abbé Theiner says the same. Maynard, p. 101.

† Rev. A. Weld, S.J., p. 335.

‡ P. de Ravignan, p. 84.

mate indignation, without allowing, however, his fatherly condescension to sacrifice the rights of justice. He exhorted the king to have the accusations against the Jesuits seriously and fairly examined, and warned him against the iniquity of making the whole Society responsible for the yet unproved crime of some of its members.

This letter, which 'reveals so clearly the tender heart and deep religious feeling of the Pontiff, and at the same time his conscientious justice even when those were concerned whom he loved,'* deeply irritated Pombal, who had hoped to obtain from Rome some admission that might serve as a sanction to his proceedings; and on October 5th a decree was promulgated condemning all the Jesuits in the Portuguese dominions to immediate banishment. It was added, however, that those among them who were not solemnly professed might remain in the kingdom, provided they were dispensed from their vows.

The first departure had been already made from the College of Elvas, on September 1st, where the weeping inhabitants crowded round the exiles to bid them adieu. From Elvas the fathers proceeded to Evora, where the communities of several other colleges had been assembled; here the scholastics and lay-brothers were left, while the professed fathers were conducted on foot to the banks of the Tagus. Their journey lasted six days, by rough and perilous roads, under a burning September sun, till they reached a Ragusan vessel, which had been lying in readiness, by Pombal's orders, ever since the month of April. Here the fathers of Lisbon and Santarem also arrived, and the joy with which the exiles embraced one another moved the soldiers who guarded them to tears.

On September 16th the vessel set sail for Cività Vecchia, and after a stormy journey of over one month, during which they suffered grievously from want of space and scarcity of provisions, 133 Jesuits landed on the Italian coast. The greeting they received must have made them forget their sufferings; the magistrates of the city vied with the clergy in doing them honour, but it was especially from the Dominicans of Cività

* Rev. A Weld, p. 257.

Vecchia that they received the warmest testimonies of affection. In the theological discussions of the past the sons of St. Dominic and those of St. Ignatius had frequently been in opposite camps ; but in this hour of sorrow all dissensions were forgotten, and an inscription placed in the Dominican church at Cività Vecchia commemorates this melancholy yet, in the eyes of faith, glorious visit of the victims of Pombal, and the loving welcome given to them by the Friars Preacher.*

On November 4th the fathers proceeded to Rome, where the Holy Father received them with paternal kindness.

The next to arrive were the fathers of the great College of Coimbra, who on the 30th of September, in the dead of night, had been led from the town under military escort. In spite of the advanced hour and the heavy rain the whole city turned out to witness their departure, which here, as at Elvas, took place amidst tears and lamentations. They were joined on the banks of the Tagus by their brethren from other colleges ; and on January 4th they landed at Cività Vecchia, where, like their predecessors, they were received with every demonstration of kindness and sympathy.

In the mean time the scholastics and novices of the Society in Portugal were assembled in the houses of Coimbra and

* It runs thus :

D.O.M.
Lusitanis Patribus Societatis Jesu
Ob gravissimas apud Regem calumnias
Post probrosas notas
Multiplices cruciatus
Bonorum publicationem
Ad Italiæ oram amandatis
Terra marique
Integritate, patientia, constantia
Probatissimis
In hac Sancti Dominici æde exceptis
Anno M.DCC.LIX.
Patres prædicatores
Christianæ fidei incremento et tutelæ
Ex instituto intenti
Ipsique Societati Jesu
Ex majorem suorum decretis
Exemplisque devinctissimi
Ponendum curarunt.

Evora, where every argument was used to induce them to give up their religious state and return to their homes. Cardinal Saldanha and Pombal himself wrote to put before them the alternatives that awaited them: lifelong exile or imprisonment on the one hand, and on the other every sort of honour, pleasure, and worldly advantage, and the king's special favour and protection. Instead of being treated harshly, they were exposed to the far greater danger of soft words and apparent kindness; but these youthful soldiers of the Society stood firm; deprived of their Superiors, they selected the most experienced of their number to be Superior. They observed the rules of the Order with scrupulous fidelity, and multiplied their devotional practices to obtain the grace of perseverance. Amazed at their constancy, Carvalho sent an officer named Castro to intimidate them by threats, and to promise them, in the event of their compliance, that the king would lavish upon them any favours they chose to ask. The envoy found himself in the presence of youths, some of whom were mere children of fifteen and sixteen years old, but to all his arguments they modestly replied that they were determined to live and die in the Society. At length Pombal sent them word that they were sentenced to be banished, but that instead of joining their brethren in Italy they were to be abandoned in a desert spot on the coast of Africa. At this announcement two of their number yielded; and it is characteristic of the strong spirit of faith still living in the hearts of the people that the deserters instantly became objects of contempt, and the very soldiers appointed to guard them reproached them with their cowardice.* On October 24th the youthful confessors received Holy Communion for the last time in the church of the College of Coimbra, and that same evening after Benediction they stood at the gate ready to depart, 145 in number. On the 28th they reached Oporto, where a final effort was made to shake their resolution; they not only were deprived of the common necessities of life, and exposed to the pangs of hunger, but constant messages were sent to them from Saldanha urging them to quit

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 162.

their habit, and at the last hour three gave way and returned to their homes. The fathers from the Colleges of Braganza and Braga joined the rest at Oporto, and on November 28th they set sail, to the number of 223, in a Swedish vessel, the captain of which, although a Lutheran, treated them with kindness and consideration. After stopping at Genoa and Leghorn, they arrived at Cività Vecchia early in February. On January 5th the last party of exiles, among whom were ninety-six novices from Evora, embarked at Lisbon, and great was their happiness on meeting their brethren at Cività Vecchia. Tears filled the eyes of Clement XIII. when he heard of the courage displayed by the youthful confessors of the Society, and he said to Father Ricci, 'Great honour have these young men done to your Society; they have not only shown how well they have been trained, but they have also proved how much more efficacious is divine grace than any human power.'*

Scenes no less heartrending were daily taking place beyond the seas. Orders had been given that the Jesuits in all the Portuguese colonies should be sent as prisoners to Lisbon, and in almost every case the command was executed with extreme rigour. In Brazil, where Anchieta, Nobrega, Vieyra, and their companions had spent lives of charity and toil, their brethren were now made to walk hundreds of miles over rocky paths and through raging torrents, worn out with fatigue, falling from hunger, and closely guarded like the vilest malefactors. On reaching the coast they were thrown on board ships and conveyed to Portugal, and their sufferings during the journey almost exceed description. They were crowded together in the lower part of the vessel, and forbidden to come upon deck; their food was vegetables cooked in salt water; they were devoured by vermin and consumed by a burning thirst. Five of them died on the way; and when after months of suffering the survivors reached Cività Vecchia an eye-witness describes 'their faces emaciated with misery, their eyes staring as it were, looking round for their accustomed sentinels.†

The scenes at Goa and Macao and in the other Portuguese

* Rev. A. Weld, S.J., p. 297.

† Ibid. p. 306.

possessions closely resemble those that have just been described ; but in spite of the shame which Pombal heaped upon his victims he found it impossible to stamp out the veneration with which they were regarded in Portugal. Men were found weak or servile enough to become the instruments of his vengeance, but the popular feeling was still in favour of the Jesuits, and he determined therefore to execute one of their number for heresy, in hopes of casting discredit upon the whole Society. The chosen victim was Father Gabriel Malagrida, who since the execution of the Tavoras had been a close prisoner, and who was now brought before the Inquisition on the charge of heresy. In order to secure a sentence in accordance with his wishes, Pombal had previously appointed his own brother Paul Carvalho president of the tribunal, and had expelled all the members who were likely to resist him. He moreover ignored the fact that the tribunal, having no jurisdiction from Rome, was therefore incompetent to pass judgment. The accusations against Malagrida rested upon two books said to have been written by him in his prison, but neither of which ever appeared except on the act of accusation. They were a Life of St. Anne and a work on Antichrist. A Father Honem, for some time Malagrida's fellow-prisoner, who was restored to liberty in 1777, declared that the father had formerly written a Life of St. Anne, but completely different from the one attributed to him, and also that the work on Antichrist was written by the ex-Capuchin Norbert, to whom Pombal paid 900 Roman scudi yearly for calumniating his victims. Moreover, it was impossible that Malagrida could write in his prison, where the light seldom penetrated, and where he had neither pen, ink, or paper. The extracts that were produced from his supposed writings are so extravagant that, if authentic, they would have proved him to be insane ; but the theory of his insanity, although adopted by the French philosophers, is refuted by the wisdom of his replies to the questions put to him. Nevertheless, in defiance of all reason, he was condemned to be strangled, and his sentence has excited the indignation of Voltaire, who remarks that 'the excess of the

ridiculous and absurd is here joined to the excess of horror.* On September 21st the venerable missionary, who for over forty years had laboured for Christ amidst the forests and plains of Brazil, was led forth to the public square of Lisbon. A paper mitre had been placed on his head, a wooden bit in his mouth, and upon his cassock were painted grotesque figures of devils; but the step of this old man of seventy-two was firm, his carriage dignified and calm, and with a clear voice he protested that he was innocent, and commended his soul to God. When he breathed his last a brilliant light was seen to encircle his head, and cries of admiration burst from 6000 spectators. On hearing of Malagrida's death Clement XIII. exclaimed: 'The Church of Jesus Christ numbers another martyr!†

Yet more horrible than the fate of the aged apostle of Brazil was that of the Jesuits whom Pombal retained in captivity, and of whom over 200 lay in the Portuguese prisons, where many lingered for eighteen years, until the death of King Joseph and the fall of Pombal. In the fortress of Almeida, at Oporto, were confined twenty fathers; their cells were underground, dark, damp, and swarming with mice; their clothes became covered with vermin and rotted away. At Belem they were placed behind iron bars, and exposed to the public gaze like wild animals; but it was at the castle of St. Julian, situated at the entrance of the Tagus, that their sufferings were greatest.‡

Here there were at one time one hundred and twenty-five Jesuits, from every part of the Portuguese dominions, who, without examination or any semblance of a trial, had been cast into dungeons below the level of the sea, where many of them were buried for nineteen years. The sea-water often streamed into their prisons, which were generally plunged in darkness; their food was barely sufficient to keep them alive, and the avarice of their gaolers robbed them of half the small allowance permitted by government. Their clothes fell to pieces from

* *Précis du Siècle de Louis XV.*, p. 471 (édit. 1792).

† *Le P. G. Malagrida*, par P. Mury, S.J. Créteineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 165.

‡ *Rev. A. Weld*, S.J., p. 348.

the damp, and, what was far more painful than these bodily privations, they were deprived of the Sacraments except at the hour of death. The letters of the captives best describe their condition. Father Lawrence Kaulen, a German, wrote thus in 1766 to the Provincial of the Lower Rhine: 'The prisons are full of insects, and their decomposed bodies, mixed with the sea-water which filters through the walls, produce an insupportable stench. Everything rots here very quickly, and all the clothes we had have perished. This caused the commandant to say lately, when he paid a visit to the prisons, "Everything here rots and corrupts except the fathers." It is undoubtedly a sort of miracle to give us the advantage of suffering something for the love of Jesus Christ; otherwise it would have been impossible for us to survive in the midst of such great sufferings.' He then relates how some of the fathers returned to life after receiving the Holy Viaticum, and then continues: 'In the presence of such wonders, and fortified by the grace of the Lord, we rejoice with those who are on the point of quitting this world, and envy their lot, not so much because they have reached the term of their sufferings, as because they are going to receive the crown of justice. Believe me, rev. father, the greater part of us ask our Lord to allow us to finish our days here; and we noticed that the French fathers were sad when they received notice of their liberation, no doubt because they esteemed our lot far happier than their own.* It is true that we are in incessant suffering, but, for all that, we are always joyful; everything is wanting to us, but nothing disturbs the serenity of our souls. Few of us have still any remnants of our habit, and we can scarcely obtain clothing wherewith to satisfy absolute decency. The coverlet they give us is a sort of hair-cloth, made of some sharp pricking hair. . . The gaoler is a hard and brutal man, and seems to be made to add to the bitterness of our griefs. . . . He is incessantly telling us that if we will leave the Society we shall obtain our

* They were liberated at the request of the Queen of France, Marie Lecksynska, and it was through one of them that Father Kaulen sent his letter to his Provincial.

liberation, and enjoy a pension and many advantages.* These last words sufficiently prove that the Jesuits' real and only crime in the eyes of Pombal was fidelity to their Institute. Promises such as these would surely not have been held out to conspirators and regicides.

Another letter, written by Father Prizkwil, is no less touching; it was sent by a Flemish father, whose deliverance was obtained by his ambassador: 'It is nearly six years since I or my companions have had the happiness of celebrating or assisting at the Holy Mass. . . . I should like to give you a description of the place of my retirement. It is a subterranean vault, like a deep cellar, or rather like the ancient chambers of the dead. Its situation at the edge of the sea causes a constant humidity and produces a prodigious quantity of worms, which are a great inconvenience. The walls have windows, whose slender light suffices to enable them to bring us our food; but neither air nor light penetrates our dungeons, except at the moment when they open the iron door by which the prisons are entered. From this you may judge how pestilential and unhealthy are these cellars. . . . There may be some who, on hearing this account, will say that our lot is very hard; but what are all our ills in comparison with those which the Apostle of the Gentiles bore in all his members? . . . We have in reality but one grief, but a very great one—it is, that we are deprived of the Bread of angels. Alas, reverend father, would you believe it? It is never granted except to the dying. O, we seem to ourselves to be, as it were, dead. God wishes us to be perfectly dead to the world; and here we are, as it were, in our tombs. . . . I salute you with all my heart, and beg you will not lament my lot, but rather pray for me to God, as I pray for each of them by name, and that He may vouchsafe to preserve me in this joy of heart, in which it has pleased Him to preserve me till now, in spite of my unworthiness of this favour. This I ask equally for all my brethren in captivity for the sake of Jesus Christ. . . . Though we are resigned we are nevertheless weak and frail men. We can do nothing of our-

* Rev. A. Weld, p. 356. Crétineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 167.

selves, and stand in continual need of the protection of the Most High. For this reason pray for us, in order that your intercession before the throne of the Lord may obtain for us the grace to combat generously and constantly to the end as true sons of the Society of Jesus.*

These letters show us how the prisoners bore their lot, and, as one of their historians has truly remarked, their cheerful acceptance of sufferings so horrible, the regularity with which, in their dungeons, they observed the rules and practices of the Society, the zeal with which they added voluntary penances, such as disciplines and hair-shirts, to the hardships of their captivity, their constant prayers, tender mutual charity, and uncomplaining patience are a sufficient answer to those who accused the Society of having degenerated from its original fervour.

As may be expected, many of the prisoners breathed their last in captivity, and the heavenly expression that shone on their countenances after death struck their gaolers with awe and admiration. Some were delivered through the intercession of the Empress of Austria, the Queen of France, and the Princess Mary, heiress to the throne of Portugal; while others remained in prison for many years longer till the fall of Pombal.

Thus was destroyed the Society of Jesus in the country which had most eagerly welcomed its members in the early years of its foundation, and thus, through the agency of one man, was broken the friendship which, since the days of John III. and Francis Xavier, had existed between the Kings of Portugal and the sons of St. Ignatius. Never, perhaps, did the forgiving nature of Clement XIII. show itself more strongly than in his dealings with Joseph I. and Pombal. In 1760 the king withdrew his ambassador from Rome, and expelled the Papal Nuncio from Lisbon; and yet in 1763 the Pope sent him a letter, which was returned to the envoy who had presented it. In 1767, however, Clement XIII. wrote again; the yearning of the father over his erring child was stronger than

* Rev. A. Weld, p. 358.

the indignation of the outraged sovereign. At the same time he wrote to the queen and to Pombal, urging them to use their influence to heal the breach between Rome and Portugal. In his letter to the minister he quoted the words of Scripture: 'Have pity, my son, on the old age of your father. Do not sadden him in the last days of his life;' but this appeal was unheeded, and the Pope carried with him to the grave one of the deepest griefs of his stormy pontificate.

CHAPTER XII.

Destruction of the Society in France.

It has been seen that the French Jansenists retained sufficient energy to combine with the philosophical anti-Catholic party against the Society of Jesus, and, according to the Protestant historian Schoell, these two factions worked towards the same end with so much harmony, that it appeared as if they had taken their measures in concert. 'In order to destroy the power of the Church,' he says, 'it was necessary to isolate it by depriving it of the support of that sacred army devoted to the defence of the Pontifical throne; in other words, of the Jesuits. Such was the real cause of the hatred against the Society.*' It is important to establish, once for all, the view thus expressed by the Protestant writer; it explains the meaning of the formidable warfare carried on in France against the Order of Jesus, and it is a proof of the close connection between the Society and the Church—a connection so intimate that, in order successfully to attack the second, its enemies thought it necessary to destroy the first. Private animosities, mistakes, accidents, may have been the secondary causes that hastened the destruction of the Jesuits, but their real crime was devotion to Rome. The testimony of Schoell is confirmed by Schlosser, according to whom the Jesuits were the chief supporters of Catholicity;† and by Ranke, who states that the Society was the 'most formidable bulwark of Catholic principles,' and therefore the most exposed in the warfare against the Church.‡ The letters of the infidel philosophers say the same. Voltaire,

* *Cours d'Histoire des Etats Européens*, p. 71; cited by Créteineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 179.

† *Histoire des Révolutions politiques et littéraires de l'Europe au 18me Siècle*, vol. i.

‡ *Histoire de la Papauté*, vol. iv. p. 480. Créteineau-Joly, *ibid.*

perhaps their bitterest enemy, acknowledges their worth. 'During the seven years that I spent in the Jesuits' house,' he writes, 'what did I see? Their lives most frugal and laborious, and their time divided between the care they gave to their pupils and the exercises of their austere profession. I appeal to thousands of men who were brought up like myself. It is for this reason that I cease not to wonder how they can have been accused of teaching corrupt morality.* But the object of the sect was to crush religion, and therefore the Jesuits must be destroyed; and in 1764, D'Alembert wrote to Voltaire: 'The most difficult task will be accomplished when philosophy is rid of the grenadiers of fanaticism and intolerance; the others are only Cossacks, and will not hold out against our regular troops.† 'In order to arrive at the heart of Catholic unity,' adds M. Créteineau-Joly, 'it was necessary to tread over the bodies of the grenadiers of the Church.‡

In 1757, when Damiens attempted to assassinate Louis XV., the old accusations of regicide were revived against the Jesuits. Damiens was a Jansenist, but he had once been a servant in a house of the Society, and subsequently had been employed in the same capacity by several members of the parliament. Even Voltaire, however, declined to join in the outcry, and he writes to his friend Damilaville: 'You may have observed that I have never spared the Jesuits, but I should enlist the sympathies of posterity in their favour were I to accuse them of a crime of which all Europe and Damiens himself have acquitted them.‡

But if in this instance the malice of the enemies of the Society proved comparatively harmless, it was not so with the more cunning hatred of a woman, then all-powerful at court. Towards 1752, Madame de Pompadour, whose influence over the king was at its height, appeared desirous of renouncing her sinful life, assumed an appearance of devotion, and commenced reading ascetical books. At the same time she entered

* *Correspondance*, 7 Février 1746, vol. lv. (édition 1831).

† *Œuvres de Voltaire*.

‡ Vol. v. p. 182.

§ *Œuvres de Voltaire*, lettre du 3 Mars 1763.

into negotiations with the Jesuit Father de Sacy, the confessor of her youth, and expressed to him her wish to be admitted to the Sacraments. Though eager to welcome back a repentant sinner, Father de Sacy suspected the marquise's contrition to be feigned; and ere long he discovered that she had no intention of changing her mode of life, but that, by persuading the Jesuits to admit her openly to the Sacraments, she hoped to strengthen her position and influence, to the injury of the queen and Dauphin. During two years she alternately used entreaties and threats to conquer the resistance of Father de Sacy, while Louis XV. made similar endeavours with Fathers Desmaretz and Pêrusseau. They were given to understand that their condescension would be rewarded by the protection of the crown, while their inflexibility would add a powerful enemy to their already numerous foes. But the Jesuits, whose laxity had been so severely censured by Pascal, did not hesitate to sacrifice the existence of their Society in France to the dictates of duty; they replied that absolution could only be given if certain conditions were fulfilled, and that as long as these were not complied with they must persist in their refusal. At this, Madame de Pompadour secretly wrote to Rome to complain that, by their sternness, the fathers had caused the king to relapse into his former errors; but, as may be imagined, the Pope did not interfere to check the Jesuits in what was so clearly the path of duty.* When, a few years later, Madame de Pompadour became one of the most ardent promoters of the destruction of the Society in France, the infidel philosophers themselves detected the secret of her animosity. 'The Jesuits,' writes D'Alembert, 'had refused to receive under their direction powerful persons, who did not expect such extraordinary severity; and this imprudent refusal contributed, it is said, to hasten their destruction, by the very means of those who might have been their supporters.†

Unfortunately for the Society in France, an event occurred

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 188. St. Priest. *Clément XIII. et Clément XIV.*, par P. de Ravignan, p. 119.

† *Destruction des Jésuites.*

about this period which gave its enemies a pretext for redoubling their attacks: this was the famous bankruptcy of Father Antoine de Lavalette, who was sent to the West Indian islands in 1741, and subsequently became Superior of the Jesuit house at La Martinique. In 1753 he was denounced to the government as being guilty of commercial transactions, forbidden by his rule; and Father Visconti, the General of the Society, and Rouillé, minister of the navy, ordered him to return to France, in order to defend his conduct. But at the same time Hurson, one of the principal government officials in the island, wrote to the Father General and to the French Provincial, asserting that Father de Lavalette had been unjustly accused, and that the unfairness of the charge had excited general indignation. These letters were so pressing that the father was permitted to return to La Martinique, where he was much beloved; and it would seem that, at this period, he was really innocent of the accusation, and that he had simply exchanged the produce of lands belonging to the Jesuits for other articles more necessary to them—a system of exchange which was perfectly lawful on the part of religious.*

Unfortunately, Father de Lavalette did not rest there: he was a man of enterprising character and, as events proved, deficient in obedience. The Jesuit house at La Martinique was burdened with a heavy debt, and in order to improve the lands belonging to it he collected two thousand negroes to work the ground. He then borrowed large sums from the merchants of Marseilles and other French sea-ports, and bought on speculation immense tracts of land. An epidemic broke out among his negroes; but, nothing daunted by this disaster and the loss it entailed, he incurred another heavy debt, and when the time for payment drew near he grew reckless, became a merchant and a banker, and, no longer satisfied with exchanging the produce of the fathers' lands, he embarked in extensive mercantile enterprises, hoping to raise money enough to pay his debts. In order to avoid attracting the attention of his Superiors in France, from whom he had concealed the whole

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 192.

business, he sent his ships freighted with merchandise to Holland ; but during the war that broke out between England and France many French vessels—those of Lavalette amongst them—were captured by the English corsairs. Severe losses ensued, and to retrieve his broken fortunes he attempted new speculations, which also failed. At length his creditors grew alarmed, and the affair was brought to the notice of the Jesuits of Marseilles, and communicated by them to Father le Forestier, Provincial of France, and to the Father General.

Although Father de Lavalette's transactions were the deed of an individual, acting on his own responsibility and in direct violation of his rules, it was at first decided that, in order to avoid scandal, the Society should endeavour to refund the money. Father de Sacy, procurator for the islands, received orders to pay off the creditors who were most in need, and to arrange with the others for future payments, and he had partly succeeded in doing so, when some of the Paris Jesuits, alarmed at the enormous debt thus laid upon the Society, suggested that Father de Lavalette should publicly declare himself a bankrupt. They thought that by throwing the odium of the failure upon the English pirates, whose depredations had brought matters to a crisis, they would, in some measure, screen the Society, and they overlooked the danger of bringing before the public an affair which, in the present state of the kingdom, would inevitably be made use of against them. In the mean time some of the creditors, whose claims it had been impossible to satisfy, at once brought an action against the Jesuits of France, who were ordered to refund the required sum. This sentence was unjust, as a rule existed by which the different houses of a religious order were not held responsible for debts contracted by other houses of the same order. According to this custom, which, through long usage, had acquired the force of law, the French Jesuits could not be forced to pay the money borrowed by a member of their Order in Martinique ; but, owing to the hostile spirit existing against the Institute, this rule was set aside, although the leading lawyers in Paris recognized the injustice of the proceeding. The Jesuits themselves were, as has been

stated, desirous to pay off the whole debt, and had already taken active steps in the matter; but they objected to being compelled to do so by illegal means, and, yielding to imprudent or deceitful advisers, they were led, in an evil moment, to appeal to the Paris parliament against the injustice of the sentence. The fatal consequences of this step will be seen later.

In the mean time, after unavoidable delays, Father de la Marche was sent to La Martinique in 1762. By order of the Father General he examined the whole affair, and finally, in a written attestation, declared that Father de Lavalette, by his commercial transactions, had violated the canons of the Church and the rules of the Society; that he had kept these transactions concealed from his brethren and Superiors, who, as soon as his fault was discovered, had unanimously protested against his conduct. In consequence, the culprit was deprived of all spiritual and temporal responsibility, and sent to Europe to await the orders of the Father General. This sentence was passed on April 25th, 1762, and that same day Father de Lavalette made the following declaration, which is kept among the archives of the Gesù :

‘I, undersigned, attest that I sincerely recognize in all its points the equity of the sentence passed against me, although it was from ignorance and thoughtlessness, and by a kind of chance, that I embarked in commercial transactions, which, however, I abandoned as soon as I heard of the disturbance these transactions caused in the Society and in Europe. I also attest on oath that among the Superiors of the Order there is not one who has either authorized, advised, or approved me in the commerce I undertook, that there is not one who in any way participated in or connived at it. Therefore, filled with regret and confusion, I implore the Superiors of the Society to make my sentence public, as well as this avowal of my fault and my repentance. Lastly, I take God to witness that I am led to make this confession neither by force, threats, flattery, or other means, but that I make it of my own free will, with perfect liberty, in order to render homage to truth and to with-

stand, contradict, and annul, as far as lies in my power, the calumnies which, through my fault, have been cast upon the Society.

‘Written in the chief residence of the mission of Martinique, April 25th, 1762.—ANTOINE DE LAVALETTE, S.J.’*

Later on, when, having been expelled from the Society, Lavalette retired to England, he constantly persevered in his declaration that he alone was guilty, and that the Society could not in justice be held responsible for his fault. At the same time it cannot be denied that his Superiors were to blame for want of vigilance, and thus a man of his adventurous character was able to embark in hazardous enterprizes unknown to those whose duty it was to be informed of his actions.

During all this time the Jesuits were endeavouring to repair the disaster; they had already refunded 700,000 francs, and had come to terms with the other creditors, and they were resolved, at whatever cost to themselves, to repair the material evils of Lavalette’s imprudence.†

But though the Society had now little to fear from its creditors, whose claims were to be fully satisfied, it was exposed to the far more dangerous enmity of the parliament, to whom the Paris Jesuits had so imprudently appealed. From the beginning of its history it may be remembered that the parliament of Paris had been the foe of the Society of Jesus, and it may be imagined how readily its members welcomed the rashness with which the Jesuits put themselves under their jurisdiction. Never had the position of the Order been more perilous: the king, though not personally hostile to it, was governed by Madame de Pompadour and by his minister the Duke de Choiseul. The first had private causes of animosity against the Jesuits; while Choiseul was the ally of the infidels of the day and the obsequious courtier of the Marquise de Pompadour, and he openly spoke of the fathers’ teaching as pernicious and dangerous. Moreover, and this was undoubtedly one of the chief reasons of his ardour in promoting the destruction of the Society, the finances of the kingdom were in a deplorable condition,

* Créteineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 199.

† Ibid. vol. v. p. 200.

and the minister coveted the possessions of the Jesuits to enrich the State.

The fathers had simply appealed to the parliament with reference to the affair of Lavalette; but that body resolved to take advantage of the opportunity to examine the organisation of the Order, and in April 1761, Father de Montigny, Procurator for Paris, had to lay before the parliament a copy of the Constitutions. The creditors of Father de Lavalette, whose grievances had so greatly excited the indignation of the magistrates, were speedily forgotten as soon as a copy had been obtained of the mysterious Constitutions, where the secret machinations of the Jesuits were to be discovered. The parliament was satisfied to pass a hasty sentence, condemning the Society to pay the whole debt; but the following year, by seizing the houses and lands of the Jesuits in France, it made the payment impossible, and was careful to refund nothing out of the confiscated possessions.

The magistrates now began to examine the Constitutions; and the king, alarmed at the hostility with which the inquiry was conducted, proposed that the Jesuits should voluntarily modify certain points in their Rule which were most displeasing to the parliament, and he promised that if the fathers agreed to these concessions he would do his best to protect them. But the Jesuits declined to tamper with the Constitutions by which they had been governed for more than two centuries; and they felt, moreover, how utterly useless would be the half-measures proposed by a monarch who was too weak to defend them openly, and yet too religious to witness their destruction without remorse.

In contrast with the vacillating conduct of Louis XV. stands out the firmness with which Clement XIII. addressed a Brief to the king, dated June 1761, to express his alarm at the attacks directed nominally against the Society and in reality against the Church. On hearing of the proposed modifications he uttered the famous exclamation: 'Sint ut sunt aut non sint' (Let them be what they are, or cease to be).*

* P. de Ravignan, p. 105.

Meanwhile Le Pelletier de St. Fargean, the advocate-general, and Chauvelin, an ally of the Jansenists and the philosophers, addressed reports to the parliament accusing the Jesuits of regicide and immorality; and, in consequence, in August 1761, a decree was issued to forbid French subjects from entering the Order, and also to prevent the fathers from giving public or private lessons in theology. So violent, indeed, were the accusations showered upon the Society that the Protestant Sismondi declares that 'the concert of accusations and, oftener still, of calumnies which we find against the Jesuits in the writings of the day has in it something truly fearful.'*

To this outburst of hatred the Jesuits opposed a forbearance which their historians have regarded as inexplicable and almost exaggerated; here, as in Portugal, they deemed that to reply was useless and undignified, and the Provincial of Paris enjoined silence in virtue of holy obedience.

At Versailles, however, the Society was not friendless, though its partisans possessed only the influence that must ever attend spotless virtue: the queen, Marie Leckzinska, and her children, especially the Dauphin, watched with alarm the league formed against the Jesuits, and their prayers so far prevailed with the king that he ordered the parliament to suspend its final decision for a whole year.

In the month of November following, 1761, an assembly of the clergy was convoked for the purpose of deliberating upon the theological doctrines of the Society, which the parliament had condemned without consulting the Bishops, who were the sole competent authorities in spiritual matters. Out of the fifty-one Bishops present at the assembly all, with *one* exception, demanded that the Jesuits should be maintained in France; five only petitioned for certain modifications in their Rule. The solitary prelate who declared himself against them was Fitz-James, Bishop of Soissons, and even he, while supporting his views, says that: 'As to their morality, it is pure. We

* *Histoire des Français*, vol. xxix. p. 231. Crétineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 209.

readily do them the justice to acknowledge that there is perhaps no Order in the Church where the religious are more regular and more austere in their morals.*

But although unanimously favourable to the Jesuits, some of the assembled Bishops suggested, probably as a measure of prudence, that the fathers should sign an adhesion to the Four Articles of the declaration of the clergy in 1682. The spirit of these articles was, as may be remembered, decidedly hostile to Rome ; but certain prelates, jealous of the so-called privileges of the Gallican Church, still regarded them as of great importance. It may be remembered also that Louis XIV., by whose inspiration these articles were drawn up, had never asked the Jesuits to sign them ; and that after his reconciliation with the Holy See he had even recalled the decree by which they were made obligatory throughout France. Urged by the Bishops and by the king, Father de la Croix, Provincial of Paris, yielded to the pressure put upon him, and on the 19th of December 1761 he presented to the assembly a declaration by which, in the name of the Jesuits of his province, he bound himself to teach the doctrines contained in the Four Articles. One hundred and sixteen fathers signed it with him. In a letter to the Father General, Father de la Croix relates that the royal commissioners came to him with the act of adhesion written out, and with the king's express commands that he should sign it.† That in doing so he committed a grave act of weakness there can be no doubt, for although they attacked no article of faith, the articles were directed against the legitimate authority of the Holy See. It is true that the position of the Jesuits in France at that moment was unusually difficult ; they were between life and death, calumniated, attacked, persecuted on every side ; their flourishing colleges on the verge of destruction, and the fruits of the labour of years about to be swept away for ever. The king and the clergy appeared willing to protect them, and to secure this protection, which seemed to him the last chance of salvation, the Provincial made the demanded concession. Had he been more far-

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 211.

† P. de Ravignan, p. 137.

sighted he would have understood that this act of weakness was not only a fault, but mistaken policy, and that it gave the enemies of the Society a handle against it.

The news of Father de la Croix's unfortunate step caused deep regret to the Pope and to the General; but though in private they expressed their displeasure, they refrained from addressing public reproaches to those who were already enduring the weight of persecution; it was also deplored by many of the French Jesuits, those only of his province having joined him.

The opinion of modern Jesuit writers on the matter is equally decided. Father de Ravignan thus alludes to it: 'I say it with the saddest feeling, nothing can in my eyes excuse this act of weakness; I deplore and condemn it.*' Father Régnault likewise speaks regretfully of the 'inexcusable declaration' of the Provincial of Paris.†

Father de la Croix soon discovered that in yielding to the king's commands he had failed to secure his effectual support; for though, in March 1762, Louis annulled the measures taken by the parliament against the Society, he was speedily induced to retract his decree by the remonstrances of Madame de Pompadour and of Choiseul. Encouraged by this concession, the parliament of Paris ordered on April 1st, 1762, that the Jesuit colleges within its jurisdiction should be closed. This sentence created the utmost consternation, especially in the flourishing College of Louis le Grand, which so many recollections rendered peculiarly dear to both masters and pupils. Father Frélaud, the Rector, a Breton by birth, gave the necessary orders for the dispersion of the scholars; but when they clung to him to bid him adieu, and covered his hands with kisses, his self-command gave way and he burst into tears.‡

At the same time Paris and the provinces were deluged with pamphlets against the Order; and among the most malicious of these publications was the celebrated libel called

* *Clément XIII. et Clément XIV.*, p. 135.

† *La Dauphine, Mère de Louis XIV.*, par le P. Régnault, S.J.

‡ *Documents inédits*, par P. Carayon, S.J. : Appendice au Document A.

‘*Extraits des Assertions dangereuses et pernicieuses en tout genre, que les soi-disant Jésuites ont dans tout temps et persévérément soutenues, enseignées et publiées, &c. . . .*’ This series of falsehoods, garbled texts, and forgeries is the work of Goujet, Minard, and Roussel de Latour, three pronounced enemies of the Society.* The Jesuits proved by unmistakable evidence that the *Extraits des Assertions* contained 758 falsified texts, and their demonstration to this effect has never been contradicted.† Clement XIII. and the French Bishops indignantly protested against this collection of calumnies, but the parliament ordered the episcopal letters to be burnt and the Papal Brief to be suppressed.

As usual, calumny supported by brute force was triumphant, and it mattered little to the enemies of the Society whether their accusations were true or false, provided they succeeded in poisoning the public mind against their intended victims. ‘Until the truth is made known,’ writes D’Alembert, ‘this work’ (the *Extraits des Assertions*) ‘will have produced the good expected from it, the destruction of the Jesuits.’‡

One more public effort, however, was made in favour of the persecuted Institute. On May 1st, 1762, an assembly of the French clergy was held in Paris for the object of deliberating upon certain subsidies required by the crown; but after voting the sums of money demanded the clergy resolved to appeal to the king’s dormant feelings of religion and justice. On May 23d, Monseigneur de la Roche-Aymon, Archbishop of Narbonne, proceeded to Versailles, and presented a courageous and eloquent petition addressed to Louis by the Bishops and clergy of France. It concluded thus: ‘Sire, everything speaks to you in favour of the Jesuits. Religion recommends to you her defenders; the Church, her ministers; Christian souls, the confidants of the secrets of their conscience; a large portion of your subjects, the revered masters by whom they have been

* Créteineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 215.

† In the work *Documents historiques, critiques, apologétiques concernant la Compagnie de Jésus*, 3 vols. in 8vo (Waille, Paris), is a table of the 758 falsified texts.

‡ Créteineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 216.

educated ; the youth of your kingdom, those who will form their minds and hearts. Do not reject, sire, these desires ; do not permit that in your kingdom a whole Society should be unjustly destroyed in defiance of the laws of justice, of the laws of the Church, and of public right. The interest of your authority itself demands this; and we are as jealous of its rights as of our own.*

The king replied in a vague manner and begged that the subject should be set aside ; but the Archbishop of Narbonne was requested by the clergy to continue his efforts, and, vain as these efforts were, they nevertheless offer a consoling proof of the cordial feelings that bound the clergy of France to the Order of Jesus on the eve of its destruction.

Undeterred by opposition, the parliament of Paris pursued its designs, fulfilling thereby the wishes of the philosophers and Jansenists. In May 1762, D'Alembert thus wrote to Voltaire : ' Those fools who think that they are serving the cause of religion are unconsciously serving that of reason ; they are the ministers of justice for philosophy, whose orders they obey without knowing it.†

Blinded by their hereditary hatred against the Jesuits, and tainted by the unbelieving spirit of the day, the magistrates of the parliament knew not that, instead of only working, as they thought, to destroy a religious Order, they were preparing a terrible and universal catastrophe, destined to deluge France with blood and to bring their own descendants to the scaffold.

In the provinces the magistrates did not in general share the animosity of their Paris brethren ; but their *esprit de corps* was appealed to, their self-interest flattered, and in the reports, which they were ordered to draw up on the subject of the Jesuits, they too often followed the lead of the Paris parliament. The most hostile of these reports was that of La Chalotais, Procureur-Général for Brittany, which several writers

* Ibid. p. 216.

† ' Tous ces imbéciles qui croient servir la religion, servent la raison sans s'en douter, ce sont des exécuteurs de la haute justice pour la philosophie, dont ils prennent les ordres sans le savoir' (*Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. lxxviii.). Créteineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 217.

have attributed to D'Alembert; its violence obtained for La Chalotais, its nominal author, a letter of congratulation from Voltaire. Here and there, however, especially at Rheims, Bordeaux, Rouen, Toulouse, Metz, Dijon, Pau, Grenoble, Perpignan, and Aix, courageous magistrates ventured to protest against the unjust treatment of an Order by whom France had been so faithfully served. At Aix the proceedings of the enemies of the Jesuits were so openly iniquitous that the President d'Eguilles sent to the king to demand redress. He received an answer from the Dauphin, who, unable to prevent the evil, wrote to thank him for his defence of the Society of Jesus.* The parliament of Besançon and the tribunals of Alsace, Flanders, Artois, and Lorraine, where Stanislas of Poland reigned, absolutely declined to take any part in the crusade against those whom they declared were 'the most faithful subjects of the king and the best guardians of the morality of nations.†

Unfortunately these examples of firmness, although sufficient to prove that the Society was held in esteem and regarded with affection, were helpless to avert its impending doom. The parliament of Paris having, by threats or persuasion, gained over a small majority among the tribunals of the provinces, proceeded to take the last step, and on the 6th of August 1762 issued a decree declaring the Order of the Jesuits 'inadmissible in any civilized state, because contrary to natural law, dangerous to spiritual and temporal authority.' Then follows a list of accusations: the doctrines of the Jesuits are stated to contain the errors of Arius, Nestorius, Luther, Calvin, Wyckcliffe, Pelagius, and other heretics; they are blasphemous, outrageous, insulting to our Lady and the saints, destructive of the divinity of Jesus Christ, favourable to Epicureans and to Deists; they encourage murder, parricide, usury, vengeance, cruelty; they destroy filial piety, threaten the safety of princes; they are contrary to the decisions of the Church, to divine and natural law, to peace and order.‡

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 222.

† Ibid. p. 223.

‡ Ibid. p. 236. *Des Jésuites par un Jésuite*, par P. Cahours, S.J.

This is but an abridgment of this long decree, which it is difficult to believe was drawn up by a body of magistrates in their sober senses ; where doctrines most opposite to each other are equally attributed to the Jesuits ; where the constant antagonists of Protestantism are stated to have professed the teaching of Luther and Calvin ; and where the Institute, which nineteen Popes solemnly approved, is declared by a civil, and therefore incompetent, tribunal to be opposed to the doctrines of the Church. After the accusations, not one of which is supported by proofs, came the sentence. The Jesuits were declared to be incapable of exercising any ministry ; they were forbidden to wear their habit, to live in community, to correspond with each other ; their possessions were to be confiscated, their churches and libraries pillaged ; and to the professed fathers was allotted a pension of one franc a day, nothing being assigned to the scholastics, as it was hoped they would leave the Order. As a last insult, they were informed that in order to reside in France, even as private individuals, they must promise on oath to defend the liberties of the Gallican Church, and never, under any pretext, to observe the rules of their Institute ; moreover, they were required to recognise the truth of the calumnies contained in the *Extraits des Assertions*.

Thus four thousand men, who had spent their lives in the hospitals, on the battle-fields, in the plague-stricken cities of their country—men whose name had been for the last two centuries inseparably linked to her scientific and literary glories—were charged with every crime and every heresy ever known, and, untried and unconvicted, were placed between the alternative of treason to their Order or starvation.

To the honour of the Society, however, out of the four thousand Jesuits in France only four professed fathers, eight lay-brothers, and twelve scholastics consented to leave the Institute.*

The decree of the parliament, of which it may be said, as Theiner has observed of the *Extraits des Assertions*, that

* Créteineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 227.

'calumny and wickedness reign throughout,' has excited the indignation of the Protestant Schoell. 'This decree,' he says, 'bears so visibly the mark of passion and injustice that it cannot fail to be condemned by all honest and unprejudiced men. . . .'[†] It may be imagined how it was received at Rome, where the Head of the Universal Church, while watching over all the body committed to his care, yet at that moment was more especially occupied by the troubles of his children, against whom persecution was raging. In a secret consistory, held on September 3d, 1762, the Pope spoke with indignation of the sentence issued in Paris; and a few days later, on September 8th, he issued a Bull, declaring it to be null and void. In all the letters, which about this time he addressed to the French clergy, Clement XIII. condemned in the strongest terms the measures against the Jesuits, and repeatedly expressed his conviction that the blows directed nominally against the Society were in reality aimed at the Church.

Even in France, in spite of the menaces and bribes used by the parliament to carry out its designs, the persecution against the Jesuits drew forth a burst of indignation, and the fathers received ample proofs of sympathy. When obliged to break up their communities, they were welcomed by the Bishops, and many persons of high rank, like the Prince of Condé, were proud to assist them by their alms; so strong, indeed, was the popular feeling in their favour that D'Alembert, having expressed to Voltaire his fear that they were still powerful, the latter replied: 'The Jesuits are not yet destroyed; they have been maintained in Alsace; they are preaching at Dijon, Grenoble, and Besançon.'[‡] And Duclos, another philosopher, writes thus: 'I venture to assert that the Jesuits have still, without comparison, far more partisans than adversaries. . . . In general, they are regretted in the provinces, and if they

* *Histoire du Pontificat de Clément XIV.*, vol. i. p. 47.

† *Cours d'Histoire des Etats Européens*, vol. xi. p. 51. Créteineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 227.

‡ *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. lxxviii. p. 239. Créteineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 228.

returned they would be received with acclamations.* At Versailles, the queen, the Dauphin, and the king's father-in-law, Stanislas of Poland, used all their influence to prevent Louis XV. from giving his sanction to the sentence issued by the parliament. The Dauphin especially, who had intrusted the education of his children to Father Berthier, a Jesuit, was untiring in his efforts; but the king had not the courage to listen to the voice of justice, and the only concession obtained from him was that instead of being exiled, as had been decreed, the Jesuits should be permitted to live in France as private individuals, provided they remained in the diocese where they were born.

The most splendid protest in favour of the Society came from the Archbishop of Paris, Christophe de Beaumont, a prelate of saintly character and lofty intellect. On October 28th, 1763, he issued a pastoral to refute the 758 false statements contained in the *Extraits des Assertions*. It would be too long to quote at length this noble protest, one of the most complete homages ever rendered to the Society; it enumerates the Popes, the saints, and the great men by whom the Order has been loved and praised; and with the unanswerable evidence of facts and proofs it destroys one by one the mass of absurd and malicious charges brought forward by the parliament.† Violent measures were the only reply that could be made to a letter full of solid arguments, close logic, and singular reasoning power. On January 21st, 1764, the pastoral was burnt in Paris by the public executioner, and its author was summoned to appear before the parliament. This, however, the king would not permit; and he sentenced the archbishop to exile. A few months later, in the November of the same year, Louis XV., unheeding the pleadings of his wife and son and the paternal encouragements of Clement XIII., yielded to the evil influences around him, and sanc-

* *Voyage en Italie*, p. 40. Crétineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 234.

† *L'Eglise, son Autorité, ses Institutions, et l'Ordre des Jésuites*. Instruction pastorale de Mgr. Ch. de Beaumont, Arch. de Paris. Par un Homme d'état (1844).

tioned the sentence of the parliament. Times were changed, indeed, since his ancestor the 'Béarnais' had eloquently defended the Society against the attacks of that same parliament of Paris, and the valiant spirit of the great Henry had not descended to his successor.

Until that moment the Pope had endeavoured by affectionate exhortations to recall the king to the path of duty ; but he now assumed a tone of just indignation, and in the Bull 'Apostolicum,' dated January 7th, 1765, he says : ' We protest against the grave injury that has been done to the Church and to the Holy See ; we declare, of our free impulse and with certain knowledge, that the Institute of the Society of Jesus is in the highest degree pious and holy, though there are men who have had the audacity to call it irreligious and impious. They insult in the most outrageous manner the Church of God, which they thereby accuse of having erred when it solemnly recognised as pious and pleasing to heaven that which according to them is altogether irreligious and impious.'* Although reduced to poverty, narrowly watched, and forbidden to live in community, the French Jesuits were still, through the intervention of the Dauphin,† suffered to remain in the kingdom, and with the extraordinary vitality characteristic of their Order they might, perhaps, have retained some portion of their former influence ; but the storm which just at this time broke over the Society in Spain exercised a decisive influence in France ; and in 1767 a new edict of the Paris parliament obliged all the fathers to leave the country.

* Créteineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 234.

† The Dauphin died in Dec. 1765, shortly after the destruction of the Society, and Horace Walpole mentions that his death caused great joy to the philosophers, who feared that he would reëstablish the Jesuits.

CHAPTER XIII.

Destruction of the Society in Spain.

AFTER witnessing the destruction of the Society of Jesus in Portugal and in France, it remains for us to assist at the same mournful spectacle in the land which gave birth to the soldier-saint of Loyola and to his first companions.

The morality and piety of Charles III. of Spain contrasted favourably with the characters of the French and Portuguese sovereigns, though his morbid disposition rendered him an easy prey to designing and ambitious men.

When the persecutions against the Society began in Portugal, Spain protected the Jesuits. In 1759 the queen, Elizabeth Farnese, in a letter to the Provincial of New Castille, completely acquitted them of all share in the rebellion of the Indians, which they were accused of encouraging, and warmly praised their zeal and charity. On his accession, Charles III. appointed a Jesuit, Father Wendlingen, to be tutor to his son, the Prince of the Asturias; and the infamous libels against the Society propagated by Pombal had, on their first appearance, been publicly burnt in Madrid. Unfortunately, however, the king was surrounded by men imbued with the irreligious spirit of the day, and who, as a natural consequence, were the enemies of the Order of Jesus. Chief of these was D'Aranda, a man, like Choiseul and Pombal, of no mean ability, but of a taciturn and somewhat eccentric character, and the close ally of the infidel philosophers, who had gained him to their party by servile adulation. 'Dazzled by the incense which the French philosophers burnt upon his altar,' says Schoell, 'he aspired to no greater glory than to be numbered among the enemies of religion and of the throne.'*

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 237.

His fellow-ministers held similar views. Manuel de Roda, the former ambassador at Rome, who owed his fortune to the Jesuits,* Campomanés, Grimaldi, Moñino, and the Duke of Alva were only too ready to follow the example of France and Portugal in the destruction of the Society of Jesus. Their designs were fostered by Choiseul, who, according to Sismondi, made a personal affair of the persecution of the Jesuits. 'He endeavoured particularly to cause their destruction in the countries governed by princes of the house of Bourbon; and for this object he took advantage of the influence he possessed over Charles III.†

But the character of the king precluded the possibility of acting upon him either by intimidation or by flattery. It was necessary to proceed by more insidious means, and to entangle him in a network of falsehoods and misrepresentations, to deceive his naturally credulous character. 'Already several attempts had been made to lower the Jesuits in his estimation, but hitherto without success. On the 26th of March 1766 a rebellion broke out in Madrid. It was chiefly caused by certain changes ordered by the minister in the national costume, and was therefore known as the Revolution of 'Capas y Sombreros.' The king fled to Aranjuez; his guards were massacred; and peace was only reëstablished through the intervention of the Jesuits, who possessed great influence in Madrid. Upon this occasion the Duke of Alva insinuated to the king that the fathers had instigated the rebellion in order to show their power by suppressing it. This statement was partly accepted by Charles III., and sufficed to diminish the esteem in which he had hitherto held the Society. Some years later, on his deathbed, the Duke of Alva, full of remorse, gave to the Bishop of Salamanca, Grand Inquisitor of Spain, a written declaration, in which he confessed that he had himself instigated the rebellion of 1766, in the hopes of compromising the Jesuits; and he further owned that it was he who invented the fable of the

* *Ibid.* p. 238.

† *Histoire des Français*, vol. xxix. p. 369. Créteineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 237.

Jesuit King Nicholas of Paraguay, and who had secretly caused coins to be struck with his effigy. The Protestant writer, Christopher de Müir, farther states that in 1776 the Duke of Alva gave the same declaration to Charles III.*

However, although Alva's insinuations prejudiced the king against the Society, they did not suffice to bring him to the point desired by his ministers; for this darker calumnies were necessary. It is difficult completely to unravel the complicated and mysterious plot, which was so deeply laid and so skilfully executed that it transformed Charles III., a religious prince and a friend of the Society, into its bitter and relentless foe.

Leopold Ranke, in his *History of the Popes*;† Coxe, in *Spain under the Bourbons*;‡ Sismondi, in *Histoire des Français*;§ Schoell, in the *Cours d'Histoire des Etats Européens*;|| Adam, in his *History of Spain*,¶ all give the following version, which coincides with the account given by a Spanish Jesuit, Father Casseda,** and with the general opinion of Catholic historians, and which is confirmed, moreover, by the traditions and documents of the Society of Jesus. The enemies of the Order in Spain, who were in league with the infidel party in France,†† having gradually prejudiced the king against the Jesuits, determined to strike a final blow. They therefore laid before him a letter, supposed to be written by Father Ricci, but which was in reality the work of Choiseul, wherein the

* Créteineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 237. *Suppression of the Society in Portugal*, by Rev. A. Weld, S.J., p. 103.

† *Histoire de la Papauté au 17me Siècle*, p. 351.

‡ French translation, vol. v. p. 4. Créteineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 238.

§ *Histoire des Français*, vol. xxix. p. 370. Ibid.

|| *Cours d'Histoire des Etats Européens*, vol. xxxix. p. 163. Ibid.

¶ *History of Spain*, vol. iv. p. 271.

** P. de Ravignan, *Clément XIII. et Clément XIV.*, p. 186.

†† Historians who deny the version given above ground their objection on the fact that no mention of Choiseul's share in the plot can be found in his official correspondence with the French ambassador at Madrid. This, however, is not a convincing proof, as it is a fact attested by historians that the negotiations relative to the Jesuits were carried on by indirect means, and that Choiseul, for instance, did not correspond on the subject with the ambassador, but with Béliardi, representative of commerce at Madrid. Créteineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 239.

General was made to state he possessed documents proving Charles III. to be an illegitimate child, and therefore the unlawful occupant of the throne. The movers of the scheme had rightly calculated the effect of their manœuvres on the king's proud and sensitive nature. They knew that he would never reveal to the world a charge so offensive to his filial tenderness and royal dignity, and that the Jesuits would be condemned without an opportunity of disproving their unknown crime. D'Aranda hastened to take advantage of the king's wrath. On the 29th of January 1767 a list of accusations against the Society was laid before the council; but it was part of the conspiracy to conduct the proceedings with a mystery that precluded every possibility of defence on the part of the victims. A decree was therefore issued, forbidding any of the king's subjects to write either for or against the Jesuits; and meanwhile D'Aranda, De Roda, Moñino, and Campomanés were silently preparing their destruction throughout Spain and its colonies. Their proceedings were surrounded with so much secrecy that the documents they drew up were copied out, not by ordinary secretaries, but by children incapable of understanding what they wrote.*

It was everywhere felt that a mysterious peril was hanging over the Society; but not a word was breathed that could give a clue to the mystery. At length Charles III. addressed a secret despatch to the government authorities in Spain and in America, to be opened by them on April 2, 1767. It bade them proceed immediately to the Jesuit houses within their respective jurisdictions; to take the fathers prisoners; lead them to the nearest port, and place them on board ship within twenty-four hours after the receipt of the royal message. Their archives and papers were to be placed under seal, and they were to take nothing with them but their Breviaries and the necessary quantity of linen. The letter ended thus: 'After the fathers are placed on board ship, if there should remain a single Jesuit within your jurisdiction, even should he be ill or dying, you shall be punished by death.†

* Ibid. p. 245.

† Ibid. vol. v. p. 244.

In France and in Portugal, Choiseul and Pombal had made vain endeavours to give at least an appearance of legality to their unjust proceedings ; but in Spain nothing of the kind was attempted. It was essential for the success of the conspiracy that the very accusation against the Jesuits should remain a dead secret. The king simply stated : 1st, that he had been induced by important considerations to condemn the Jesuits to exile, and to confiscate their possessions ; 2dly, that his motives would always be kept secret ; 3dly, that other religious orders had deserved his esteem by their fidelity and the care with which they abstained from politics. Apart from the assertions of the two first articles, and the vague insinuations contained in the third, Charles III. gave no explanation of his extraordinary conduct ; and the Pope himself found him inflexible in his reticence.

Then came an epoch of bitter trial. Six thousand Jesuits in Spain and the colonies were seized, robbed of their possessions, and thrown on board ships too small to contain them. Young scholastics and aged missionaries shared the same fate, and were sentenced to exile for a crime of which they were not even informed. Their archives were rifled, their correspondence examined, but not a trace of any fault could be found among their papers.

Among these prisoners, to whom the commonest forms of justice were denied, were men of great talent and of illustrious birth. Two Pignatellis, great-nephews of Pope Innocent XII., were among the exiles from Spain ; and D'Aranda, fearing the anger of the noble families to whom the two fathers were related, promised that they should remain free and honoured in their own country, provided they would leave the Society. His offers, however, were rejected. Father Joseph Pignatelli, one of the brothers, was seriously ill ; but he insisted on embarking with the rest ; and to those who begged him to accept the proposals from Madrid he replied : ' My resolution is unshaken. It matters little whether my body becomes the prey of fishes or of worms. What I desire above all is to die in the company of the Jesuits, my brethren.' On August 4th, 1747, we

find Roda, D'Aranda's worthy colleague, writing to inform the Spanish ambassador in Rome that 'the Pignatellis absolutely refuse to leave the habit of the Society, and wish to live or die with their brethren.*'

In Paraguay the Jesuits were powerful and beloved, and at the news of their banishment the exasperated neophytes were ready to rebel against the mother country. One word falling from Jesuit lips might have brought about a formidable revolution in the South American continent; but that word was never spoken, and historians of all creeds have recognized the spontaneous obedience with which the fathers submitted to the most unjust sentence ever rendered. Sismondi says: 'It was feared that they would resist in the missions, where they were venerated by the converts; but, on the contrary, they displayed a resignation and humility united to a calmness and firmness truly heroic.†' Pagès, a contemporary French traveller, makes similar statements. 'I cannot but remark that in a position where, on account of the extreme attachment of the natives for their pastors, a little encouragement on the part of the Jesuits would have caused all the troubles that are brought on by violence and insurrection, I saw the fathers obey the decree that sentenced them to destruction, with all the deference due to civil authority, and with the calmness and courage of truly heroic souls.†'

A few days after the sentence issued against the Spanish Jesuits, on April 16th, 1767, Clement XIII. wrote to beg the king to impart to him the secret of his inexplicable conduct. The mournful surprise that breathes in every line of this beautiful letter reveals how keenly the heart of the common father felt the act of one whom he had hitherto regarded as a religious prince: 'Of all the blows that have wounded us during the nine sorrowful years of our pontificate, the most painful to our paternal heart is the one which your majesty has just announced

* Ibid. p. 246.

† *Histoire des Français*, vol. xxix. p. 372. Crétineau-Joly, vol. v. p.

247.

‡ *Voyage de Pagès*, vol. ii. p. 190.

to us. And you too, my son,—*tu quoque fili mi*,—even the Catholic King Charles III., so dear to us, is filling up the chalice of our sufferings, saddening our old age, and hurrying us to the grave. . . . Perhaps, sire,' continues the Pope, 'an individual member of the Order has insulted your authority? But in that case why not punish the culprit, without extending the chastisement to the innocent? We attest before God and men that the body, the institution, the spirit of the Society of Jesus are innocent; nay, that this Society is not only innocent, but pious, useful, and holy in its object, its laws, and its teaching.* At the same time the Pope wrote to the Archbishop of Tarragona and to the sovereign's confessor, Joachim d'Eleta, a Franciscan friar, both of whom were supposed to possess great influence at court, and besought them to represent to the king the iniquity of his proceedings. Charles III., however, replied that he could not reveal even to the Pope the secret of his sudden animosity; and then, seeing that his pleadings as a father were useless, Clement XIII. issued a Brief, in which he declared that the king imperilled his salvation by his conduct towards the Jesuits, adding, 'The body and the spirit of the Society are pure; and even supposing that some of its individual members were guilty, they should not have been treated with severity before having been accused and duly convicted.†

The free-thinking philosophers themselves expressed their surprise at the wholesale condemnation of men against whom no charge was brought forward. On May 4, 1767, D'Alembert wrote thus to Voltaire: 'What do you say to the edict by which the King of Spain so suddenly sends the Jesuits into exile? Although like me convinced that he had good reasons for doing so, do you not think that he ought to have let these reasons be known? . . . Do not you think that the Jesuits ought to be allowed to justify themselves, especially if one feels so certain that they cannot do so?‡

In the mean time the banished religious were on their way to Cività Vecchia. While confiscating their possessions, Charles

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 248.

† Ibid. p. 249.

‡ *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xvi.

III. allowed them each a yearly pension of one hundred piastres, on condition, however, that if any member of the Order ventured to write in its defence, or in any way offended the government, his own pension and that of his brethren should be immediately withdrawn. This refinement of cruelty aroused the indignation even of D'Alembert.* Any subject of the king was likewise forbidden, under pain of high treason, to blame these measures or to correspond with the fathers; and though loud murmurs were heard among the people and the nobles, Aranda, like Pombal, ruled by terror, and all indignant protestations were speedily silenced.

As in Portugal and in France, very few among the novices and scholastics yielded to the seductive promises held out to them if they would renounce the Society, and it was a touching spectacle to witness the ardour with which the young fathers followed their elders on board the ships that were to bear them into lifelong banishment. After forced marches, during which they endured hunger, thirst, and fatigue, they embarked, and after a long and stormy passage, they arrived in sight of Cività Vecchia; from which port, according to historians hostile to the Society and to the Pope, they were barbarously repulsed. Sismondi, though a Protestant, gives a more truthful account of this incident, which, however painful to Clement XIII., was the result of unavoidable circumstances.† Six hundred Jesuits from Aragon arrived first, but other vessels filled with prisoners were shortly to follow; and Cardinal Torregiani, the Pope's minister, wishing to spare the inhabitants of the Roman States, who had already to support the Portuguese fathers, and whose means were unequal to the strain laid upon them, ordered the Governor of Cività Vecchia not to receive the prisoners from Spain. He also felt that the Pope, by allowing his states to become a prison for the Jesuits, whom Charles III. was pleased to banish in defiance of all equity, tacitly encouraged these iniquitous proceedings, and, out of regard for his master's dignity, Torregiani judged it necessary to protest against the unjust use made of the Papal hospitality. But Clement XIII. was far from neglect-

* Ibid.

† *Histoire des Français*, vol. xxix. p. 372.

ing the persecuted religious, whose sufferings were breaking his heart, and he caused them to be received in the ports of Corsica, which at that time were neutral. A little later, however, when the island was ceded to France, Choiseul had the Spanish Jesuits instantly expelled, and they were sent to Genoa, whence they proceeded to Ferrara. Alluding to the motives which had prevented the Pontifical Government from receiving the exiled fathers, Sismondi adds : 'Clement XIII. regarded the Jesuits as the ablest and most constant defenders of religion and of the Church ; he had a tender affection for their Order, and their misfortunes continually drew forth his tears.'*

It has been seen how perseveringly Choiseul worked to obtain from Charles III. the destruction of the Society in Spain ; he then proceeded to exercise a similar pressure upon the sovereigns of Naples and Parma. One of the chief objects of his policy had ever been to cement a close alliance between the four branches of the house of Bourbon, who respectively governed Spain, France, Naples, and Parma, and he now made use of this alliance to complete the ruin of the Society of Jesus ; unfortunately in Italy, as in Spain, he found statesmen ready to enter into his designs.

At Naples, King Ferdinand IV., son of Charles III. of Spain, was young and entirely guided by his minister Tanucci, a man of the same stamp as Aranda and Choiseul, who readily obeyed the orders sent to him from Spain for the immediate expulsion of the Jesuits. The edict was reluctantly signed by the young king, and, following the example of D'Aranda, Tanucci set at defiance every appearance of justice and equity. In the night of November 3d, 1767, the colleges and houses of the Society were simultaneously surrounded and broken open, and the fathers were conducted on board ship by an armed escort. So rapidly indeed were these proceedings carried out that those who embarked at Naples at midnight were far out at sea by the next morning. Similar measures were taken in the duchy of Parma, which was governed at this period by an Infant of Spain, grandson of Louis XIV., whose minister, Du Tillot, Marquis of

* *Histoire des Français*, vol. xxix. p. 372.

Felino, an open free-thinker, gladly joined the league against the Society of Jesus. At the beginning of 1768 the Jesuits were banished from Parma; and in the following April, Tanucci obtained their expulsion from the island of Malta, where Pinto, the Grand-Master of the Knights, was a vassal of the Kings of Naples, and too weak to resist the pressure laid upon him.

Clement XIII. watched with sorrowful alarm the rapid development of the crusade against the Jesuits, whose only defender he had now become. He had alternately pleaded and remonstrated with the Kings of France, Spain, and Naples, but to no avail; when the young Duke of Parma, however, followed their example, the Pope recollected that long-established traditions gave him peculiar rights over the sovereigns of Parma, who during centuries had acknowledged the Sovereign Pontiffs as their liege lords. This ancient right, scoffed at by the philosophers of the eighteenth century, was nevertheless, according to Sismondi, 'a fact established for centuries in public opinion.*' In happier days it had fallen into disuse; but now the Pope resolved to claim it, and by the Bull 'In coena Domini,' dated January 20th, 1768, he annulled as liege lord of Parma the edict of expulsion against the Jesuits, pronounced the duke to have forfeited his rights to the throne, and excommunicated the administrators of the duchy. This courageous protestation of the aged Pontiff excited a storm of anger on the part of the Bourbon Courts; Clement XIII. stood alone, but no human power could hush his courageous voice, which continued to the end to uphold the cause of right. Finding that threats produced no effect, open violence was resorted to; and in the month of June of the same year Choiseul took possession of Avignon, which for centuries had belonged to the Holy See, while the Neapolitan Government seized Benevento and Ponte Corvo.

In spite of all that had taken place, the memory of the exiled Jesuits was cherished in Spain. The 4th of November was the feast-day of the king, Charles III.; and when on that day, nineteen months after the expulsion of the Society, he appeared

* *Histoire des Français*, vol. xxix. p. 375.

at the balcony of his palace, in order to grant, according to custom, some favour to the people, a general cry burst from the multitude to demand the return of the Jesuits. Popular feeling, long suppressed by terror, broke forth at last; but its voice fell unheeded on the monarch's ear, and Charles III., irritated and alarmed, only exiled the Archbishop of Toledo, whom he supposed to be favourable to the petition.*

This explosion of affection towards the banished fathers further confirmed the governments in their belief that, although they had for the time succeeded in suppressing the Society of Jesus, it would continue to exist, and perhaps to flourish again, unless Rome could be induced to sanction the sentence of destruction, and to obtain this sanction they henceforth directed all their efforts. Portugal was the first to demand the formal abolition of the Order; Spain followed; and later, France joined the league. The Pope was infirm, aged by sorrow rather than by years, and it was thought that by dint of persecution even his brave spirit might be broken. The first step was taken by D'Aubeterre, French ambassador at Rome, who presented a memoir in the name of Choiseul to demand the revocation of the Bull issued against the Duke of Parma. The terms of this memoir were so insulting that the Pope exclaimed, in a voice broken with indignation, 'The Vicar of Christ is treated like the last of men! No doubt he has neither armies nor cannons, and it is easy to take everything from him, but it is not in the power of men to make him act against his conscience.†

Undaunted by this failure, the ambassadors of the Bourbon Courts returned to the charge; and at the beginning of 1769 another memoir was presented, demanding the total suppression of the Society in the names of Spain, France, Portugal, Naples, and Parma. The Pope's eyes filled with tears as he read it, but his determination remained the same. But though his courageous soul was unmoved by threats and insults, the physical strength of Clement XIII. was fast giving way under

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 256.

† *Histoire de la Chute des Jésuites*, St. Priest, p. 78. Crétineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 257.

the weight of his difficult pontificate. In January 1769, Cardinal Negroni told the ambassadors of the Bourbon sovereigns that their persecutions would hurry the Holy Father to the grave;* he spoke truly, for, on the feast of the Purification following, the Pope, after hearing Mass and assisting at the Quarant' Ore, was suddenly seized with the attack under which he died in the night of the 2d of February. Clement XIII. was in his seventy-eighth year, and he had reigned ten years, six months, and twenty-six days. On the day when the worn-out frame and weary heart of the intrepid Pontiff were laid to rest under the dome of St. Peter's, its last earthly defender was taken away from the Society of Jesus.

* P. de Ravignan, p. 233.

CHAPTER XIV.

Suppression of the Society by Clement XIV.

AFTER following for more than two centuries the chequered career of the Order founded by the soldier-saint of Loyola, we feel a sinking of heart on coming to the death of Clement XIII. We have watched the lowly origin of the Society in the crypt of Montmartre, and its rapid development; we have seen it always persecuted, pursuing its course along paths stained with the blood of its martyrs, and yet taking a prominent part in almost every religious, political, and intellectual movement of both hemispheres. In its ranks we have counted saints and martyrs, poets, historians, theologians, men of science and letters; here and there we have seen instances of human frailty and individual weakness; but, as a body, the Company of Jesus, the vanguard of the Church, stands before us as pure and as fervent at the end of two hundred years as in the first glorious days of its institution, so that it may with truth be said that it knew neither childhood nor old age.* But towards the end of the eighteenth century, the prayer in which St. Ignatius had asked that the cross might never be wanting to his sons seemed almost too thoroughly fulfilled. One hand alone, that of the old man on whose shoulders rested the weight of the universal Church, was stretched out to protect the Order which the great ones of the earth had sworn to destroy; but now that last support was gone, and the Jesuits stood defenceless in presence of their foes.

On the 15th of February, thirteen days after the death of the Pope, the conclave opened for the election of his successor. It was an important moment for the Jesuits and for their adversaries, as on the choice of the future Pontiff depended the fate of the Society. Within the solemn assembly

* Balmès, *Le Protestantisme comparé au Catholicisme*.

of Cardinals there were two opposite parties: that of the Zelanti, who were favourable to the Jesuits, and ready to follow the line of conduct pursued by Clement XIII.; and that of the Cardinals devoted to the courts, who wished for a Pope pleasing to the Bourbon sovereigns. Never, perhaps, did the choice of a Pontiff excite such violent political animosity, and never were intrigues more mysterious and complicated brought to bear upon the members of the conclave. The princes who had endeavoured in vain to wrench from the last Pope a decree against the Jesuits now commissioned their representatives in Rome to spare no means, either of intimidation or bribery, to secure an election favourable to their views.

France was represented by the Marquis of Aubeterre, a gallant soldier, but arrogant, violent, and irreligious, and by the Cardinal de Bernis, whose correspondence with Choiseul has now been brought to light, and reveals the secret manœuvres of his party. Bernis had not against the Society the deeply-rooted antagonism professed by the envoys of Spain; but he was essentially a courtier, witty, brilliant, and frivolous, and his vanity made him follow without resistance the course marked out for him by Choiseul.

Very different in character were the representatives of Spain, Thomas Azpuru and D'Azara; they shared the violent hatred entertained for the Jesuits by Manuel de Roda, whose letters stimulated their efforts.

At the beginning of the conclave, Bernis, who throughout the election unscrupulously violated the secrecy imposed upon the Cardinals, remarked with regret that the partisans of the Jesuits enjoyed a considerable majority, three-quarters among the Cardinals being favourable to the Society.*

A list of Cardinals, accompanied by significant notes attached to each name, was sent by Grimaldi, the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Azpuru: it is a curious evidence of the feelings that animated the assembled prelates, and of the estimation in which they were held by the Bourbon Courts.

* P. de Ravignan, p. 240. *Clément XIV. et les Jésuites*, par Créteineau-Joly, p. 201 (édit. 1848).

The destruction of the Jesuits had become the leading political and religious question of the day; and the candidates for the Papacy were judged according to the opinions professed by them upon this point. In this curious list,* they are divided into four classes: the first, indicated by the Spanish Government as 'Buenos,' were willing to sacrifice the Society of Jesus, and among them is the name of Ganganelli, the future Clement XIV. The second class has two divisions: the first, stamped as 'Pesimi,' very bad, were men of uncompromising integrity, from whom no concession could be expected; among them were Torregiani, the Prime Minister, and Rezzonico, the nephew of the late Pope. Sharing the same views in a less determined manner were the Cardinals branded as 'Malos' by Spain, among whom were the two Albanis, who, by their position and personal qualities, exercised considerable influence in the Sacred College. Under the head of 'Dudosas,' or doubtful, were several prelates whose opinions were not clearly known; and lastly, as 'Nada o indiferentes,' were named those who either from their character or from political reasons were regarded as unable to take a decided part for or against the Jesuits. Among these last was the Stuart Cardinal York; on various occasions he had displayed a strong animosity towards the Society, but political considerations prevented him from being a likely candidate for the tiara.

The correspondence of Bernis reveals day by day the dark intrigues by which the desires of the sovereigns were only too faithfully carried out; and one fact is clearly demonstrated by these confidential communications, which is, that the destruction of the Society of Jesus was, in the eyes of the Courts of France, Spain, Portugal, and Naples, the one necessary condition for the recognition of the new Pope. From the outset of the conclave it was resolved to demand from the future Pontiff a formal promise to suppress the Order; and no species of bribery, threat, or persuasion was to be spared—first, to obtain this promise, and then to insure to the candidate who gave it the suffrages of the assembled prelates.

* *Clément XIV. et les Jésuites*, p. 219.

On April 8th, 1769, D'Aubeterre first suggested to Bernis that a promise, either by word or by writing, should be extorted from one of the Cardinals; and two days later he returns to the charge: 'If one had a letter, it would then be necessary that he who wrote it should carry it out or be disgraced before the Catholic world.*' Frivolous and unscrupulous though he was, Bernis seems to have hesitated at the proposal; whereupon D'Aubeterre wrote again: 'I shall never acknowledge that an agreement, the object of which is to secularise an Order which will always be a cause of division in the Church, can be an unlawful agreement; on the contrary, such a step must be regarded as worthy of praise, and as tending to the welfare of religion.†

Although he had at first demurred at the suggestion, Bernis followed, readily enough, the programme traced out for him, and used all the resources of his ready wit and diplomatic tact in meeting the views of his employers, adroitly mingling persuasive or threatening measures as best served his purpose. His letters give abundant evidence of the system of corruption or intimidation that was brought to bear upon the conclave. On April 17th he writes to D'Aubeterre: 'Means of terror may be very usefully employed here, so long as one has a light, though firm, hand;‡' and his correspondent replies: 'It would be well to publish that, if a Pope was chosen displeasing to the sovereigns, he would not be recognised by them.§'

In order to secure the adhesion, or at least the neutrality, of the Cardinals who were supposed to be favourable to the Society, Bernis and D'Aubeterre appealed to their private interests. Alluding to Cardinal Lante, who hesitated to enter into their projects, D'Aubeterre writes to Choiseul: 'I intend to tell him clearly that, if he perseveres in his present conduct, the king will no longer consider his family as attached to him, and will withdraw his protection; moreover, that I do not know what might be the fate of the revenues that he possesses in France.¶' Bernis seeing that, in spite of promises, it was difficult to secure sufficient adhesions, announced that the French

* Ibid. p. 211.

† Ibid. p. 212.

‡ Ibid. p. 217.

§ Ibid. p. 226.

¶ Ibid. p. 223.

Government, which had already seized Avignon, would extend its conquests farther if the conclave did not speedily conform to its desires. The menaces of Spain were yet more imperious. On the 21st of April, Azpuru writes to D'Aranda: 'We need not prove the guilt of the Ignatians on such or such a point. The king's secret is enough; he regards the destruction of the Jesuits as a *sine quâ non* (of the recognition of a Pope). It does not signify whether a crime is proved or not so long as the accused is condemned. There will be resistance; but we shall succeed at last in consummating the sacrifice.* But owing to the late arrival of the Spanish Cardinals, and still more to the divisions which the intrigues of the diplomatists created in the conclave, it seemed as if the election would be indefinitely postponed; and the ambassadors, weary of the delay, announced that they should leave Rome. As a last means of intimidation, they stated that if a Pope agreeable to the Bourbon Courts was not speedily chosen, a schism must be the result; and on May 7th, D'Aubeterre writes thus to Bernis: 'Let your eminence speak firmly; the surest way to avoid a schism is to speak of it often and boldly. *Il faut les épouvanter.*† All the Cardinals, however, were not men on whom this system of terror could produce the desired effect; and the history of the conclave of 1769 is redeemed by instances of dignity on the part of prelates like the two Albanis, who courageously defended the Society, and Rezzonico, whose declaration that he would not sell his conscience to please the courts drew forth insult and sarcasm from D'Aubeterre and Bernis.

Things were in this state, the ambassadors urging the election, and yet impeding it by their manœuvres, when Cardinal de Solis, a Spaniard and an intimate friend of Charles III., cast his eyes upon the Franciscan Cardinal Ganganelli, who occupied in the conclave a position midway between the two rival parties. His guarded demeanour was supposed to conceal a desire to obtain the tiara; his antecedents pointed him out as a friend of the Jesuits; but his recent private declarations had excited the hopes of their enemies, and his reticence had mysti-

* Ibid. p. 224.

† Ibid. p. 254.

fied even the quick perception of Bernis, to whom the silent Franciscan was an enigma. Cardinal de Solis, however, read his character more correctly, and, having entered into negotiations with him, found that he was ready to accept the conditions proposed by the crowned heads. At the request of the Spanish Cardinal, Ganganelli gave him a written declaration, in which he stated that 'the Sovereign Pontiff possessed the right to suppress the Society of Jesus according to the canon law, and that it was to be hoped that the future Pope would make every effort to comply with the desire of the courts.* These words hardly amounted to a promise; but knowing Ganganelli's character, De Solis felt that, in the event of his election, the destruction of the Jesuits was secured, and all his efforts now tended to bring about his accession to the Papal throne. The declaration was communicated in secret to the Cardinals belonging to the party of the courts and to Bernis, whose vanity was somewhat piqued at his having been outwitted by the Spaniards. On May 16th he writes to inform D'Aubeterre that the Spaniards have secretly negotiated with Ganganelli; and the next day he adds: 'They simply arranged matters with Ganganelli, who became smiling and accommodating.† The existence of the paper written by the future Clement XIV. has been denied by historians hostile to the Society, and passed over in silence by the Jesuits themselves; but its authenticity has been clearly attested and proved by M. Créteineau-Joly. A perusal of the letters written by Bernis forcibly confirms this statement. Writing to Choiseul on July 23d, 1769, the French Cardinal, who had no interest in bringing the matter forward, observes: 'The paper which they (the Spaniards) made the Pope sign is by no means obligatory; the Pope himself told me of its contents.‡

The votes of the Cardinals hostile to the Jesuits were thus insured to Ganganelli through the intervention of De Solis; and, in order to secure those of the Zelanti, his declaration

* Ibid. p. 267.

† Ibid. p. 273.

‡ *Bibliog. Catholique*, vol. xii. *Clément XIV.*, par Abbé Maynard, p. 10. *Lettre au P. Theiner*, par Créteineau-Joly (1853).

was kept a secret from them, and when he was proposed as a candidate they only recollected that he had never taken any decided part against the Society. Cardinal Castelli, a learned and holy prelate, had even heard him say that he would never vote for one who would oppress the Jesuits, and on that account decided to support him. The example of Castelli was followed by the two Albanis, who knew of Ganganelli's former affectionate relations with the Society, and by Rezzonico, the chief of the Zelanti. Thus, through able manœuvres, all opposition was withdrawn, and on May 19th, 1769, the Franciscan monk became Clement XIV.

Lorenzo Ganganelli, whom a train of unfortunate circumstances placed on St. Peter's chair, was born on October 31st, 1705, and was therefore two years younger than his namesake, Father Lorenzo Ricci. It ought not to be forgotten that among the historians who have dealt with the reign of Clement XIV., none have handled his memory with more reverence than the writers of the Society which he destroyed. While authors hostile to the Jesuits lavish upon him praises which are in reality the bitterest insults, or else, after turning his weakness to account, revile and abuse him, the sons of St. Ignatius deal tenderly with the man in whom they ever reverence Christ's Vicar upon earth, and whose personal qualities they readily acknowledge. The agents of the French Government in Rome depict Ganganelli as hypocrisy personified: 'He is always to be found on the side most useful for his own purpose; he is Zelanti or anti-Zelanti, according as the wind is favourable or not. He never says what he thinks, and studies chiefly to please every one, and to show that he belongs to the party of any one who happens to address him.* Bernis described him as 'capable of taking the boldest steps in order to attain his ends.† Dufour, a tool of Choiseul's and worthy of his employer, is still more insulting: 'Ganganelli is a real intriguer . . . a great talker, a very bad theologian; an avaricious, ambitious, vain, and presumptuous man.‡

Turning from the testimonies of the men who most ap-

* *Clément XIV. et les Jésuites*, p. 258.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

plauded his election to the descriptions given by Jesuit historians, we shall be able to form a true estimate of the character of the future Pontiff. Father Cordara, one of the eminent annalists of the Society, in his *Commentaries upon the Suppression*, thus speaks of him: 'Ganganelli's private life was such as to cause him to be always considered a good religious, and a man filled with the fear of God. . . . Not only was his life blameless, but his application to serious studies was such that he was distinguished for his learning. I may add that he always loved the Society; this was recognised by the Jesuits of Milan, Bologna, and Rome, where Ganganelli taught theology to the religious of his own order, and where he was well known to the fathers of the Society. It is certain that wherever he met with Jesuits he became intimate with them, and liked to be considered their friend. When Clement XIII. raised him to the purple, he declared that he was creating a Jesuit cardinal under the garb of a Franciscan; and the Jesuits themselves were convinced of this. I do not deny that Ganganelli then began to appear opposed to us, and came to be regarded as ill-disposed towards the Society; from that day he ceased to have any dealings with our fathers, began to support the cause of Palafox, and contracted a close friendship with Roda, the Spanish ambassador. From the purple he raised his views to the supreme pontificate, and he saw that the man who publicly declared himself the friend of the Jesuits would with difficulty be elected Head of the Church; in consequence he pursued an opposite course. This change, however, was only external; his heart and his convictions remained the same, and it was with reason that Cardinal Orsini always called him a Jesuit in disguise.* This dispassionate statement, while throwing light upon the true nature of Clement XIV., gives an idea of the moral agony he must have suffered before he signed the Bull of suppression. Loving the Society in his inmost heart, he sacrificed it to a temptation of ambition, and, with the astuteness characteristic of his nation, he hoped that

* *Julii Cordaræ de Suppressione Societatis Jesu, &c. Clément XIV. et Jesuites*, p. 259.

by skilful policy he might, after his election, elude the fulfilment of his engagement with Spain. In calmer days his naturally affable and gentle character might have rendered him a popular and happy Pontiff; but in the fearful crisis in which his lot was cast his momentary ambition was fraught with terrible consequences, from which he was the first to suffer.

Curiously enough, the Jesuits were the indirect promoters of the election of Ganganelli; it was upon the recommendation of Father Ricci, in 1759, that Clement XIII. thought of raising him to the purple; a Jesuit father was charged to collect the usual information, and his report was so favourable to the candidate that the Pope instantly decided upon taking the final step. At Lisbon, Father Moreira was instrumental in causing Pombal to be named minister at Madrid; the Jesuits were the patrons of Manuel de Roda; and at Rome they placed Ganganelli among the candidates for the Papacy.

The first days after the election were given up to rejoicings, in the midst of which the new Pope, forgetting his fatal engagement, indulged the hope that his conciliating policy would disarm the prejudices of the sovereigns. But such was not the intention of those who had obtained so strong a hold over him; these brief days of respite were but a lull preceding a storm. 'Never, perhaps, in modern times,' says a Protestant writer, 'had the Papal See been in so fearful a crisis.*' Not a month had passed when a letter from D'Alembert to Frederick II. of Prussia reveals the unyielding determination of the Bourbon princes; alluding to the religious order to which the Pope belonged, he writes: 'They say that it is likely that St. Francis of Assisi will destroy St. Ignatius. It seems to me that the Holy Father, Franciscan though he is, will commit a great folly if he breaks up his regiment of guards to oblige the Catholic princes. This arrangement appears to me to resemble the treaty concluded between the wolves and the sheep, the first condition being that the latter should give up their dogs.†' By a strange contrast, Frederick II., the friend

* *Cours d'Histoire des Etats Européens*, vol. xlv. p. 75.

† *Clément XIV. et les Jésuites*, p. 292.

of the French infidels, had declined to join in the league against the Jesuits; and, alluding to this, D'Alembert continues: 'It will be curious, sire, if, while their very Christian, very Catholic, very Apostolic, and very Faithful Majesties destroy the grenadiers of the Holy See, your very heretical Majesty should alone maintain them.*' In the month of August following, D'Alembert writes again to his royal correspondent, and, speaking of the resistance of the Pope to the demands of the sovereigns, he adds: 'I do not wonder at it; to ask the Pope to destroy this brave army is like asking your Majesty to disband your regiment of guards.†' Infidel though he was, D'Alembert saw the fact which was not recognised by many Catholic sovereigns and prelates, that, in destroying the Jesuits, the Pope would destroy the firmest supporters of the Church.

Clement XIV. himself vaguely felt that the blow directed against the Society was, in reality, aimed at the Pontifical throne, and he was pursuing a hesitating and uncertain policy, endeavouring in vain to conciliate all parties. Through the influence of France and Spain, the Cardinals who had enjoyed the confidence of the late Pope were excluded from public affairs and replaced by men hostile to the Jesuits; yet when, in the month of June, after his election, Clement XIV. was informed by the Empress Queen Maria Theresa that she would never consent to the destruction of the Society, he promised to do his best in its favour. On the other hand, intimidated by the imperious messages from Madrid, he treated the Jesuits in Rome with marked coldness. When, according to custom, the Father General visited the palace on the feasts of St. Aloysius and St. Ignatius, he was refused admittance, the members of the Pontifical household were forbidden to hold any communication with the Jesuits, and if the Pope himself happened to meet any of the fathers he studiously turned away his head.

The unfortunate Pontiff betrayed, however, that these demonstrations of aversion were affected rather than real, for they failed to satisfy the Spaniards; and on July 3d, Azpuru writes

* Ibid.

† Ibid.

thus to D'Aranda : 'The Pope wishes to deceive us, but the king must not be taken in by his artifices. His hatred against the Jesuits is only pretence ; he is striving to gain time by these petty deceits, and meanwhile he is seeking for means to save the Jesuits at any cost. His majesty should therefore persist more than ever in demanding, in formal terms, the destruction of the Institute and in refusing any compromise.'*

This statement contains the true view of the case. Moved by ambition, and entertaining the vague idea that he might, later on, evade the fulfilment of his promise, Ganganelli had, before his election, agreed to suppress the Society ; but with the supreme pontificate came a deeper feeling of responsibility and a graver sense of the obligations incumbent on Christ's Vicar ; hence his efforts to extricate himself from the false position on which he had so rashly entered. Intimidated on the one hand by the threats of the Bourbon Courts, and pursued on the other by the voice of his conscience and by the remembrance of his former friendship for the Society, he was swayed from side to side. On July 12th, 1769, by a Brief, '*Cœlestium munerum thesaurus*,' he accorded certain indulgences to the Jesuit missionaries, whose apostolic zeal he at the same time praised.

The Brief was drawn up in the usual form, and was the continuation of an ancient custom rather than a mark of any peculiar good-will towards the Society ; but it caused great irritation at Madrid, Naples, and Parma, and the Pope, hoping to pacify the courts, suppressed the annual promulgation of the Bull of excommunication issued by his predecessor against the Duke of Parma. This concession, however, only encouraged the sovereigns in their demands. In August of the same year Choiseul urged Bernis to renew the petition for the destruction of the Society, and threatened, in the event of a refusal, to withdraw the French ambassador from Rome.

To this Bernis replied : 'I do not examine whether it was right or wrong to banish the Jesuits from the four kingdoms ; or whether, having banished them, it was right or wrong to de-

* *Ibid.* p. 299.

mand the destruction of their Order in the Christian world. I start from the point where we now are : the Kings of France and Spain must gain the battle they are waging against the General of the Jesuits ; the Pope only can give them the victory, and the question is how to make him do so.*

But it was not easy to bring to the point a man in whose soul a deep sense of justice was still struggling with natural timidity, and to the demands of Choiseul Clement XIV. replied : 'As for the Jesuits, I can neither blame nor destroy an Institute which nineteen of my predecessors have praised, especially as the Institute has been confirmed by the holy Council of Trent ; and, according to your French maxims, a General Council is above the Pope. If it be desired, I will assemble a General Council, where all things for and against the Jesuits may be fairly discussed, and where they themselves shall be heard in their own defence ; for I owe to them, as to every religious order, justice and protection. Moreover, the Polish nation, the Kings of Sardinia and Prussia, have written to me in their favour. I should, therefore, by destroying them, only content some princes by displeasing others.'†

The project of a General Council, thus suggested by the Pope, would have been readily accepted by Louis XV. as a possible means of saving the Society, for, like Ganganelli, he knew that the Church, represented by a Council, would never pronounce the destruction of her faithful soldiers. But this plan did not suit the determined hostility of Choiseul and of the Spanish and Portuguese ministers, and instructions yet more urgent were forwarded to their representatives at Rome. Of these Bernis was perhaps the most dangerous ; for the Pope, wounded and irritated at the violence with which the Spanish envoys summoned him to obey their sovereign's behest, was inclined to make a confidant of the courteous French prelate, whose gracious ways concealed as determined a resolution as the rough insolence of his colleagues.

In December 1769, Pombal replied to the efforts made by the Pope to reëstablish diplomatic relations between Rome and

* Theiner, vol. i. p. 377. † *Clément XIV. et les Jésuites*, p. 301.

Lisbon that the suppression of the Jesuits was necessary to make a reconciliation possible; and about the same time Manuel de Roda declared that if the Pope continued to hesitate a schism between Rome and Spain must be the result.

It was then that the harassed Pontiff abandoned himself blindly to the advice of Bernis, whose apparent moderation and artful flattery formed a refreshing contrast to the contemptuous arrogance of his fellow-diplomatists; and at his suggestion a letter was written to Charles III. stating that the Pope begged for a delay before suppressing the Society, but that he recognized the suppression as necessary. On April 29th, 1770, Bernis wrote triumphantly to Choiseul to announce the result of his manœuvres.*

These transactions, however, were kept secret, and the Pope, oppressed by anxiety, led as retired a life as though he had been in the depths of a Franciscan monastery. A famine that broke out in Rome was attributed to the unskilful administration of the Papal Government, and the popularity enjoyed by Clement XIV. on his accession was in consequence destroyed. To escape from the murmurs of his subjects and the persecutions of the foreign diplomatists he secluded himself completely, and two Franciscan monks were the only persons admitted into his intimacy. In spite of the impoverished state of the Roman treasury, he continued to pay to the exiled Jesuits from Portugal the yearly sum allotted to them by his predecessor; but Cardinal Angelo Braschi, the future Pius VI., was the only person acquainted with this act of charity, which the Pope especially desired to conceal from the ambassadors of Spain and Portugal.† In December 1770 the disgrace of Choiseul, who was banished through some court intrigues, brought a faint ray of hope to the friends of the Society. The fallen minister was replaced by the Duke d'Aiguillon, who had hitherto shown himself well disposed towards the Jesuits; but he had not courage to resist the league formed against them, and in order to gain favour at the Court of Spain he obediently followed in the footsteps of Choiseul. In the mean time con-

* Ibid. p. 305.

† Ibid. p. 314.

stant pressure was laid upon the Pope. In June 1771, Roda writes to Azpuru: 'I think that never has a negotiation between sovereigns resembled the one relating to the suppression of the Jesuits. All the princes of the house of Bourbon demanded it of the Pope; his Holiness promised it freely, unconditionally, and speedily. . . . He has renewed his promises, always declaring that they are to be promptly realized; but the event never comes off, and there is no sign of it.*' About the same time Azpuru was replaced by Francisco Moñino, better known as Count Florida Blanca, a man of low birth, who had been raised to power by Charles III., to whose interests he was devoted. No one was more fitted to wrench from the Pope the fulfilment of his promise than this man, before whose stern inflexibility the spirit of Clement XIV. completely gave way. The instructions that Moñino had received from his government were really 'terrible,' says Father Theiner.† The Pope heard of his arrival with undisguised alarm, and during their first interview he remained pale and silent. The letters of Bernis, as well as the despatches of the Spanish envoy himself, give a pitiful picture of the struggle that then commenced between the unhappy Pontiff and the imperious statesman who personified the hatred of the crowned heads of Europe against the Society of Jesus. Now and then Clement XIV., hopelessly seeking for a means of escape, implored that further delay might be granted; but to this Florida Blanca replied that if any longer resistance was made the king would require the abolition, not only of the Jesuits, but of all religious orders; or else, pleading his failing health, the Pope endeavoured to move his adversary to compassion; or, again, descending to piteous entreaties, he begged to be spared from committing a deed of iniquity. Strange and sad were the scenes that then took place in the Pontifical palace, whose walls had so often reëchoed the majestic protestations of Pontiffs defending the cause of right against error and injustice.

Sometimes the harassed Pope, although exhausted by daily persecution, broke out into accents of just anger; thus, when

* Ibid. p. 316.

† *Pontif. de Clément XIV.*, vol. ii. p. 209.

Florida Blanca gave him to understand that in exchange for the Bull of suppression the towns of Benevento and Avignon should be restored to him, 'Ganganelli at last remembered that he was the priest of Him who drove the vendors from the Temple, and he exclaimed, "Learn that a Pope governs the souls of men, but that he does not buy or sell them!"'*

It was his last flash of energy ; a blow was about to fall that thoroughly crushed his powers of resistance. Of all the Catholic sovereigns enjoying considerable influence, Maria Theresa of Austria had alone declared herself in favour of the Society, and the Electors of Bavaria, Treves, and Cologne, the Swiss cantons, the states of Venice and Genoa, followed her example. Charles III. felt that as long as the empress queen protected the Jesuits Clement XIV. had a standing-point, and in consequence he spared no efforts to gain over Maria Theresa. Unfortunately he found ready assistance from her son Joseph II., who coveted the possessions of the Order in Austria ; and also from her free-thinking ministers, who were too willing to follow the example of D'Aranda and Choiseul. The empress had not courage to resist their combined efforts, and she too joined the league against the Society of Jesus.

Then, his last support gone, Clement XIV. bowed his head ; he was alone against the crowned heads of Europe, to whom by his fatal promises he had given a weapon which they unmercifully used against him. He was broken in health and spirits and utterly weary of resistance, and from this moment he abandoned the Jesuits to their enemies.

During these debates, while their destruction was made the great question of the day, the attitude of the fathers themselves was calm and passive. They were forbidden to enter the Pontifical palace, and the transactions regarding them were carried on with so much mystery that they had only a vague idea of the plots formed against them. While their destiny was trembling in the balance they pursued their usual avocations, feeling dimly that a great blow was impending, but taking no measures to avert it.

* *Clément XIV. et les Jésuites*, par Créteineau-Joly, p. 326.

In the official despatches of the day the Jesuits are described as the owners of untold wealth, as possessing a marvellous knowledge of all state secrets and extraordinary influence over the crowned heads and over the Pope himself, and as unwearied in their endeavours to save their Order from ruin. This structure of fabulous statements crumbles away before the simple truth. As regards the riches of the Society, Father Ricci, in 1760, wrote a circular letter to the different houses, describing the distress which the suppression of the Institute in Portugal and America had entailed. The houses and colleges were loaded with debts, and the Provinces of Italy especially were unequal to the support of so large a number of exiles. After asking the advice of the Provincials as to the best means of remedying the evil the Father General concludes thus: 'Let all amongst us pray with fervour; let us beg God, whose goodness feeds all creatures, to assist us in our poverty; may He grant us, not indeed riches, but the things necessary to our existence; may He teach us to love the poverty of Christ; but may He avert from us the excess of destitution that would force us to deviate from our holy rules.*' As to the knowledge they were said to possess of political secrets, the Jesuits were ignorant even of the steps taken against them. On March 6th, 1770, Father Garnier, Assistant for France, writes from Rome: 'The Jesuits know that their destruction is asked for, but the Pope keeps the affair an impenetrable secret.† Far from possessing any influence over the Pope, they were forbidden to cross the threshold of his palace, while of their efforts to save the Society not a trace can be discovered throughout the history of this troubled time. On the contrary, they are reproached by their friends with apathy and inaction. The same Father Garnier writes: 'The Jesuits know not how, and cannot help themselves. . . . You ask why they do not justify themselves; they can do nothing here. All the direct and indirect avenues are absolutely closed to them. It is impossible for them to present any petition, as no one would undertake to present it for them.‡

* Ibid. p. 322.

† Ibid. p. 311.

‡ Ibid. p. 528.

In strange contrast with the silence observed by the doomed Order on the eve of its destruction is the extraordinary vitality displayed by its members in past times. In every discussion that had occupied the Christian world, in almost every political event in Europe for the last two centuries, the Jesuits had borne a conspicuous part; and as theologians, poets, historians, astronomers, geometricians, controversialists, and discoverers, their fame had extended far and wide. But now, in their hour of agony, they neither raised a voice nor wrote a line in their own defence. It was not that ability was wanting, for, as a succeeding chapter will prove, the Society at this time numbered as many eminent men as in the days of its prosperity. Reverence towards the Holy See forbade them to act or speak, and obliged the sons of the soldier-saint to a passive resignation, little in accordance with the militant spirit of their Institute. But though it has been blamed as weakness and apathy, this silent submission was in truth the triumph of self-sacrifice; and it brought the persecuted Jesuits nearer to Him, of whom it is said that when called upon to answer His accusers 'He held His peace.'

Before the last blow was struck a series of petty annoyances were inflicted on the fathers, chiefly with a view to bringing them into discredit. Their archives in Spain were ransacked in order to find some evidence, by which their destruction could be justified; but though the search was conducted by men most interested in discovering proofs of their guilt it was completely fruitless. In Rome continual lawsuits, into which they were forced against their will, were invariably decided against them; and the right conceded to the vilest criminal of obtaining a fair hearing in a court of justice from them was mercilessly withheld. Since the time of Pius IV. the Society had directed the Roman Seminary, and five Popes, more than a hundred Cardinals, besides countless learned and holy men, had been among their pupils. The fathers were now accused of having administered the seminary with extravagance, and three Cardinals, two of whom were openly hostile to them, were appointed to examine their accounts. The Jesuits repre-

sented that while the revenues of the house remained the same its expenses daily increased, and they supported their assertions by figures, clearly proving the economy of their administration. They were expelled, however, as a 'preventive' measure; and the following year the Pope, by increasing the income of the seminary, confirmed their statement that the revenues hardly covered the expenditure.* Among the Cardinals who took part in this unjust proceeding was the last of the Stuarts, the Cardinal York. He coveted a country house of the Jesuits at Frascati, and at his request the Pope took it from the fathers to bestow it upon him. At Ravenna, Ferrara, Modena, Macerata, and Bologna the Jesuits were forbidden to exercise their ministry; the scholastics and novices who refused to leave the Order were deprived of the Sacraments; and in some cases their religious habit was torn from them by force. And yet Cardinal Malvezzi, Archbishop of Bologna, while permitting these acts of injustice, owned that the Spiritual Exercises given by the fathers had produced great spiritual good in his diocese. His letters on the subject of the Society are perhaps the most convincing proofs of its innocence. Writing to Macedonio, a prelate violently opposed to the Order, he attempts to justify the measures resorted to in his diocese. 'We cannot,' he says, 'proceed by examining the morals and discipline of these religious. Not only would our researches be in vain, but they would prove that we have no sufficient weapons against them, and that we are unable to reveal anything essential. They would be a subject of triumph to the friends of the Order.†' The inhabitants of Bologna strongly disapproved of the course pursued by the Archbishop, and addressed many petitions to the Pope on behalf of the Jesuits.

These petty persecutions, however, did not satisfy the crowned heads; and Clement XIV. was imperatively summoned to abide by his promise, and to issue the Bull of suppression. In the evening of the 21st of July 1773 the annual novena began at the Gesù in honour of St. Ignatius; and the joyous sound of the church-bells penetrating into the Pope's

* Ibid. p. 330.

† Ibid. p. 337.

apartment attracted his attention. He inquired why they were ringing, and on being told the reason he replied sorrowfully, 'You are mistaken; it is not for the saints that they ring at the Gesù, but for the dead.' And in truth the bells that heralded the feast of its founder were the death-knell of the Society of Jesus; for on that very day Clement XIV. signed the Brief 'Dominus ac Redemptor noster,' suppressing the Jesuits throughout the Christian world.*

Tradition still points out the window of the Quirinal Palace, where, late at night, and after hours of hesitation and suffering, the unfortunate Pontiff signed the Brief in pencil, and then fell senseless on the marble pavement.†

The next day, says a manuscript account of Cardinal de Simoni, an eye-witness,‡ Clement XIV. was in a state bordering on insanity. He kept repeating in tones of despair, 'O God, I am lost; there is no remedy!' And Cardinal de Simoni having suggested that he might still cancel his signature, he exclaimed that it was too late, as the Brief had been given to Moñino, and was on its way to Spain.

The Brief was dated July 21, 1773; but at the request of the Court of Vienna its publication was postponed, as Joseph II. wished beforehand to take effectual measures, in order to secure the possessions of the Jesuits for himself. The Pope caught at the delay with gratitude, and would willingly have prolonged it, had not Florida Blanca insisted upon the decree being put into execution on the 16th of August.

At eight o'clock in the evening of that day all the houses of the Society in Rome were surrounded by the Corsican guards, and the Brief of suppression was made known to Father Ricci by the commission of prelates named for the purpose. Among its members were Alfani, a lay-prelate, and Macedonio, the Pope's nephew, whose proceedings were marked by a harshness that in after years was remembered to their cost by

* Ibid. p. 345.

† These circumstances were related by Gregory XVI. to M. Crétineau-Joly, and also to Cardinal Weld.

‡ Crétineau-Joly, *2de Lettre au P. Theiner.*

Pope Pius VI.* The archives of the Society were placed under seal, the churches and sacristies were despoiled, and the fathers removed to different religious houses in Rome. The General and his Assistants were sent to the English College, and a month later they were imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo, while proceedings were taken for their trial.

On that fatal 16th of August, when the once mighty Company of Jesus succumbed under the efforts of its enemies, two hundred and thirty-nine years and one day had passed since, in the crypt of Montmartre, on the 15th of August 1534, St. Ignatius and his first companions had consecrated themselves to God. Providence had suspended the blow ready to fall on the great Society until its children had celebrated together, for the last time, the anniversary of their foundation.

* Pius VI. removed the first from any share in the government, and excluded the second from the purple. *Histoire de la Comp. de Jésus*, par Créteineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 320.

CHAPTER XV.

The Brief ' Dominus ac Redemptor noster' and its Effects.

THE Brief of suppression is a valuable document in the history of the Society of Jesus, and it is especially remarkable because, as is observed by the Protestant historian Schoell, 'it condemns neither the doctrine, nor the morals, nor the discipline of the Jesuits. The complaints of the courts against the Order are the only motives alleged for its suppression.'^{*}

The Pope begins by alluding to the example of his predecessors in the suppression of various congregations, omitting, however, to state that the forms of justice observed in the case of these congregations were wanting in the case of the Jesuits. Thus, in 1310, the Templars were suppressed by Pope Clement V.; but before the sentence was pronounced the Bishops of Christendom were assembled, the accusations and the defence were carefully examined, and the Templars were individually summoned before provincial councils to be judged. The Jesuits, four centuries later, were suppressed without being informed of the charges against them, and much less allowed to defend themselves.

It would be too long to give the entire text of the famous Brief. After referring to the religious orders which at different times the Holy See had thought it necessary to abolish, the Pope proceeds to mention, on the one hand, the approbation bestowed upon the Society by many of his predecessors, and, on the other, the dissensions which at various periods had broken out between the Jesuits and the secular clergy. He then enumerates the accusations brought forward against the Order, without, however, either confirming or denying them; and lastly, he lays great stress upon the disturbance caused by

* *Cours d'Histoire des Etats Européens*, vol. xliv. p. 83.

the existence of the Society, and upon the supplications addressed to him for its suppression. In this last paragraph lies the keynote to the Brief. It was a sacrifice to peace, but, as events subsequently proved, a sacrifice made in vain. The Pope concludes by pronouncing the suppression of the Order throughout Christendom, and regulates the details of the execution of the sentence.*

It now remains to be seen how the Brief was received by the Jesuits themselves, and by the Christian world. By the infidels in France, the Calvinists in Holland, and the Jansenists at Utrecht, it was welcomed with enthusiasm; and never perhaps did Clement XIV. feel more keenly the injustice into which he had been betrayed than when the disciples of Janzenius caused a medal to be struck in his honour, as the destroyer of the Society of Jesus.†

The Courts of Spain and Naples, although satisfied with the results of the Brief, considered that its tone was too moderate, and were therefore far from regarding it with unmingled approbation. Poland and the Swiss Cantons hesitated a long time before accepting it, and it was, as we shall see, totally rejected by the clergy of France.

In Rome, although unfortunately some of the Cardinals and prelates only too faithfully served the interests of the Bourbon Courts against the Society, the testimony of Cardinal Antonelli, one of the most eminent members of the Sacred College, gives ample evidence that this feeling was not universal; and in a report addressed to Pius VI. only two years after the suppression he thus expresses himself: 'The impartial world recognises the injustice of the act, and those who do not recognise it must be either blind or else bear a mortal hatred to the Jesuits. What rule was observed in the judgment rendered against them? Were they listened to? Were they allowed to bring forward their defence? Such a mode of proceeding proves that there existed the fear of finding them innocent. . . . As for

* The Brief is given in full in Crétineau-Joly, *Hist. de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. v. p. 295.

† Ibid. p. 322.

me, I affirm, without fear of error, that the Brief is null, invalid, and iniquitous, and consequently that the Society of Jesus is not destroyed. My assertion is founded on a number of proofs, of which I shall be satisfied with bringing forward a few.* The Cardinal then enumerates the reasons which, in his opinion, invalidated the Brief: 1. When the Pope promised to suppress the Society he was only a private individual, unable to estimate the full consequences of his act; 2. the Brief was extorted from a man, fettered by his previous engagement, by those whose only object was to ruin the Church; 3. in this infamous transaction false promises, criminal threats, and open violence were made use of towards the Head of the Church; 4. the Brief was destitute of the canonical forms requisite in a solemn sentence of this description. It is believed, adds the Cardinal, that Clement XIV. purposely neglected these formalities, in order to render the Brief less binding. 5. In the execution of the sentence, the ecclesiastical and civil laws of justice were equally violated; 6. the sentence rests upon unproved accusations, and upon calumnies which it is easy to refute; 7. the Brief contradicts itself, asserting in one part what it denies in the other; 8. it contains confused and ambiguous expressions, and in the part relating to the simple and solemn vows the Pope attributes to himself powers that no Pontiff ever claimed; 9. the motives alleged for the suppression of the Society might, under the same pretext, be applied to every religious order, and the Brief is therefore an instrument prepared for the general destruction of religious orders; 10. it annuls, as far as it can, a number of Briefs and Bulls, issued by the Holy See and accepted by the Church, without giving the reasons of this sweeping condemnation; 11. it was a cause of scandal to the Church, and a subject of joy only to infidels, heretics, and bad Catholics. 'These reasons,' continues Antonelli, 'sufficiently prove the Brief to be null and invalid, and in consequence the so-called suppression of the Society of Jesus is unjust and irregular.'

Without adopting all the Cardinal's conclusions regarding the validity of the Brief, we may judge from this outspoken

* Ibid. p. 316.

manifesto, addressed the very year after the death of Clement XIV. to a Sovereign Pontiff, by a prelate of high standing, who became the intimate friend of Pius VII., that the views so boldly expressed were shared by many in Rome. It is certain moreover that several formalities generally observed in the promulgation of similar decrees were wanting in this case: thus the sentence itself was a Brief, not a Bull, the latter being a much more solemn form of decree and more difficult to revoke. It was not made known to the Jesuits according to the usual canonical forms, neither was it, as is usual, put up at the gates of St. Peter's.*

But whatever may have been the opinion of others regarding the legality of the Brief 'Dominus ac Redemptor noster,' by the Jesuits themselves it was never disputed. The writers of the Society, in the last and in the present century, recognise, on the contrary, that the Holy See had a right to suppress what it had itself established; adding that the sentence cannot be regarded as a penalty, since the accusations are merely enumerated and not confirmed, but as 'an administrative measure prompted by the difficulties of the times.'† This latter observation is confirmed by Cardinal de Bernis, who, in a letter to the Duke d'Aiguillon, 1744, remarks that the Brief was issued because the Pope preferred to all things the peace of the Church and the approval of Catholic princes.‡ Had the doctrines of the Jesuits been pernicious, or their morals corrupt, it would have been the Pope's duty to condemn them, and his desire to give the Brief an appearance of justice would have made this duty an easy one. No condemnation, however, was pronounced, and this is a convincing, though negative, proof of the innocence of the Society. Other and more positive proofs were not wanting. The archives, accounts, and private letters of the fathers were now in the hands of their enemies; and when Father Ricci was brought to trial they were carefully examined, in the expectation that some facts might be revealed

* Ibid. p. 322.

† P. Cahours, *Des Jésuites par un Jésuite.*

‡ P. de Ravignan, *Clément XIII. et Clément XIV.*, p. 401.

that would compromise the reputation of the Society, but all in vain. The Jesuit prisoners were interrogated one by one upon their supposed wealth, and upon the efforts they had made to avert their destruction ; but not from their replies, any more than from their papers, could a trace be detected of opposition to the Brief ; and as to their imaginary treasures, Father Ricci had no difficulty in showing that, since 1760, the Society had been in a state of extreme poverty. Clement XIV. would have readily caught at any revelation that might have palliated his injustice, and Alfani and Macedonio had counted upon their share in the hidden riches of the Gesù ; but so hopeless was it to find any evidence against the Jesuits that, before long, the judicial proceedings against them began to embarrass the magistrates. To acquit the prisoners would have been a triumph for the fallen Institute, to condemn them for unproved crimes would have been too glaring an act of iniquity ; and in the difficulty of pronouncing a sentence the Father General's trial was for the moment abandoned, though he himself, with his assistants and secretary, was still detained in prison.

The fathers bore their captivity with the uncomplaining submission that had characterized them throughout these proceedings, and of which Father Ricci gave the example. The only word recorded resembling a protest came from Father Faure, a caustic and brilliant writer, celebrated throughout Italy. He was informed by the magistrates that he was imprisoned, not on suspicion of any crime, nor because of his former writings, but only to prevent him from writing against the Brief in case he felt disposed to do so. 'O, indeed,' he replied ; 'this is a new code of jurisprudence. It means that I might be sent to the galleys for fear I should steal ; or I might be hung as a preventive measure lest I should commit murder.*'

One of the effects of the Brief in Rome was doubtless to hasten the end of the unfortunate Pontiff whose hand had signed it. He himself exclaimed, ' Questa suppressione me

* Crétineau-Joly, *Histoire*, vol. v. p. 320.

dara la morte!' and often he was heard to murmur, as he restlessly paced his apartments, 'Compulsus feci, compulsus feci!'^{*} It has moreover been stated that his brain actually gave way under the pressure of grief and remorse; and the fact of his insanity was believed by his two immediate successors, Pius VI. and Pius VII. The first said, in 1780, to Cardinal Calini, who recorded the words, 'that the destruction of the Jesuits had been a mystery of iniquity; and that Clement XIV. became insane, not only after the suppression, but even before it.'[†] And Pius VII., during his captivity at Fontainebleau, told Cardinal Pacca, his faithful companion, that he was haunted by the fear of dying mad like Clement XIV.[‡]

At the last, however, reason returned to the dying Pontiff, and with it a flash of the energy in which he had been so deficient. The enemies of the Society had persuaded him to create *in petto* eleven Cardinals, all of whom were openly hostile to the Jesuits; and, as he lay on his deathbed, Cardinal Malvezzi entreated him to confirm their nomination, in order that they might be entitled to take part in the next conclave, and insure the election of a Pope agreeable to the Bourbon Courts. But, on the threshold of eternity, Clement XIV. found powers of resistance foreign to his nature; and he resolutely declined to take this last step, although Malvezzi besought him on his knees to yield; and the eleven Cardinals, among whom was Macedonio, were excluded from the purple.[§] Shortly afterwards, on September 22d, 1774, Clement XIV. breathed his last; and while the Roman people, who had despised him for his concessions to the courts, heartlessly insulted his memory, a member of the suppressed Society, Father Cardara, wrote of him thus: 'He was a Pope, if we may say so, more unfortunate than guilty; a Pope who would have been admirable in happier times. He was remarkable for many qualities of mind;

^{*} St. Priest, *Hist. de la Chute des Jésuites*. Créteineau-Joly, vol. v. p.

324-

[†] Créteineau-Joly, *2de Lettre au P. Theiner*, p. 116.

[‡] *Ibid.*

[§] Créteineau-Joly, *Clement XIV. et les Jésuites*, p. 388.

he was learned and virtuous . . . gentle, affable, kind ; of an even temper, and never hasty in his determinations.* And another Jesuit, Father Mazzi, addressing himself to his brethren, exclaimed : ' Honour the memory of a Pope who is less undeserving of your esteem than deserving of all your compassion.†

As might be expected, the Jesuits, against whom accusations of regicide have been constantly brought forward, were charged with having poisoned Clement XIV. To so contemptible an accusation silence is perhaps the best answer. At the same time it may be mentioned that even Protestant historians, and the enemies of the Jesuits, deny it. Thus, in the letters of Gavazzi and Malvezzi, both men who had taken an active part in the suppression, the charge is contradicted ; and Frederick of Prussia, writing to D'Alembert on November 15th, 1774, says : ' Nothing can be more false than the rumours of the Pope having died of poison. . . . He often reproached himself for the weakness with which he had sacrificed an Order like the Jesuits to the caprice of his rebellious children. . . . During the latter part of his life his temper became gloomy and morose ; and this contributed to shorten his days.‡ Moreover, the Pope's physicians, Salicetti and Adinolfi, in an official declaration, asserted that the Pope's death proceeded solely from natural causes ; and their testimony was confirmed on oath by Father Marzoni, General of the Franciscans, and the intimate friend of Clement XIV., whom he attended during his last illness.§

The Bourbon Courts had carried their point when they obtained the destruction of the Society of Jesus ; but they dreaded the election of a Pontiff who might restore the Order. Nevertheless, the conclave of 1775 was far more peaceful than that of 1769 ; and the Cardinals, instructed by past experience, were no longer blindly submissive to the desires of the crowned heads. On February 15th, 1775, Cardinal Angelo Braschi was

* Ibid. p. 390.

† Ibid. p. 392.

‡ *Œuvres phil. de D'Alembert*, vol. xvii. Créteau-Joly, *ibid.* p. 395.

§ Ibid. pp. 396-398.

raised to the Pontifical throne, under the name of Pius VI. He was a former pupil of the Jesuits, whom he always regarded with affection, although the persistent animosity of the sovereigns, and his own respect for the memory of his predecessor, prevented him from openly manifesting his sympathy towards them. Immediately upon his accession he was requested by the Court of Spain to proceed with the trial of Father Ricci and his Assistants ; and, knowing as he did that its result must be honourable to the Society, the Pope consented. But now, as before, no evidence against the Jesuits could be adduced from the immense mass of papers that were examined by the commission formed for the purpose. The trial was prolonged during many months, as the judges could not condemn, and yet dared not discharge, the prisoners ; and it was not till after the death of Father Ricci that the acquittal of the Jesuits was at last pronounced.*

In spite of the jealous watchfulness of Spain, Pius VI. mitigated, as far as lay in his power, the rigour of the father's captivity ; but the end was now at hand, and rest and deliverance, such as men could not give, were soon to be the lot of the suffering General of the Company of Jesus. About a year after the death of Clement XIV., Father Ricci felt that his strength was fast ebbing away. He asked for the Holy Viaticum ; and on November 19th, 1775, in the sacred presence of his God, surrounded by his gaolers and his fellow-prisoners, he read his last solemn protestation.

‘The uncertainty of the exact time when it may please God to call me, and the conviction I feel that, owing to my advanced age, and to the multitude, length, and severity of my sufferings, this time is close at hand, induce me now to fulfil a duty which illness may prevent me from fulfilling at the hour of death. On the point of appearing before the tribunal of infallible truth and justice, which is the tribunal of God, after long and mature deliberation, and after humbly praying to my most merciful Redeemer and terrible Judge that I may not be led astray by passion in one of the last acts of my life, or be guided by

* Créteineau-Joly, *Histoire*, vol. v. p. 331.

bitterness of heart or sinful affection, but solely because I judge it my duty to bear witness to truth and innocence, I make the two following declarations and protestations :

' 1st. I declare and protest that the now extinct Society of Jesus gave no reason for its suppression. I declare this with the moral certainty of a Superior well informed of all that takes place in his Order.

' 2dly. I declare and protest that I have give no reason, not even the slightest, for my imprisonment. I declare this with the positive certainty which every man possesses with regard to his own actions. I only make this protestation because it is necessary to the good repute of the now extinct Society of Jesus, of which I was the General Superior. I do not pretend, however, that, in consequence of these declarations of mine, those who injured the Society of Jesus should be regarded as guilty in the eyes of God. I abstain from any such judgment. The thoughts of men are known to God alone. He alone sees the errors of the human mind, and can distinguish whether they are such as to excuse sin. He alone can penetrate the motives that prompt our actions, the spirit that inspires them, and the affections of the heart that accompany them ; and as the innocence or guilt of our actions depends on all these things, I leave the judgment to Him, who will examine the works and weigh the thoughts of men.

' And, in order to fulfil my duty as a Christian, I protest that, with the help of God, I have always forgiven, and do now sincerely forgive, all who have persecuted or injured me, first, by the misfortunes which were heaped upon the Society of Jesus, and by the severe measures put in force against its religious ; then by the abolition of the Society, and the circumstances that accompanied its suppression ; lastly, by my own imprisonment and its hardships, and the injury thereby inflicted on my reputation ; facts which are now public and known throughout the world.

' I beg the Lord, first, to forgive me through His pure goodness and mercy, through the merits of Jesus Christ, my numerous sins ; and then to forgive the author and accomplices of

the calamities and injuries above alluded to ; and I wish to die with this feeling and this prayer in my heart.

‘Lastly. I entreat all those who may see these declarations of mine to make them public throughout the world, as far as lies in their power. I ask this in the name of all the claims of justice, humanity, and charity that can induce men to grant my prayer.—LORENZO RICCI (by my own hand).’*

Five days after this dignified protest, Father Ricci breathed his last ; and mournful as must have been the end of the captive and broken General of the once mighty Society, more peace hallowed that lonely deathbed in a prison-cell than had surrounded the restless couch where Clement XIV. expired. By order of Pius VI., Father Ricci had a splendid funeral ; and his remains were laid by those of his predecessors in the despoiled and deserted Gesù.

In following the history of the long agony of the Order of Jesus some writers have wondered at the passive submission with which Father Ricci bowed his head before the storm. But in presence of the terrible tempest of the eighteenth century would the genius even of Claudius Aquaviva have saved the Society? It is hardly probable. But, if unable to avert the destruction of the Institute committed to his guardianship, he might perhaps have shed a halo of heroism upon its end ; and his powerful voice may be imagined protesting to the last, as far as obedience would permit, and defending step by step the innocence of his brethren. Lorenzo Ricci was cast in a different mould ; but if he was not gifted with the genius or the enterprise of some of his predecessors, he possessed an invincible endurance ; and there is something pathetic in the gentleness with which he drank the chalice to the dregs on his deathbed. In making his last solemn declaration a flash of more active energy passed over the dying General, and a spark of the militant spirit of the soldier-saint descended on his last successor.

While these events were passing in Rome, and Lorenzo Ricci followed Lorenzo Ganganelli to the grave, the Brief of

* Ibid. p. 334.

suppression was carrying sorrow and dismay throughout the Christian world. In France, where some years before the Jesuits had been sentenced to banishment, a voice was now raised in their favour whose courageous eloquence is one of the redeeming traits of this mournful epoch. To the letter of Clement XIV., requesting him to promulgate the Brief, Christophe de Beaumont, the eminent Archbishop of Paris, replied in the name of the French clergy that in the first place the Brief was the expression of a personal opinion, and issued by compulsion, and that it could not therefore possess the same weight and authority as the Bull 'Pascendi' of Clement XIII., which had been promulgated with the usual solemn forms, and was universally accepted as having the authority of a General Council. In this decree Clement XIII. had declared the Society of Jesus to be holy and pious, and had praised the doctrines and labours of its members; how, then, continued the Archbishop, are we to accept a Brief which, with fewer guarantees of weight and universality, destroys an Institute so solemnly approved? He then pointed out that a few years before, the Bishops and clergy of France having, in a general assembly, unanimously expressed their conviction of the merits of the Society, could not thus suddenly and without cause contradict their previous declaration. As for the accusation contained in the Brief, that the Jesuits disturbed the peace of the world, 'Surely,' he observed, 'the peace that cannot exist at the same time as the Jesuits is the peace which Jesus Christ calls insidious, false, and deceitful . . . the peace which can never ally itself with virtue, and which has ever been, on the contrary, the capital enemy of piety.*' And after an eloquent sketch of the labours and sufferings of the Jesuits in the cause of religion, he concluded by declining to accept a Brief injurious to the honour of the Holy See and to the interests of the Church.

This letter, in which respect is combined with firmness, indicates the real feeling of the French clergy regarding the suppression; but, on the part of the Jesuits themselves, we

* Ibid. p. 311.

find here as elsewhere unquestioning and uncomplaining submission. Father Charles de Neuville, an eminent preacher, writing to one of his brethren on October 1st, 1773, says: 'Let there not be a word, a look, a tone of complaint or murmur, but unflinching respect, towards the Apostolic See and the Sovereign Pontiff, and perfect submission to the severe, but ever-adorable, orders of Providence, and to the authority employed to execute its designs, which it befits us not to scrutinize.*' In Germany the same examples of ready obedience are to be found at every step. But the destruction of the Order in the country where its members had been in a special sense the champions of Catholicism most seriously affected the interests of the Church; and, according to Ranke, 'it necessarily shook the Christian world to its very depths.'† Cardinal Pacca adds that in Germany in particular people lost their respect for the clergy and for the Holy See, and that religion suffered immense injury.‡ In Poland and in the Swiss Cantons some time elapsed before the Brief was received by any except by the Jesuits themselves, who, however, at Fribourg, Lucerne, and Soleure were forced by the inhabitants to keep their colleges, which they continued to direct as secular priests. At Fribourg, on the death of Clement XIV., the former members of the Society assembled to pray for him, and Father Matzell pronounced his funeral oration. Addressing himself to the inhabitants, who were all devoted to the Society, he exclaimed: 'If we have ever had the happiness to contribute in any way to the welfare of Christendom, we entreat of you with most earnest prayers to abstain from bitter complaints, irreverent to the memory of Clement XIV., the Supreme Head of the Church.'§

At the time of the suppression, the English Province of the Society numbered 285 members, and those amongst them who were employed on the mission continued their labours as secu-

* *Sermons du P. Ch. Frey de Neuville*, vol. i. Preface, p. xxvi. (Paris, 1777).

† *Histoire de la Papauté au 17me Siècle*, vol. iv.

‡ *Mémoires hist. du Card. Pacca*.

§ Créteineau-Joly, *Histoire*, vol. v. p. 341.

lar priests; but the fathers of the College of St. Omer, who, upon the destruction of the Society in France in 1762, had removed to Bruges, suffered grievously from the effects of the Brief. They had opened two colleges, one for elder and one for younger boys; these were forcibly seized by the Belgic-Austrian Government; some of the fathers were imprisoned for nearly a year, and all their precious records and papers carried off, and irretrievably lost to the Society.* Some time afterwards, however, a few of the fathers assembled at Liège, where they were joined by some of their former pupils; and under the protection of the Prince-Bishop they opened a college, which they directed as secular priests until the French Revolution compelled them to fly to England.

When the news of the Brief of suppression reached Portugal the captive Jesuits who filled the loathsome dungeons of Castle St. Julian were, by order of Pombal, brought out of their cells and assembled in front of the fortress to hear the Brief read aloud by one of their number; and immediately afterwards, the poor remnants of their religious habits were torn from them, and replaced by garments of many colours, while they were ordered to rejoice at an event which was being celebrated throughout the world by illuminations and festivities. Truly it must have seemed to the captives, when they returned to the underground cells, where they were buried away in filth and darkness, that their chalice was now filled to overflowing, and that no further insults could increase their anguish.†

After witnessing the results of the Brief in Europe, it remains for us to glance at its effects in more distant lands. In China the Jesuits still retained a footing at court, where they rendered valuable services to the emperor; and the very year of the suppression, four fathers, among whom were two mathematicians, one painter, and one physician, received orders from their Superiors to proceed to China. The French Government, in spite of its efforts to ruin the Society, welcomed opportuni-

* Some of these papers are now in the Public Record Office at Brussels.

† *History of the Suppression in the Portuguese Dominions*, by Rev. A. Weld, p. 365.

ties of sending its members to China as correspondents of the academies of science, and paid the expenses of their passage. In Paris the four fathers were informed by the Archbishop of the blow that threatened the Institute; but, obedient to their orders, they embarked, and had arrived safely when the Brief was announced to them by the Bishop of Macao. The Protestant writer, Christopher de Mürr,* gives a touching description of the perplexity of the Jesuits. On the one hand, the emperor imperatively demanded their presence, and had sent his own vessels to convey them to Peking; and on the other, they were forbidden by the Brief to enter China *as religious*; and they knew that it was a favourite saying among the enemies of the Society that its members went to China as mandarins rather than as missionaries. Dreading, moreover, the shadow of disobedience to the Holy See, they decided at the end of three days to return to Europe; and the Governor of Macao, irritated at their resolve, and fearing that the emperor would visit his wrath on all the Europeans, proposed to send them to Pombal. But the Chinese were more humane, and conveyed them to the island of Van Lie, where they met with some French captains, who agreed to take them to Europe. Having embarked in four different vessels, they bade adieu with many tears to the land where they had hoped to spend years of fruitful labour.

On account of the long and perilous journey, it was some time before the Brief was promulgated in China; but tidings of its approach reached the missionaries, and one of them, Father Bourgeois, writing to Father Duprez, another Jesuit, says: 'God will not be offended by my tears; He knows that they flow in spite of myself, and that my entire resignation cannot prevent them. Ah, if the world knew what we lose, and what religion loses, with the Society, it would itself share our sorrow! . . .' And after his signature, 'François Bourgeois, Jésuite,' came the words, 'Dear friend, this is the last time I am permitted to sign myself thus. The Brief is on its way; it will soon arrive.†

* *Journal*, vol. iv. p. 231. Créteineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 336. † *Ibid.* p. 338.

In another letter the same missionary relates that, although the fathers endeavoured to keep the events in Europe secret, for fear of scandal, their converts became aware of them, and while filled with sorrow they refrained, with rare delicacy, from alluding to a subject so painful. When the news of the Brief arrived in China, Father Hallerstein, president of the Imperial Society of Mathematics, and two other fathers died of grief; but on account of the favour shown to the Jesuits by the emperor, which was the only protection of the missions, it was not possible to recall the fathers, who were therefore left to pursue their labours as secular priests. Thus Father Amyot devoted himself to Tartar literature, Father d'Espinha to astronomy, Father de Rocha to mathematics; others evangelized the provinces; and Father Dollières propagated among the Chinese devotion to the Sacred Heart. It was of this last missionary that one of his brethren observed, what might be said with equal truth of all the members of the suppressed Society, that 'the Brief of 1773 inflicted on him a wound that never healed.*'

This state of things continued till 1783, when the Jesuit missions of China were intrusted to the Lazarists; but some former members of the Society still remained at Peking, and their attitude towards those who came to take their place was full of deference and humility. Father Bourgeois, writing to the celebrated orator Father Beauregard, describes the newcomers as full of merits. 'We live together like brothers,' he adds. 'God wishes to console us for the loss of our good mother, and we might be comforted if it were possible for a child of the Society ever to forget that holy and beloved mother. It is one of those griefs that nothing can efface, and that continually requires acts of resignation.†' Many years later, when the French Republican Government wished to conclude a commercial treaty with China, it was by the assistance of an old ex-Jesuit, Father Poisson, still living at Peking, that the negotiations were chiefly conducted.

* *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. xxvi. p. 487.

† Crétineau-Joly, *Histoire*, vol. v. p. 341.

In India, as in China, the Jesuits relinquished with silent submission those missions which, having been watered by the blood of so many martyrs of the Order, had become to them singularly dear and precious. When, in 1777, the Holy See sent other missionaries to replace them, the Superior in India was Father Monzac, an old man of eighty, who abdicated his post with the ready simplicity of a child, to the admiration of the new arrivals. Father Anthony Douarte, the last Provincial, was also a man of great holiness. On his deathbed, surrounded by his weeping converts, he promised them that one day, not far distant, the Society of Jesus would be restored, and would again send out missionaries to the Indian peninsula. Then, enclosing some papers in a tin box, he intrusted it to the Christians, with injunctions to deliver it to the future Provincial of the Jesuits in India, after which he peacefully breathed his last, 1788.*

Some of the missionaries who were sent to replace the Jesuits arrived full of prejudices against the Society; and M. Perrin, one of their number, confesses that their prejudices speedily vanished at the sight of men who 'united the highest degree of contemplation with the most active and busy life; men of perfect detachment, and of a mortification that would have startled the most fervent anchorites; . . . patient in trials, humble in spite of the consideration they enjoyed, burning with a zeal that was always wise and prudent, and that never wearied.†' Among the Jesuits of Madura, one only, Father Xavier d'Andrea, lived to see the restoration of the Society by Pius VII. On hearing of this happy event, he wrote to Rome and begged to be readmitted into the Order. His request was granted, and he died soon afterwards, having joyfully sung his 'Nunc dimittis.'

In the parts of the Indian peninsula that belonged to France—for instance, in Maïssour—the Jesuits were not expelled, but remained as secular priests, Cardinal de Bernis having represented that they were the only missionaries who

* *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses de la nouvelle Mission du Maduré*, par P. Bertrand, S.J. (1865).

† *Voyage dans l'Indoustan*, par Perrin, vol. ii. p. 173.

knew the language of the country. But by degrees they died out, and were replaced by priests of other congregations, who, however good and zealous, did not obtain the same success. In the parts of India belonging to Portugal the effects of the Bull were yet more deplorable. The fathers, as has been seen, were conveyed to Lisbon, where the greater number ended their days in the dungeons of Fort St. Julian, and the useful institutions they had founded were left to perish. Of these, the most important were perhaps their seminaries for the training of native secular priests. So successful were they in this work, that at one time there were, in the one diocese of Graganore, three hundred priests, whom they had formed to be models of virtue and zeal. After the suppression these seminaries were abandoned, and the native clergy sank into ignorance and vice.*

In Turkey, the French ambassador, St. Priest, petitioned his government that the Jesuits might remain on the mission as seculars, as they were the only religious who had zealously employed themselves in the conversion of the natives. In Africa, modern travellers have rendered testimonies no less striking to the success of their teaching, and to the evils entailed by their suppression. Thus Livingstone, when crossing an abandoned district, observed with surprise that the natives could read and write, and upon inquiry he discovered that this was 'the fruit of the labours of the Jesuits.' 'These devoted men are still held in high estimation,' he adds; 'all speak well of them.† In the district of Congo he found no fewer than twelve churches founded by them. In Canada likewise, Protestant writers tell us of the fidelity with which the teaching of the Jesuits is preserved by the Chippeway Indians, the Hurons, Abenakis and other tribes, some of whom were separated for more than fifty years from Catholic priests.‡ In California, in 1854, a Protestant traveller, after observing the remains of the once flourishing missions, which had been abandoned since the suppression, entered into conversation

* *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, par P. Bertrand, S.J.

† *Missionary Travels in South Africa*, by Marshall, vol. i. p. 604.

‡ Marshall, vol. ii. p. 311.

with an aged chief. When the Jesuits were mentioned the old man heaved a deep sigh, and said 'that his people were all happy when the good fathers were there to protect them;' now they were scattered 'without home or protectors, and were in a miserable starving condition.* It was the same in Brazil, where, according to a writer who cannot be accused of partiality, the immediate consequences of the suppression were injurious in every way. 'The process of civilization was stopped at once and for ever, and a rapid depopulation began, because free scope was now given to drunkenness and every other vice.† An English traveller confirms this statement of the misery caused by the banishment of the Jesuits: 'Centuries will not repair the evil done by their sudden expulsion. They have been the protectors of a persecuted race, the advocates of mercy, the founders of civilization, and their patience under their unmerited sufferings forms not the least honourable trait in their character;‡ and to this day the remembrance of the Jesuit missionaries is handed down from father to son with loving gratitude.

By a curious exception three former members of the Society, Fathers Padilla, Ferreira, and Mathos, were authorized by Pius VI. to return to Cayenne in 1777, at the request of the French Government, who represented that since the expulsion of the Jesuits the colony was falling back into a state of degradation. They were welcomed with enthusiasm by the poor savages, who knelt at their feet and covered their hands with tears and kisses.§

Throughout the South American continent, in Chili, and in Paraguay, the suppression of the Society began an era of decay and misery for the Christian missions, and though in after times new apostles were sent out and brave efforts were made to remedy the evil, a well-nigh irreparable blow had been dealt to the interests of Catholicism in heathen lands. No doubt

* John Russell Bartlett, *Experiences in Texas*. Marshall, vol. ii. p. 253.

† Southey, *History of Brasil*, vol. iii. Marshall, vol. ii. p. 160.

‡ *Journal of a Voyage to Brasil*, by Lady Calcott (1824). Ibid.

§ Crétineau-Joly, *Histoire*, vol. v. p. 356.

members of other religious orders devoted their lives to the extension of the faith. 'But if the children of St. Francis, St. Dominic, and St. Vincent have everywhere emulated the piety, zeal, and valour of the sons of St. Ignatius, it is to the latter that men have attributed in a special manner the success of a work in which they were engaged at the same hour from Labrador to Patagonia, and from the White Sea to the islands of the Indian Ocean.*'

* Marshall, vol. i. p. 94.

CHAPTER XVI.

*State of the Society at the Time of the Suppression.**

It has been asserted that at the time of its suppression the Company of Jesus did not possess members so gifted as in the earlier days of its existence. To this an able French writer replies by drawing a spirited picture of the position of the Order in the eighteenth century, and showing how, in spite of hourly persecution, with kings, statesmen, magistrates, and philosophers leagued against them, the Jesuits devoted themselves to the cause of learning with a success and energy that prove them to have lost none of their vital power. 'Under the weight of a sentence of death, hardly daring to count upon the morrow, how could they enjoy the calmness, the security, the prospect of long leisure, which are necessary for scientific researches and literary pursuits? . . . At the sight of the fetters forged for them by that impious century, and of the struggles in which it involved them; at the remembrance of the anguish that tortured their exile, we cannot understand how, before and after the suppression, the Jesuits can have sustained the attacks of their foes and the discouragement of their own hearts, and at the same time multiplied so many works on every scientific subject.'*

A brief mention of the most celebrated Jesuit theologians, historians, astronomers, and orators at the time of the suppression confirms the fact that the intellectual reputation of the Order was undimmed. In Italy, we find Clement XIV., at the very moment when he signed the Brief, requesting the Jesuit Father Lazeri, a famous linguist and theologian, to retain his post as Consultor of the Congregation of the Index, while he

* See l'Abbé Maynard, *Des Etudes et de l'Enseignement des Jésuites à l'Époque de leur Suppression* (Paris, 1853).

† Maynard, pp. 146-148.

maintained as his private theologian another equally eminent member of the Society, Father Angeri. Indeed this responsible post of private theologian to the Pope was filled by a succession of ex-Jesuits; after Father Angeri, Fathers Stoppini, Arevalo, Bolgeni, and others occupied it in turns. Father Muzzarelli was theologian to Pius VII., whom he accompanied when he was carried captive to France; and before Pius VII., Pius VI. had experienced the fidelity of a member of the extinct Society. It is related that two hours before his departure from Rome by order of the French Government, the Pope sent for Father Marotti, a former Jesuit, and asked him whether he felt equal to ascending Calvary by his side. Marotti replied that he was ready to follow the Vicar of Christ in life and death; and when the captive Pontiff breathed his last at Valence in 1799, it was his faithful Jesuit companion who received his last sigh and closed his eyes.

No less remarkable than the above were Father Faure, perhaps the first theologian of the century, and equally eminent as a philosopher, a controversialist, and a scriptural scholar (he was the adviser of Benedict XIV. and of Clement XIII., and after the suppression he was imprisoned by Clement XIV.; but Pius VI. restored him to liberty, and after his death the senate and people of Viterbo erected a statue in his honour); Father John Baptist Noghera, a theologian and philosopher; Father Zaccaria, the friend and counsellor of three Popes, and called by Cardinal Pacca an 'arsenal of erudition;' Father Nicolai, private theologian to the Emperor Francis I., and the author of voluminous dissertations on the Scriptures, and of controversial and historical works.

In Germany, as in Italy, the Society of Jesus numbered many eminent theologians, and in no country had they rendered more valuable service to the Church than in the land which for more than a century was the battle-field of religious controversy. In 1552, says Ranke,* the Jesuits had barely a footing in Germany; and in 1566 they occupied Bavaria, Tyrol, Hungary, Franconia, Suabia, the Rhine Provinces, Austria, Bohemia,

* *Histoire de la Papauté*, vol. iii. p. 39.

and Moravia. Father Theiner* speaks of the high degree of culture attained by the Catholic universities governed by the Jesuits, in particular by that of Ingolstadt; and it is a fact that although when Le Jay and Canisius were sent to Germany by St. Ignatius, theological learning there was at a lower ebb than in any country in Europe, yet at the time of the suppression, no country except Italy could boast of so large a number of theologians, biblical students, doctors of canon law, and controversialists, most of whom belonged to the Society. Time and space forbid to name them all, but among them may be mentioned Father Veith, whose scriptural knowledge won several congratulatory Briefs from Rome; Father Francis Xavier Zeck, the great canonist of Germany; Father Zallinger, professor of canon law at Dollingen; Father Stattler, well known for his *Ethica Christiana*, and for his vigorous refutation of the philosophy of Kant; and Father Säiler, who became Bishop of Ratisbon after the suppression. From 1786 to 1792 dissensions arose between the Papal Nuncios and the ecclesiastical Electors of Germany, and, according to Cardinal Pacca,† the ablest defenders of the Holy See were the former members of the Society of Jesus. Father Xavier de Feller, the eminent Belgian controversialist, likewise took part in all the religious discussions of the day, and few men have possessed gifts at once so varied and so remarkable; he was an historian, a philosopher, a geographer, a theologian, and, at the head of the Catholic party in Belgium, he endeavoured to neutralize the pernicious influence of Febronius, better known as Nicholas de Hontheim, whose writings against the Holy See created some sensation at the close of the eighteenth century.

Eminent as theologians, the members of the Society of Jesus were no less famous for their scientific attainments. In the eighteenth century mathematics and physical sciences were developed in a remarkable degree, and though the natural inclination of the Jesuits led them rather towards ascetical and theological knowledge, they wisely followed in a certain mea-

* *Institutions d'Education ecclésiastiques*, vol. i.

† *Mémoires hist.*, vol. i. p. 103.

sure the tendencies of the age, and endeavoured to give a Christian character to these more material branches of learning. It may even be said without exaggeration that the most distinguished astronomers and mathematicians of the time belonged to the Company of Jesus, and that it was to them that Europe owed the numerous observatories established in different countries. According to the French astronomer Lalande, and to Montoucla, in his *Histoires des Mathématiques*, there were in Europe about thirty astronomical observatories founded or directed by Jesuits.* The observatory of Prague continued to exist after the suppression, and was occupied during many years by Father Stappling, whose pupil, Father Windlingen, was tutor to the Prince of the Asturias at the time of the destruction of the Society in Spain. Father Walcher, also a German, became director of mathematical sciences and of navigation at Vienna; Father Keri brought the telescope to perfection, and thereby excited the admiration of the French astronomer Cassini, who thus wrote to him in 1761: 'You are the Mæcenas of science. You have raised monuments that are eternal, and I wish that, for the happiness of society, the welfare of religion, and the progress of science, you were eternal likewise.† Yet more celebrated were Father Pozcobut, a Lithuanian, the correspondent of all the mathematicians of the day, and the director of the observatory of Vilna, which became one of the richest in Europe; and Father Maximilian Hell, a Hungarian, who in 1755 was placed at the head of the observatory of Vienna. In 1768, at the request of Christian VII. of Denmark, he proceeded to Wardhus, in Lapland, to observe the transit of Venus; and, according to Lalande, this journey proved a complete success, and the observations made by the Jesuit were of great service to the cause of science. This testimony of the French astronomer is all the more valuable, as Father Hell's observations did not agree with those of Lalande. A controversy on the subject followed, at the end of which the Jesuit was proved to be right, and his rival generously recognized his superior merit. Father Roger Boscovich, born at Ragusa in 1711, is perhaps the

* Maynard, *Pièces justificatives*, i. ii.

† *Ibid.* p. 170.

most eminent Jesuit astronomer of the eighteenth century, and he greatly contributed towards making the system of Newton popular in France and Italy. At different times he was intrusted with scientific missions by the Courts of Rome and of Lucca; and the Royal Scientific Society of London, of which he was a member, selected him to proceed to California to observe the second transit of Venus. At the suppression of the Society, all the universities and learned academies claimed his presence; but a letter from Louis XVI. determined him to go to France, where he became Director of the Naval Observatory; the jealousy, however, of D'Alembert and Condorcet did not allow him to retain his post long, and he retired to Milan, where he died in 1787. In a somewhat similar sphere of learning may be mentioned Father Ximenes, mathematician to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who was looked upon as an oracle by the scientific academies of Siena, Bologna, and St. Petersburg; he established a new system of bridges throughout the Roman and Tuscan States, and superintended the construction of many roads and aqueducts. The same services were rendered to the town of Terni by Father Cabral, who, by a new system of embankment, saved the country from the inundations of the Tiber; and to Venice by Father Riccati, in whose honour the Republic struck a gold medal. In Portugal, we find Father Szentmartonyi, a Hungarian by birth, who, in 1750, was sent to determine the limits of the Portuguese and Spanish possessions in South America, by order of the King of Portugal. During ten years he laboured zealously in the fulfilment of his task; and when, having completed it, he returned to Portugal, he was thrown into prison, and only released at the death of Pombal.

To this brief enumeration must be added the names of the Jesuit astronomers and mathematicians in China, the worthy successors of Fathers Verbiest and Schall, one of whom, Father Benoit, was for many years Superior of the residence at Pekin, where it was said of him that 'he carried all the missionaries in his heart,' so tenderly did he watch over their welfare.* It was he who instructed the Emperor Kiang-Long in the use of

* *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vol. xxiv. p. 396.

the telescope, and with which the sovereign was so delighted that he commissioned two of his attendants to carry the instrument after him wherever he went. He also taught the art of engraving to the Chinese, drew out maps, translated Chinese books, and even constructed waterworks and fountains in the palace gardens. Brother Pansi, a skilful painter, was charged by Kiang-Long to take his portrait, and during the sitting the emperor would ply Father Benoit with questions respecting the manners, customs, and religion of Europe, the rule of life of the Jesuits, their exercises of piety, and their different duties. Kiang-Long had a childish fancy for automata, and to gratify it Brother Thébaut constructed a lion and a tiger that walked alone, and Father de Venlavon two wooden men carrying a vase of flowers, who could also move a few steps. The fathers condescended to these seemingly puerile employments for the sake of retaining the good-will of the despot, on whose caprices depended the existence of the missions.

As historians, antiquarians, and poets must be named Father Eckel, who devoted himself to the study of medals, and whose book on the subject gives him in this science the place held by Linnæus for botany; Father Farlati, the author of a work on the antiquities of Illyria; Father Kapréani, who wrote the *Annals of Hungary*, by order of Joseph II.; Father Crolanza, in whose honour the inhabitants of Soleure raised a statue in 1799; Father Parhamer, the confessor of Francis I., and to whom Joseph II. vainly offered a bishopric; Father Denis, the friend of Klopstock and Schiller, and surnamed himself the Bard of the Danube; Father Tiraboschi, whose *History of Italian Literature* is a work of considerable importance; and Father Berthier, who at the time of the destruction of the Society in France was tutor to the sons of the Dauphin. On account of his gentle disposition and eminent talents he was much beloved by the Dauphin and his consort, both of whom vainly remonstrated against his removal from Versailles. Father Berthier then assumed the direction of the *Journal de Trévoux*, in which he proved himself a formidable opponent of the freethinking philosophers. Among his countrymen may be

mentioned Father Barruel, who revealed the dark manœuvres of the secret societies ; Father Bérault-Belcastel ; and the historian, Father Brontier, whose edition of Tacitus excited the admiration of learned Europe.

Among the orators of the Society at the time of its destruction are Father Calataynd, the famous Spanish preacher ; and Father Borgo, an Italian, chiefly known by his panegyric of St. Ignatius, delivered at Reggio eight years after the suppression. In touching and eloquent language, suited to the emotional southern people whom he addressed, he described the destroyed Order under the allegory of a virgin about to be sacrificed. 'I think I see the glorious daughter of St. Ignatius, when the august Pontiff required the sacrifice of her life for the sake of peace ; as fair perhaps, but scarcely as generous, was the virgin daughter of Jephthe ascending the altar of sacrifice. The daughter of Ignatius, when she heard what was to be the price of her death, refused to live ; her noble brow brightened, her eyes shone with an unwonted lustre of obedience and zeal, communicated to her by Ignatius himself. At the feet of Clement she reverently bent her knee, as calm as when a hundred times before at the foot of the same throne she had received the laurels of victory. "It was from thee," she said, "father of Christians, that I received my life, and for thee I joyfully lay it down." With these words she took off the dazzling helmet, crowned by so many saints and martyrs with rays of immortal glory ; she unclasped the impenetrable breastplate which had guarded Rome and the faith from so many blows ; and, laying down these trophies at the feet of Clement, "Confide these weapons," she said, "to another, happier, but not more faithful, than I." Then drawing from her finger the ring, pledge of her union with Christ, "As for this ring," she said, "let it belong to no other, but let it remain in thy hands in remembrance of this day." Lastly, she unbuckled her sword. "Here," she said, "O Pontiff, is the instrument of a peace which victories alone have hitherto secured to thy throne ; but in this hour, as peace is to be bought by my death, sacrifice me with this same sword. I recommend

to thy care those whom I supported, and who, alas, will now be orphans, and the most abandoned of thy people. Think of the youths who are trained to learning, and on whom rest the hopes of thy reign. Remember the churches of Paraguay, the most innocent and beloved portion of thy flock." Then bowing down she bent her head to receive the fatal blow. The paternal hand of Clement trembled, but the heart of the sovereign was as firm as that of Jephthe's sacrificing his daughter. O death more glorious than a thousand lives! Father Nicholas Beauregard, Father Borgo's contemporary, is one of the greatest of French preachers; after the suppression of the Society he continued to give missions throughout the kingdom, and his stirring and somewhat rugged eloquence echoed like a prophetic sound of coming evil during the years that preceded the Reign of Terror. On one occasion, when preaching at Notre Dame, in Paris, for the jubilee of 1775, he exclaimed: 'Yes, it is against the king and against religion that the philosophers wage war; the sword and the hammer are in their hands; they only await a favourable opportunity for overthrowing the altar and the throne! Yes, Lord, Thy temples will be stripped and destroyed, Thy feasts abolished, Thy name blasphemed; the honours paid to Thee shall be forbidden!' And then with terrible clearness he went on to describe in all their details the profanations which, eighteen years later, took place in that very church. Another time, preaching before the ill-fated king, he suddenly stopped, and after a long silence he exclaimed in a voice of thunder: 'France, France, France, thine hour is come; thou shalt be overthrown and confounded!' The fearless energy of Father Beauregard was seconded by the efforts of other members of the extinct Society. During the jubilee of 1775, out of twenty priests who preached in Paris, sixteen were ex-Jesuits, and at the sight of their successful efforts one of the infidel philosophers regretfully exclaimed: 'Here is the revolution put off for twenty-five years!'

In the interval between his missions Father Beauregard used to retire to Pont-à-Mousson, where he devoted his time

* Crétineau-Joly, *Histoire*, vol. v. p. 358.

to consoling the poor and sick; and when the Revolution, which he had foretold, at length broke out he went first to England, where he gave retreats to the exiled French priests, and then to Belgium and Germany, where he preached with great success. In 1800, to his great joy, he was affiliated to the Russian Jesuits; and the letter which, upon this occasion, he wrote to Father Gruber, their Superior, proves the tender filial love which, throughout the vicissitudes of his long career, he retained for the Society, whose destruction had been the great sorrow of his life. He died four years later at the age of seventy-three.

Curious to relate, in the early days of the Revolution, before the National Assembly had broken down all barriers of order and justice, a reaction in favour of the Jesuits took place where it might have been least expected. On February 19th, 1790, the constitutional priest Grégoire exclaimed in the midst of the assembly: 'Among the innumerable offences of the late government that weighed so heavily on France must be mentioned the injustice committed towards a celebrated Order, the Jesuits; they are entitled to a share in your measures of justice.*' Other speakers seconded the motion, and by an almost unanimous vote the assembly declared that the Jesuits were innocent of the charges that had served as a pretext for their destruction.

But, as may be imagined, this reaction was short-lived; and during the following year, 1791, among the priests massacred in the Paris prisons on the 1st and 2d of September were nineteen ex-Jesuits, one of whom was Father Lanfant, who had been among the king's favourite preachers. About the same time Father Nolhac, the former Superior of the Jesuit novitiate of Toulouse, was put to death at Avignon by the satellites of Jourdan Coupe-tête. After the suppression he had become parish priest in one of the most destitute quarters of the town, where his charity obtained for him the name of 'father of the poor.' At the outbreak of the Revolution he declined to abandon his flock to seek a place of safety, and up to the very

* Ibid. p. 360.

moment of his death, even when covered with wounds, he continued to bless and encourage his fellow-sufferers. His remains were thrown into a common grave; but a search was made for them, and the martyr's bloody cassock was distributed among the people, who venerated him as a saint. Throughout the provinces, at Lyons, Orleans, Poitiers, Orange, and other towns, the ex-Jesuits ascended the steps to the guillotine, while others expiated the crime of their priesthood in the galleys of Rochefort, where they died by inches of hardship and misery. A few of their number, concealed in the cities, devoted themselves, in spite of hourly peril of death, to strengthen and console their countrymen; and some, like the ascetic writer Father Grou, laboured among the *émigrés* of England or Germany.

The merits of the Jesuits as professors may be estimated by the evils that followed the destruction of their colleges. In Switzerland, as has been stated, they were obliged by the inhabitants to retain, as secular priests, the direction of the Colleges of Fribourg and Soleure; in Germany, those of Mannheim, Munich, Augsburg, Ratisbon, Buda, and Vienna; in Italy, twelve seminaries were intrusted to their care, and everywhere their suppression was considered an irreparable injury to the education of youth. Frederick II. himself writes thus to D'Alembert: 'In time you will experience in France the effects of the destruction of this famous Society; and during the first years especially, the education of youth will suffer.* M. Emond, a member of the university, and therefore belonging to a rival party, owns that, with the Jesuits' expulsion, zeal, ardour, and emulation departed from the Collège Louis le Grand.† Lalande, the astronomer, thus alluded to their suppression: 'Carvalho and Choiseul have irretrievably destroyed the finest work of man, unrivalled by any human institution. . . . The human race has lost that wonderful and invaluable assembly of twenty thousand men, disinterestedly and unceasingly occupied with functions most important and most useful to humanity.‡ And

* *Œuvres philosophiques de D'Alembert*, vol. xviii. Créteineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 369.

† *Hist. du Collège Louis le Grand*, cited by Maynard.

‡ *Bulletin de l'Europe*.

a French nobleman, in the early part of the present century, remarks: 'I have always observed a striking difference, as regards education, between the persons taught in the colleges of the Jesuits and those of the next generation. All those who had studied under the Jesuits knew Latin, and could not, therefore, be absolutely ignorant; whereas since then, out of ten men whom you met at court there was hardly one who could understand Virgil. . . . You may judge of the blank created in the kingdom by the suppression of the Society of Jesus: the education of the young nobility, which had been almost exclusively intrusted to its members, was then confided either to seculars, most of whom had neither learning nor good morals, and were imbued with the philosophical maxims of the day; or to lay-schoolmasters, who were only vile speculators, more occupied with their own interests than with the progress of their pupils. Let it not be imagined that it was only in France that the destruction of the Jesuits caused an irreparable injury to education; it was the same all over Europe.'*

Although the Society of Jesus had been suppressed by the Holy See, yet hardly was the barrier removed that prevented its members from aspiring to ecclesiastical dignities than the Church herself hastened to invest them with functions most important and responsible. In the space of twenty-five years, from 1775 to 1800, a number of bishoprics were offered to ex-Jesuits. Many were refused by the fathers, who clung to the hope of seeing the Society restored; but others were accepted as offering a wider scope for usefulness, and the sees of Baltimore, Macerata, Spire, Smolensk, Vienna, Pignerol, Verona, Siena, Cortona, Neustadt, Forli, Ratisbon, Autun, were, among others, occupied by former members of the Company of Jesus.†

Functions very different were intrusted to some French Jesuits at the beginning of the Revolution, when Fathers Defau, De Rozaven, Allain, and San Estevan (a former missionary in Madura) were sent as deputies to the assembly of the *Etats Généraux*.

* *Souvenirs et Portraits du Duc de Lévis* (1813).

† Créteineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 366.

Throughout these vicissitudes the scattered Jesuits retained as a sacred heritage the traditions of self-sacrifice bequeathed to them by their predecessors. When, in 1800, a violent pestilence broke out in Andalusia some former members of the Society ventured to return to Spain, and before long twenty-seven among them had died martyrs of charity. Although they no longer bore their once glorious name, the sons of St. Ignatius were easily recognized. 'If,' says Chateaubriand, 'you happened to meet an aged priest, full of learning, intelligence, and affability, having the stamp of good society and the manners of an educated man, you naturally felt that this aged priest must be a Jesuit.'*

* *Mélanges.*

CHAPTER XVII.

The Jesuits are maintained in Russia and in Prussia.

It has been seen how in France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Austria the Society of Jesus was destroyed ; and a strange sight presents itself when, on turning from these Catholic countries to Protestant Prussia and schismatical Russia, we find infidel sovereigns stretching a guardian hand over the proscribed Institute, and steadily refusing to allow its extinction.

Frederick II., who succeeded to the throne of Prussia in 1740, was famous as a successful politician and military leader. As has been mentioned, he was the constant correspondent of Voltaire and D'Alembert, whose flatteries he graciously accepted and whose impiety he shared ; but, with all his profession of infidelity, he was too keen a statesman to sacrifice to religious animosities men who were valuable instruments to his political designs. In the territory of Silesia, recently annexed to Prussia, the authority of the house of Brandenburg was as yet imperfectly established, and as the Jesuits were much beloved and respected in the province, their banishment would necessarily have produced feelings of discontent injurious to the influence of Prussia. When, therefore, the Brief of suppression appeared, Frederick forbade its publication within his dominions, and informed the Pope of his intention to maintain the Jesuits.

This declaration produced an extraordinary effect. Clement XIV. could not exact obedience from a monarch outside the pale of the Church ; and to the French freethinkers, who hastened to remonstrate with their royal ally, Frederick replied with a curious mixture of good sense and raillery. D'Alembert having tried to excite his fears by reminding him of the murderous designs so often attributed to the *gardes prétoriennees Jésuitiques*, the king wrote in answer : ' I see in them only men

of letters, whom it would be very difficult to replace for the education of youth. It is this important object that makes them necessary to me, for they alone, among the Catholic clergy of this country, devote themselves to literature.' And again: 'They have not made use of daggers in the provinces where I protect them; they are content with teaching humanities in their colleges. Is this a reason for persecuting them? Am I to be reproached for not having exterminated a Society of literary men, because (supposing the fact to be true) some individuals belonging to that Society have committed crimes two hundred leagues away from my country?'

Clement XIV., however, finding it useless to address representations to the king, ordered the Bishops of Prussia to prevent the Jesuits from teaching or exercising any priestly ministry; but, sheltering themselves behind their sovereign's decision, the Bishops declined to interfere, and one of them, the Bishop of Culm, even requested the Jesuits to take the direction of his seminary.

The fathers themselves were unwilling to accept the protection thus extended to them by the king, and persisted in their desire to submit themselves unreservedly to the Brief '*Dominus ac Redemptor noster*;' but on the accession of Pius VI. their scruples were removed, as the new Pope, although prevented by political reasons from openly manifesting his sympathy for the Jesuits, tacitly consented to the course pursued by Frederick. In a letter dated September 27th, 1775, and addressed to the Rector of the College of Breslau, the king informed the fathers that the Pope left him perfect liberty to take all the measures he considered fitting for the maintenance of the Society in Prussia, and that they might therefore, without fear of disobedience, live in community and direct their colleges.† Some complaints on the subject were made by the King of Spain, but the Prussian monarch was too powerful to heed them.

On the death of Frederick II. in 1786 the Jesuits were de-

* *Œuvres philosophiques de D'Alembert*: 'Correspondance,' vol. xviii. Créteineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 390.

† Créteineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 391.

prived of the revenues allotted to them by the late king, and were forbidden to receive novices. In consequence, they were obliged by degrees to close their college and to disperse. Some became secular priests; while others proceeded to Russia, where their Order had likewise been maintained, but in a more solid and permanent manner.

Like Frederick of Prussia, the Empress Catherine II. was an infidel, but, like him too, she possessed remarkable powers of government; and, apart from her appreciation of the value of the Jesuits as an Order, she was anxious to use them as a means of conciliating the disaffected provinces recently annexed to her dominions. In 1772 she had taken possession of the Polish provinces situated between the Dwina and the Dnieper, and known as White Russia; and, in spite of their reluctance to lose their nationality, the inhabitants consented to swear fidelity to the empress, who, on her part, promised to maintain their religious houses and colleges, and to leave them full liberty to practise the Catholic faith. When, therefore, the Brief of suppression was issued, Catherine declared that she was bound by the promise made to her new subjects not to allow the colleges and missions of the Jesuits in White Russia to be destroyed, and that their existence appeared to her necessary for the tranquillity of the conquered provinces, where the Society enjoyed great influence. The fathers, however, declined to accept existence at the cost of obedience, and, in the name of his brethren, the Rector of the College of Polotsk wrote to the empress, and, while expressing deep gratitude for her good intentions, begged permission to obey the Brief of suppression. To this strange letter, in which the Jesuits earnestly petitioned for their own destruction, the empress replied that they were bound to obey her in all things not relating to matters of faith; but in order to dispel their scruples, she wrote to Rome, and obtained from Clement XIV. a decree, dated June 7th, 1774, authorizing the Jesuits of White Russia to remain *in statu quo* till further orders.*

The position of the fathers thus became perfectly regular

* Ibid. vol. v. p. 395.

and lawful ; but as they were still forbidden to receive novices, their missions were gradually falling into decay for want of a sufficient number of labourers, and at no very distant period their entire extinction appeared unavoidable. They therefore demanded from the Holy See and from the empress permission to open a novitiate. Catherine readily consented, and endeavoured to persuade Pius VI. to do the same ; but at that moment the new Pope was closely pressed by Florida Blanca, who, in the name of his sovereign, demanded the suppression of the Jesuits in White Russia ; and the only reply given to the petition of the fathers was a decree, dated April 15th, 1778, by which Stanislas Siestrzencewicz, Bishop of Mohilow, who already exercised jurisdiction over all the Catholics in Russia, was invested with unlimited power over the Society of Jesus. In appearance there was in this act nothing favourable to the Order, but, as Cardinal Castelli observed when he signed it, 'though this decree seems directed against the Company of Jesus, it may be the means of saving it.*' The Holy See, hampered by the Brief of Clement XIV., and continually pressed by the remonstrances of Spain, thus transferred all responsibility to a prelate, who, it was known, would interpret its intentions in their true sense, and who, unfettered by foreign influence, and supported by the empress, was able to give the Society every facility for its development. Events proved the prudence of this expedient ; the Bishop of Mohilow used his unlimited powers in favour of the Jesuits, and in June 1779 he gave them leave to establish a novitiate. Although some prelates, imbued with traditions of hostility towards the Society, murmured at the concession, the Pope remained silent, and thereby tacitly acquiesced in what he was prevented from openly approving. A few years later, when Joseph II. visited Russia, he inquired from the Bishop of Mohilow how it happened that the Society of Jesus, suppressed throughout Europe, still flourished in Russia ; and he received the following laconic but expressive reply : 'Populo indigente, imperatrice jubente, Roma tacente.†'

* Ibid. vol. v. p. 397.

† *Hist. of the Suppression of the Jesuits in Poland and their Main-*

On February 2d, 1780, the habit of the Society was given to a few novices; and great must have been the joy of the Russian Jesuits at this happy presage of the restoration of their Order. Three months afterwards the Empress Catherine, on her way to meet Joseph II., stopped at Polotsk, and visited the Jesuit College, where she was received as the benefactress of the Society, and at her request the newly-admitted novices were presented to her. With all her faults, her scepticism, and her strange caprices, the empress had great political foresight, a strong instinct of authority, and a clear sense of justice, which made her keenly alive to the Jesuits' merits as professors, and to their useful influence over her newly-conquered Catholic subjects.

A few years later, Potemkin, Catherine's favourite general, who had constantly shown himself a friend of the Society, represented to his sovereign that it was necessary, for the regular organization of the Order in Russia, that the fathers should have a general Superior, elected by themselves; and accordingly the empress authorized them to choose a Vicar-General. But this measure was regarded as an affront by the Bishop of Mohilow, as it seemed to withdraw the Jesuits from his jurisdiction, which he had always exercised in their favour, and, although a sincere friend to the Society, he raised some difficulties in the way of the election, and the affair was carried to Rome, in 1783, by a former member of the Order named Benislowski, a man of prudent and conciliating character. He was the bearer of an autograph letter from Catherine II. to the Pope, in which she thus summed up her motives for protecting the Jesuits: 'The motives for which I protect the Jesuits are founded on justice and reason, and also on the hope that they will be of use in my dominions. This Society of peaceful and innocent men continues to remain in my empire because, among all the Catholic bodies, they are the best fitted to instruct my subjects, and to inspire them with sentiments of humanity and with the true principles of Christianity. I am

tenance in White Russia, written in Polish by a Member of the S.J. (1875).

resolved to support these priests against any power whatsoever, and in doing so I only fulfil my duty ; for I am their sovereign, and I regard them as faithful, innocent, and useful subjects.*

The position of Pius VI. was extremely difficult. The hatred of Charles III. of Spain had not relented, and he jealously watched every movement of the Pope regarding the Jesuits. At Rome itself there were a certain number of prelates who inherited the spirit of Ganganelli ; to give the Russian Jesuits a Brief, authorizing them to elect a Superior-General, would have been, in the eyes of their enemies, equivalent to restoring the Society, and such a step at that moment must have raised a storm, the consequences of which were fraught with peril. A verbal approbation from the lips of the Pope would have the same value as a written permission in the eyes of the Jesuits themselves, and was sufficient to place them in a regular position, and to dispel their scruples, without exciting the notice of Spain and other hostile powers. This was therefore the course adopted by Pius VI. In presence of Benislawski he pronounced these words, 'Approbo Societatem Jesu in Albâ Russiâ degen-tem, approbo, approbo.† And although this verbal sanction had not in the eyes of the world the weight of a solemn Brief, it placed the fathers above any accusation of disobedience, and before long many former members of the Society came from different countries to join their brethren in Russia.

The first Vicar-General of the restored Society was Father Czerniewicz ; but he survived his election only a short time, and was succeeded in 1785 by Father Lenkiewicz, who steadily reorganized and developed the small portion of the Order so miraculously saved from the general destruction. In this remote corner of Europe the Jesuits pursued the labours that had rendered their name famous, and they worked successfully to educate and civilize the population among whom they lived. A few years passed by, during which Charles III. descended to the grave, carrying with him the secret of his deadly hatred to the Society ; and shortly afterwards, in 1793, Ferdinand Duke of Parma, who when almost a boy had sanctioned the destruc-

* Créteineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 408.

† Ibid. vol. v. p. 409.

tion of the Jesuits, expressed to Father Lenkiewicz his desire to reëstablish them in his dominions. The rapid decay of education in the duchy alarmed him, and perhaps too the scenes of bloodshed that were daily taking place in France made him realize the necessity of training youth in the fear of God and the respect of authority. He therefore offered his dominions as the cradle from which, as he expressed it, the Society might enter upon a new era of prosperity; and several former members of the Order having assembled at Parma, he requested that they should be affiliated to the Jesuits of Russia. The Pope, who at that time was struggling with the tide of revolution that had burst over the whole of Europe, could not as yet give a public approbation, but he remained passive in the matter, and tacitly allowed five houses of the Society to be established in the duchy of Parma.*

In 1798 the Empress Catherine died, but her son and successor Paul promised the fathers that they should continue to enjoy the liberty granted to them under the previous reign. Two years later the Vicar-General, Father Lenkiewicz, was succeeded by Father Xavier Karen, who was ably seconded in the cares of government by Father Gabriel Gruber, an Austrian by birth, and a man of varied acquirements and winning manners. He was at once a physician, an architect, a painter, a musician, and he gained an extraordinary influence over the emperor, who, in spite of his capricious and violent character, showed himself the friend of the Jesuits. When in 1800 Cardinal Barnabas Chiaramonti ascended the Pontifical throne under the name of Pius VII., the emperor seized the opportunity to demand the formal restoration of the Society of Jesus throughout the world; but though the new Pope was favourably disposed towards the Order, the political crisis through which Europe was then passing obliged him to act with extreme caution; he therefore was satisfied with publishing a decree, dated March 7, 1801, by which he publicly reëstablished the Society in Russia, thus confirming the tacit approbation given by his predecessor. A few days after this import-

* Ibid. vol. v. p. 412.

ant step, to which he had chiefly contributed, Paul I. perished, the victim of a political conspiracy.

The Brief of Pius VII. was regarded by Charles IV. of Spain as an outrage on the memory of his father; he hastened to revoke the permission he had given some time before, allowing the former members of the Order to return to Spain, and it was in vain that the inhabitants of Cadiz in particular implored to be permitted to retain the fathers, whose devotion during the plague had earned their lasting gratitude. Throughout Europe, however, there reigned a daily increasing feeling of sympathy for the once glorious Society of Jesus. The political world was passing through terrible convulsions; the thrones of the Bourbon kings, who had destroyed the Jesuits, were tottering before the ascending star of Bonaparte; and in the midst of the confusion of that troubled period the general restoration of the Society was the dream of many holy souls, whom Providence was gradually drawing together for this great work. Among the members of the clergy whom the Revolution drove from France was a young priest, named Leonor de Tournely. His mother was surnamed 'the saint' at Laval, where she lived, and she was often heard to say that her son Leonor would be the 'precursor of the Society of Jesus.' On leaving his native land Tournely sought a refuge in Germany, where, together with a few companions, he founded a little company of priests, who took the name of Fathers of the Sacred Heart, and who followed as nearly as possible the rule of St. Ignatius, in the hopes of being one day able to reëstablish the Society.

The character of Tournely appears to have been one of singular beauty; his angelic gentleness was only equalled by his fervour, and, says a modern French writer, 'God has seldom been loved on earth more than by this priest.*' On account of the war between Germany and France, he was obliged to remove his little colony from one town to another; and in the course of these wanderings he gained many new recruits, most of whom were men who, after passing through the revolutionary tempest, entered the Society of the Sacred Heart as a haven of

* Abbé Baunard, *Hist. de Madame Barat*, vol. i.

supernatural peace. His first companions had been his own brother Xavier, Charles de Broglie, a pupil of St. Sulpice, and Charles Leblanc, a former soldier in the army of Condé. In 1794 they were joined by Joseph Varin, who before the Revolution had begun his studies for the priesthood; he afterwards served in the ranks of the *émigrés*, where, however, he was constantly pursued by a secret longing to return to his former life; and at length he joined Tournely at Leutershofen, little thinking that the very next day his pious mother was to die on the scaffold in France, with a last prayer on her lips for her son's religious vocation.*

Three years later, on July 9, 1797, Tournely died at Hagenbrunn, near Vienna, at the age of thirty, after appointing Father Varin to succeed him as Superior of his little congregation, to which several new members of remarkable merit had lately been added. Among them was Father Jean de Rozaven, a Breton by birth, who at the outbreak of the Revolution had left his native city of Quimper, with his uncle, an ex-Jesuit, and for some years had wandered about Germany and England until he met the priests of the Sacred Heart at Paderborn. In future times he was destined to occupy a conspicuous place in the restored Society of Jesus; 'for of all the companions of Father Varin,' writes one of his brethren, 'none shed a brighter light in the Christian world than the learned and illustrious Father Jean de Rozaven.†

The great desire of Father Varin and his companions was to obtain the blessing of the Pope on their undertaking; but the wars of Napoleon were spreading terror and confusion throughout Europe, the Holy Father was a prisoner, and all access to him was rendered impossible. About the same period, however, another society, having also for its object the reëstablishment of the Company of Jesus, was founded in Rome by Nicholas Paccanari, a man whose education had been incomplete, but who was zealous, talented, and

* P. Achille Guidée, S.J., *Vie du P. Varin.*

† P. Guidée, S.J., *Notices sur quelques Membres de la Société des Pères du Sacré Cœur et de la Compagnie de Jésus.*

active almost to restlessness. He assembled a few priests, to whom he gave the name of Fathers of the Faith of Jesus, and having visited Pius VI. during his captivity, he obtained his sanction to pursue his work. In 1799, Paccanari heard of the Congregation established by Tournely, and he then proposed to Father Varin that their two societies, having the same object in view, should be united under the same Superior. To this, after some hesitation, Father Varin agreed, on condition that as soon as it were possible they should be incorporated into the Society of Jesus; and the members of both Associations became known as 'Pères de la Foi,' Paccanari being their Superior.

However, when, in 1801, Pius VII. formally constituted the Society in Russia, many of the fathers observed with surprise that Paccanari took no steps towards joining the Russian Jesuits; and in 1804, Father de Rozaven, who had been sent with Charles de Broglie to found a Catholic school at Kensington, wrote to Father Gruber, expressing his desire and that of some of his companions to be admitted into the Society. They were told in reply to present themselves to Father Strickland, a former member of the English Province, in order that he might judge of their vocation; after which Father de Rozaven and several others proceeded to Russia, where they were received by Father Gruber. This step aroused Father Varin's suspicions regarding the sincerity of Paccanari's desire to join the Society, and upon the advice of the Pope he and the French members of the congregation separated from their Superior, whose independent and turbulent character was causing some trouble at Rome. Their intention was at once to join the Russian Jesuits; but Pius VII. desired them to remain for the present in their own country, where their services were greatly needed, and to wait for the restoration of the Society of Jesus throughout the world, an event that the Holy Father had resolved should take place, as soon as circumstances made it possible. The French fathers therefore devoted their energies to the welfare of their unhappy country, which was just emerging from the ordeal of the Reign of Terror, and to their unwearied

efforts is due the revival of faith that marked the early years of this century. In spite of occasional opposition on the part of the imperial government, they founded colleges at Montdidier, Roulers, Argentière, Marvéjols, Amiens, Belley, and other towns; and at the last mentioned was educated the celebrated poet Lamartine, who, in his *Confidences*, affectionately recalls the kindness and devotion of his old masters. Some of the fathers gave retreats and missions throughout the country, and among these the most celebrated were Father Sellier, whose grave at St. Acheul is still held in veneration, and Father Lelen, the apostle of Brittany, through whose intercession many miracles have been obtained.

While the 'Pères de la Foi' were thus preparing the way for the return of the Society of Jesus in France, the Russian Jesuits continued to flourish under the able government of Father Gruber. When the French armies, under Napoleon, invaded Russia, the sick and wounded soldiers were tenderly cared for by the Jesuits, twelve of whom perished martyrs to their charity. Jesuit missions were founded on the banks of the Volga, at Astrakan, at Saratof, and in distant parts of the empire, where the Emperor Alexander, successor of Paul I., commissioned the fathers to train his subjects to religion and civilization,* and at St. Petersburg itself a magnificent Jesuit college was erected for the sons of the nobility. The prefect of studies was Father de Rozaven, who converted to the true faith many persons of illustrious birth; and scarcely less eminent was Father Richardot, who used to preach in Polish in the Jesuit church at St. Petersburg, where on alternate days sermons were delivered in German, Italian, and Polish. Father Richardot had devoted many years of his life to the composition of an extensive work on the history of Poland, and its publication was eagerly expected by the world of literature and learning. One day, when it was just completed, a little boy, whom the father had left in his room at the college, unconsciously destroyed the whole precious manuscript in order to keep up the fire. On returning to his room, Father Richardot

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 424.

inquired what were the bits of burnt paper which he perceived; and when the child informed him of what he had done his countenance changed, and he exclaimed, 'Unhappy child, that work cost me fifteen years of labour!' But speedily recovering himself, he said, 'Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit!' and from that moment he never alluded again to his lost work.*

In March 1805 the Jesuits of Russia lost their Superior, Father Gruber; and on the 2d of September following, Father Thaddeus Brzozoroski, a Pole by birth, was elected Vicar-General of the Society. While these events were passing in the north of Europe, Ferdinand IV. of Naples, who, when very young, had been persuaded to lend his aid in destroying the Society of Jesus, became alarmed, like the Duke of Parma, at the evils that followed the suppression of the Jesuits in his dominions; and in 1804 he requested that some of the Russian fathers might be sent to Naples. Pius VII. authorized the Jesuits to accept, and allowed them, moreover, to admit into the Order all the former members who were dispersed throughout the Neapolitan territory. It may be imagined how gladly the ex-Jesuits availed themselves of this permission. Those who had been raised to bishoprics entreated to be allowed to renounce their dignities. But one only, Avogadro, Bishop of Verona, obtained leave to do so; and Father Joseph Pignatelli, whose invincible fidelity to the Society may be remembered, was appointed Superior of the newly-restored Province of Naples. In 1806, however, when the royal family of Bourbon had to fly, and Joseph Bonaparte became King of Naples, the Jesuits were once more expelled, and sought a refuge in the Roman States, where Father Pignatelli died in 1811.

But during this time an important resolution was being matured in the mind of the Holy Father. The Society was, it is true, reëstablished in certain countries; but it was not until it was solemnly restored throughout the world that the Jesuits could freely employ all their energies in the cause of religion; and in presence of the rapid invasion of the revolutionary spirit, with the remembrance of past and the pre-

* *Notices historiques*, par P. Guidée, S.J.

vision of future perils, Pius VII. felt that the Church sorely needed the services of her faithful soldiers. He decided, therefore, to restore the Order of Jesus throughout the Christian world; and in a succeeding chapter it will be seen how the Bull 'Sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum' repaired the evil effects of the Brief 'Dominus ac Redemptor noster.'

CHAPTER XVIII.

RESTORATION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

Father Thaddeus Brzozowski, 1814-1820; Father Aloysius Fortis, 1820-1829: Nineteenth and Twentieth Generals of the Society.

CARDINAL PACCA relates in his *Memoirs*, that when, on the 17th August 1773, the Brief 'Dominus ac Redemptor' was published in Rome, surprise and sorrow were depicted on every countenance; for, in spite of the hatred and injustice that had brought about its destruction, the Order of Jesus carried with it to the grave the heartfelt grief of all truly Catholic souls throughout the world. Very different was the aspect of the Eternal City on the 7th August 1814, when, at the voice of Pius VII., the Society rose from the tomb, and took its place once more among the defenders of the Church. Rome, says the writer just quoted, only echoed cries of joy and applause. The people accompanied the Pope on his way to and from the Gesù, where the Bull was read; and his progress through the streets was a triumphal procession. The terms of the Bull itself offer a striking proof of the general feeling of admiration entertained throughout the Church for the once famous Order, the suppression of which had left so wide a gap in the religious world. The Pope expresses himself thus: 'The Catholic world unanimously demands the reëstablishment of the Society of Jesus. We daily receive most earnest petitions to this effect from our venerable brethren the Archbishops and Bishops, and from other eminent persons. . . . We should deem ourselves guilty of great negligence before God if, in presence of the perils that threaten Christendom, we neglected the assistance given to us by God's special providence; and if, placed at the helm of the bark of Peter, tossed by continual tempests, we refused to employ vigorous and experienced seamen to master

the waves that threaten every instant to cause destruction and death.' The Pope then goes on to reëstablish the Society of Jesus throughout the Christian world, and to recommend its members to the protection of temporal princes as well as to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church.*

It is related that when the Bull 'Sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum' was read in the Gesù, Pius VII. could not control his emotion. After celebrating Mass he lay prostrate on the altars, and rose at length bathed in tears. But if the Vicar of Christ was thus moved, deeper still must have been the emotion of the 150 members of the former Institute, present on that memorable occasion, who hailed with heartfelt gratitude the resurrection of their mother, the Society of Jesus. Many of them had perhaps been in Rome on the 16th of August 1773, and could compare the anguish of the past with the happiness of the present. Throughout the forty years that had elapsed since the suppression they had cherished, together with a faithful love for their fallen Institute, a secret hope that it might one day be restored; and now that Pius VII. had cancelled the deed of Clement XIV. their wish was granted, their prayer fulfilled, their patience and obedience rewarded; and the disciples of the soldier-saint stood ready once more to fight the battles of the Church, under the standard of the Holy Name.

Father Brzozowski, whom the Pope had appointed General of the Society, was, by his talents and virtues, the worthy successor of St. Ignatius; but his position was one of considerable difficulty.

It was evident that, to exercise his important duties, the General of the Society must reside in Rome, the centre of Christendom; but when Brzozowski prepared to leave Russia the emperor peremptorily refused him permission to quit his dominions. Hitherto, Alexander had shown himself favourably disposed towards the Jesuits; but this arbitrary act was in keeping with the despotic authority of the Russian monarchs; and all the Father General's remonstrances and entreaties

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. v. p. 433.

proved fruitless. At length Father Panizzoni was appointed to represent his Superior in Rome ; and it was he who received from the hands of the Pope the decree restoring the Society. A few years before, in 1811, the mission he then filled had been foretold to him in a singular manner : Father Panizzoni, a man of great holiness and simplicity, was dangerously ill at the same time that Father Joseph Pignatelli lay on his death-bed. In his humility he thought his own existence worthless compared to that of his fellow-religious ; and he prayed fervently that God would accept the sacrifice of his life, and restore to health one so capable of serving the Society as Father Pignatelli. He had barely finished this offering, when, to his surprise, Father Pignatelli himself, supported by two lay-brothers, entered his cell, and addressed him in these words : ‘ What are you doing, my father, and what are you asking for in your prayers ? Why do you oppose yourself to the holy will of God, and how do you know which of us would be more useful to the restoration of the Society ? Learn, then, that it is you, not I, who are destined to fulfil this mission. I shall soon die ; but you will survive me, and God will make use of you for the reëstablishment of the Order.’* Three years later, in 1814, this prediction was literally accomplished.

But though Father Panizzoni was a worthy representative of the Father General in Italy, it was clear that the absence of the latter was a grave evil, and that the present state of things could by no means be accepted as permanent. The Jesuits were resolved not to yield to the emperor's desire that the centre of the Society should be in Russia ; but they felt bound by ties of gratitude to the sovereign, whose dominions had at one time been their only refuge in the world, and they were also unwilling to endanger, by disobedience to his commands, the existence of the important missions and colleges founded in Russia. At length it was decided that Father Brzozowski, who was advanced in years, should remain in the empire, but that at his death the ancient custom should be resumed, and the new General take up his abode at the Gesù. This proved a

* *Vie du Père J. Pignatelli*, par P. Bouffier, S.J.

wise resolution, as the Father General only survived his appointment six years; and on his death in 1820 a Congregation of the Order was assembled at the Gesù, and Father Aloysius Fortis, a native of Verona, was elected as his successor. The new General had entered the Society at the age of sixteen. Throughout the forty years that followed the suppression he had never wavered in his attachment to the rule of St. Ignatius; and although past seventy at the time of his election his intellectual powers and his firmness of purpose were unimpaired, and he successfully devoted himself to the reorganization of the Order.

It seemed as if the Jesuits were only to remain in Russia until the other countries of Europe were ready to receive them; for almost the first important event, after the restoration of the Society in Rome, was the expulsion of its members from the Muscovite empire. It has been stated that, under the reign of the Emperor Paul, the fathers established missions and opened many colleges; and, under his successor Alexander, Father Grivel on the banks of the Volga, Father Coince at Riga, Father Henry and Father Suryu in the Caucasus, were among the most celebrated of the missionaries who carried the light of religious truth and civilization throughout the vast Russian empire. The two last named offer a striking instance of the undaunted spirit that has ever characterised the apostles of the Society. By the desire of the emperor, they went to found a mission at Mazdok, in the Caucasus, a place colonized by prisoners and malefactors, whose extraordinary ferocity the Russian forces had hitherto failed to subdue. But the persevering efforts of the Jesuits were more fruitful; they succeeded in converting and civilizing men plunged in the lowest depths of degradation and depravity, and, in the words of the missionaries themselves, their converts, from being as savage as wolves, became gentle as lambs. During the invasion of Russia by Napoleon I., the fathers had a different task to perform, and their colleges and residences were filled with wounded soldiers intrusted to their care. At the same time other members of the Order were engaged in educating the young nobility, and the Jesuit College of St. Petersburg, a

magnificent building erected by Father Gruber, enjoyed a popularity which could not fail to excite the jealousy of the schismatical clergy. As long as the Jesuits in Russia had been a comparatively small body, poor and obscure, they had passed unobserved ; but now their numbers had increased, their churches were thronged with persons of the highest rank, their colleges crowded with students of every creed and nation, and the controversial talent of some of the fathers had gained many converts to the faith. These circumstances excited the fears of the schismatics, and matters were brought to a climax by the conversion of the young Prince Galitzin, who had attended the classes of the college, and whose uncle, the Minister of Public Worship, enraged at his kinsman's change of religion, persuaded the emperor to expel the Jesuits from St. Petersburg in December 1815, and five years later from the whole empire.*

Although this measure was the ruin of the flourishing missions established by the Jesuits in Russia, it had a beneficial effect upon the Society at large. At the time of its restoration, the Order, in the other countries of Europe, was composed either of aged fathers, who had survived the suppression, or of youthful novices recently admitted. The first were full of goodwill and fervour, but all were far advanced in years, and many were afflicted with infirmities ; the novices, on the other hand, wanted experience. In Russia only the direct descent of the Order had never been interrupted ; the fathers there had been trained, according to the rules of their Institute, by the members of the ancient Society, who, alone in all Europe, had continued to live as Jesuits after 1773. They were, moreover, a singularly gifted body, numbering men of many nationalities and remarkable acquirements. By their exile from Russia they were dispersed throughout the different provinces of the Society, where they powerfully contributed to revive the spirit and traditions of the past, and to give fresh life and energy to the efforts of the present.

We must now follow, in the other countries of Europe, the

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. vi. p. 32.

destinies of the newly-restored Institute, whose members lost no time in resuming their apostolic labours.

In Italy, the fathers, on returning to the Gesù, found the house in much the same state as when Father Ricci crossed its threshold for the last time on the day of the suppression; a community of priests, composed chiefly of ex-Jesuits, had continued to serve the church, which, though despoiled of some of its treasures, still contained what the sons of St. Ignatius most valued—the remains of their holy founder. Two years later, in 1816, the novitiate of Sant' Andrea became so crowded that a second novitiate was founded at Reggio, and among those who at this time sought admittance into the Order was one who had worn a crown, and who had experienced a full share of the cares and perils attendant upon royalty. Charles Emmanuel, King of Sardinia, whom the victorious armies of Napoleon expelled from his dominions, determined, on the death of his wife, the holy Queen Clotilde of France, to resign the crown to his brother Victor Emmanuel I., and to spend his old age in retirement. In 1802 he went to live in Rome, and upon the restoration of the Society of Jesus he petitioned to be admitted into the novitiate. His prayer was granted, and the four last years of his life were passed in exercises of devotion and penance. He died in 1819, and was buried in the habit of the Order.

So rapid was their progress in Italy that in 1815, only a few months after their restoration, the Jesuits were in possession of the colleges of Orvieto, Viterbo, Tivoli, Urbino, Ferentino, Galloro; and a little later they founded colleges at Modena, Forli, Genoa, Turin, Novarra, and Nice. It has been seen that the Duke of Parma and the King of Naples recalled them even before the formal reëstablishment of the Order; after 1814 the example of these princes was followed by the Duke of Modena and the King of Sardinia. At Rome, Leo XII., who ascended the Pontifical throne in 1823, treated them with the same affection and confidence as his predecessor Pius VII.; he restored to them the Roman College, enriched and protected the German College, and placed the

Collegio dei Nobili under their care. It was he too who raised Dr. Fenwick, a Jesuit, to the bishopric of Boston, and he was ready to confer similar honours on various other members of the Order had not the Father General implored him to desist.

In Austria, where in past times the Jesuits had played so prominent a part in the religious history of the nation, their progress was at first less rapid. The philosophical and impious doctrines of Joseph II. still exercised a certain influence at the Court of Vienna, and the Emperor Francis hesitated to allow the fathers to establish themselves in any portion of his dominions. The kingdom of Galicia was first opened to them; and in 1820 they founded a college at Tarnopol, which, two years later, numbered more than four hundred scholars. Impressed by the success of their labours, and especially by their devotion during the cholera, the emperor gradually extended his permission, and, before long, Jesuit colleges were founded in every part of Austria. The favourable dispositions of the sovereign were encouraged by his keen-sighted minister, Prince Metternich; like Richelieu and other statesmen, he was drawn towards the Jesuits by no feeling of personal affection, but by belief in their capacity for training their pupils in the paths of honour, morality, and patriotism. In Hungary, in Styria, and in the Tyrol, colleges of the Society rose and flourished; at Linz a house and a church were given to the fathers by the Archduke Maximilian; and at Innsbrück their ancient college was restored to them at the request of the inhabitants.

A touching instance of attachment shown to the Society must here be mentioned. Before the suppression, Prince Racznski, Archbishop of Gnesen and Primate of Poland, had belonged to the Order, and now, in his old age, he wrote to Rome, begging leave to abdicate his ecclesiastical dignities, and to return to the Institute he had never ceased to love. His prayer was granted, and the aged Primate set off for the Gesù, and joyfully resumed the Jesuit habit and the yoke of religious obedience. He died some years later in Galicia, where he had been sent by his Superiors.

It may be remembered that the Swiss cantons were among

the few governments of Europe who resisted the Bull of suppression, and as early as 1805 the magistrates of Soleure begged the Pope to allow the Jesuits to return. This example was followed by other cantons; and in 1824 the fathers established themselves at Friburg, where their college eventually became one of the most celebrated in Europe.

In Holland and Belgium the Society encountered a greater amount of opposition. After the suppression its members had continued to labour as secular priests in the Low Countries, and as soon as it became possible many of them were incorporated in the newly-restored Institute, and placed under the guidance of Father Charles Leblanc, who had been one of the former 'Pères de la Foi.' But the Jesuits found a determined enemy in William Frederick of Nassau, who, in 1814, ascended the united thrones of Belgium and Holland, and, in spite of the efforts of their friend Maurice de Broglie, the noble Bishop of Ghent, they were sentenced to exile. It was not till 1830, when Belgium became an independent state, that they were able to resume their apostolic labours.

In Spain the memory of the Society of Jesus was faithfully preserved in the hearts of the people; and almost the first petition addressed by his subjects to Ferdinand VII. on his return from exile was to request the restoration of the Order. By a decree, dated May 15, 1815, the king complied with the general desire; he declared that on examination he had recognized that the destruction of the Jesuits in Spain was the work of the enemies of religion, that the decrees of Charles III. were annulled, the fathers recalled, and a portion of their former possessions restored to them. Shortly afterwards, Father Emmanuel de Zuniga, who had been selected by the General to reorganize the Spanish Province, arrived at Madrid, and was received at the gates of the city by the Dominicans and Franciscans, and other religious, who had come in procession to bid him welcome. It was touching to witness the eagerness with which the former members of the Spanish Province returned to their post. Most of them had found asylums in Italy, where they enjoyed a great reputation for scientific and literary know-

ledge; many were old men, over eighty years of age; but to the number of a hundred and fifteen they joyfully returned to die in their native land under the rule of St. Ignatius. All through the kingdom, and especially in the towns once sanctified by the presence of their holy founder, at Loyola, Onate, and Manresa, his disciples were welcomed back with enthusiastic joy; forty-six cities sent petitions to the government for the establishment of Jesuit colleges; in six months the College of Cadiz, founded in 1818, numbered 860 scholars; and novitiates were established at Loyola, Manresa, and Seville to receive all those who sought admittance into the Order. But periods of prosperity and popular favour are exceptions in the history of the Society of Jesus; even under the reign of Ferdinand VII. the burst of welcome that had greeted the fathers hardly died away before they were exposed to the attacks of the Liberal and irreligious party in the government. Nevertheless their value was so clearly recognized, even by their enemies, that in 1825 we find three Jesuits appointed as professors to the military school at Segovia, and in 1827 they were placed by government at the head of the Noble College.

A curious incident marked the return of the fathers to Portugal, where they were recalled in 1829 by Don Miguel of Braganza, then on the throne. Father Delvaux, a Frenchman, was the Superior of the little band of Jesuits sent to Lisbon; and he writes to his brethren that the first pupils presented to him on his arrival were the four great-grandsons of Pombal, whom their mother, the Countess d'Oliveira, hastened to intrust to the care of the Jesuits.*

In 1830 the fathers took possession of the house of St. Antonio at Lisbon, which had been sanctified in past times by the presence of St. Francis Xavier, of Rodriguez, Azevedo, and many other saints and martyrs. Two years later, the famous College of Coimbra was restored to them, and their

* We read in the *Univers*, July 2, 1875: 'The grandson of Pombal, the most terrible persecutor of the Portuguese Jesuits in the eighteenth century, has just entered the novitiate of the Society at Poyanne, Landes. This young man had the happiness to take the habit of St. Ignatius on Friday, 4th of June, feast of the Sacred Heart.'

journey thither resembled a triumphal procession. In every town and village through which they passed the bells rang out joyous peals of welcome, the churches were brilliantly illuminated, the clergy and people flocked to meet them with enthusiastic joy. Long years of separation and exile, and the weight of the calumnies heaped by Pombal upon his victims, had been unable to crush the deep-rooted love borne to the Society by the people of Portugal. The first town through which the Jesuits passed, after entering the province of Beira, on their way to Coimbra, was Pombal itself, where the minister of that name, exiled from the court by Doña Maria II., died in 1782. Father Delvaux, in a letter to Father Druilhet, Provincial for France, relates that while his brethren were being welcomed by the clergy of the town, he and another father made their escape to the Franciscan church to pray by the grave of their mortal foe. To their surprise, they found that his unburied coffin, covered only with a shabby piece of cloth, had been left in the church since the 5th May 1782. In presence of the unhonoured remains of the once all-powerful minister, the Jesuits said Mass for his intention, and, adds Father Delvaux: 'I may truly say that after half a century of exile the first act of the Society, on entering the province of Coimbra, was to offer up Mass for the soul of him by whom it was banished.' In strange contrast with Pombal's unburied coffin, and with the memories that his name recalled, were the joyous peals of the bells and the shouts of welcome hailing the return of the Jesuits to the home of their relentless enemy.*

It has been mentioned that in England the Jesuits continued after the suppression to serve as secular priests the missions or districts to which they were attached; and we have likewise seen that, upon the seizure of the English colleges at Bruges by the Belgic-Austrian Government in 1773, some of the fathers sought a refuge at Liége. Here they found a friend in the Prince-Bishop, under whose patronage they directed, as secular priests, a college, which was called 'the Academy,' and which served as a place of education for English youths, as

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. vi. p. 263.

well as an ecclesiastical seminary. Father John Howard and Father William Strickland were its first Rectors; they were succeeded, in 1783, by Father Marmaduke Stone, also an ex-Jesuit; and it was during his term of office that the French armies invaded Belgium, and obliged the masters and pupils of the Liége College to seek an asylum in England. A little later the old Stonyhurst mansion and estates were purchased of Thomas Weld of Lulworth, afterwards Cardinal Weld; and there, on the 27th August 1794, Father Stone established his little colony and began the present college, which may be regarded as the continuation of the famous College of St. Omer, where so many confessors and martyrs were trained to learning and holiness. Upon the *vivâ voce* restoration of the Society in 1803, the former members of the English Province petitioned to be incorporated with the Jesuits of Russia, and Father William Strickland was charged by Father Gruber, Vicar-General of the Society, to profess Father Marmaduke Stone, and to appoint him Provincial. The new Provincial had entered the Order in 1767, at the age of nineteen, and had rendered valuable services both to the Academy of Liége and to the newly-founded College of Stonyhurst, which owed its existence to his exertions.

The same year (1803) a novitiate of the Society was established at Hodder, near Stonyhurst, and placed under the charge of Father Charles Plowden, one of the most eminent members of the newly-restored English Province. He belonged to an ancient family, which through the long dark years of persecution had faithfully kept the faith, and, like the Walpoles and the Worthingtons, had given several of its sons to the Society of Jesus. Four of Father Plowden's uncles in turns renounced their claims to the family inheritance, in order to embrace the Institute of St. Ignatius, where they filled posts of trust and importance; and one of his brothers, Father Robert Plowden, was for many years a useful member of the new English Province.

Charles Plowden was born at Plowden Hall,* in Shropshire,

* *Records of the English Province of the S. J.*, by H. Foley, S. J.

on the 1st May 1743, and entered the Jesuit novitiate at the age of sixteen. He was minister of the English College at Bruges, when, in 1773, it was destroyed by the Belgian Government, and for a short time afterwards he was detained a prisoner, with several other fathers. On being released he proceeded to England, and resided chiefly at Lulworth Castle, until 1794, when he joined the ex-Jesuits from Liège, who had just settled at Stonyhurst. As master of novices at Hodder he was remarkable for his prudence; and in 1814 he was appointed Provincial of England, to succeed Father Marmaduke Stone, and at the same time he became Rector of Stonyhurst College.

The period during which Father Plowden governed the Province was one of great difficulty and trial. True the persecutions had ceased, and the Catholics were gradually beginning to practise their religion freely. But in addition to the difficulties which inevitably attended the restoration of the Province after the suppression, Father Plowden found himself obliged to take part in the conflicts which arose between some of the English Catholics and the Vicars-Apostolic. In their eagerness to obtain the restoration of those civil rights of which they had been so unjustly deprived, a certain portion of the Catholic laity showed themselves ready to make concessions injurious to the independence of the Church; and so far indeed did they carry their spirit of insubordination to the ecclesiastical superiors who opposed their projects, as to stigmatize their Bishops as 'foreign emissaries of a foreign prelate.' 'If the Church in England escaped so terrible a peril, and was purged of the too plainly schismatical spirit which existed among some of its more worldly members, the blessing is due under God to the courageous and uncompromising zeal of the excellent Dr. Milner, Vicar-Apostolic of the Midland District. . . . In conjunction with the Irish Bishops he manfully opposed every measure put forward by the lay-committees and other authorities, by which the rights of the Holy See and the independence of the Catholic Church were in any way compromised.'*

* *History of England*, by the author of *Knights of St. John* (1864), p. 707.

Father Charles Plowden was the intimate friend of Dr. Milner, and one of his ablest supporters in these years of trial and struggle. The descendant of those who had suffered so long and so patiently for the faith, he could not bear that any stain should rest on that sacred cause; but the sight of these divisions, and the misunderstanding to which he was subjected, gave him intense pain. In a letter written a short time before his death he says that his head and his heart are almost equally broken, and he offers himself to God as a victim for the sake of the Province, adding in his humility: 'But, alas, that victim has nothing worth acceptance!'

Father Plowden was a writer of some merit, and during these years of strife he devoted his literary talents to the defence of right and justice; besides many works on the questions then under debate, he wrote an account of the destruction of the English Colleges at Bruges, and a history of the preservation of the Society in White Russia. On the death of Father Brzozowski in 1820, Father Plowden was summoned to Rome to take part in the election of a new General, and during his homeward journey in the June of the following year he died suddenly at Jougne, on the French frontier. The servant who accompanied him could not speak French, and on being questioned as to the position of his master replied, in the best way he could, that he had been to Rome for the election of a General. This was interpreted by his hearers to mean that Father Plowden was a general, and accordingly he was buried in the parish cemetery with military honours.

An instance of the opinion which the English Government at the beginning of the century entertained of the Jesuit missionaries is mentioned by Dr. Oliver, who relates that under the administration of Pitt the government was desirous of using the services of Jesuits at Buenos Ayres, as it had been ascertained that they alone possessed real influence over the Indians. Negotiations for the purpose were opened with the heads of the Order, but they were interrupted by the death of Mr. Pitt in 1806. In Ireland, as in England, the Jesuits continued

* *Records*, vol. iv.

after the suppression to labour as parish priests, and many of them filled posts of importance.

In 1819 the Irish mission of the Society was restored by Father Peter Kenney, who, with the assistance of several eminent members, among others Father James Butler, founded a college at Clongowes Wood, near Dublin. Ten years later the Irish mission was erected into a vice-province by the Father General Fortis, and Father Robert St. Leger became Vice-Provincial.

We must now turn from Great Britain to France, where, as we have seen, the restoration of the Society was gradually prepared by the apostolic labours of the 'Pères de la Foi,' all of whom were incorporated with the Order either before or immediately after its formal reëstablishment in 1814. Among the most remarkable of these zealous missionaries was Father Varin, who it may be remembered was the intimate friend of Leonor de Tournely. Both he and his companions had passed through the great revolutionary tempest, and many among them had escaped death in an almost miraculous manner. Father Picot de la Clorivière, the first French Provincial after the restoration, and a former pupil of the English Benedictines of Douay, remained in Paris during the whole of the Reign of Terror. His hiding-place for five years was a narrow recess between two walls, in a house in the Rue Cassette; here he daily said Mass in presence of a few persons, and at night he went out to exercise his priestly functions.

Somewhat similar was the case of Father Druilhet, who became Provincial in 1830, and who spent the time of the Revolution in the house of a pious lady at Orléans, where three other priests had also found a refuge. They were concealed in a cellar, and over the entrance earth was laid and salad planted, in order to divert suspicion; their food was conveyed to them in a pail, which was let down a neighbouring well communicating underground with the cellar. After the publication of the Bull of restoration in 1814 the French Jesuits founded houses at Bordeaux, Soissons, and other towns. They also directed eight flourishing seminaries for the

education of youth, and some of their number preached missions in various parts of the kingdom.

A few years later a deep sensation was created in the religious world by the writings of the celebrated Lamennais, who became for a brief period the leader of the Catholic party in France. From the first, however, his philosophical system, by the power it attributed to individual reason, alarmed those who could withstand the fascination of the writer's extraordinary talent; and the letters that passed between Lamennais and the Provincial of the French Jesuits, Father Godinot, prove that the former was displeased at the strictly neutral attitude observed by the fathers. Later on, when the errors of his system became more evident, they were discussed and refuted by Father de Rozaven, whose argumentative powers eminently fitted him for the task.

While these philosophical discussions occupied some of its members the Society was exposed to persecution on the part of the French Government, whose leading policy it was to conciliate the irreligious and revolutionary party, and with this object concessions were often made injurious to the cause of religion and justice. As may be imagined, the Jesuits were the first victims to be sacrificed; their uncompromising devotion to Rome rendered them unpopular with the Liberals and Gallicans who surrounded the throne of the Bourbon kings, while the hereditary hatred of the Radicals considered no calumny too infamous or too absurd, if directed against them. The works of charity and devotion undertaken by the fathers were made a pretext for attack. Father Delpuits, one of their number, had revived in France the Congregation of our Lady, which, it may be remembered, had in former times proved of such service to the cause of religion. Names illustrious in the world of learning and science, as well as those of poor artisans and tradesmen, were to be found side by side on the registers of the congregation, the members of which devoted their time to the relief of the poor.

This association, so exclusively religious in its aim, so beneficial in its effects, was directed by a Jesuit, and therefore

it was represented by the Liberals of the day as a mysterious Society, dangerous to public peace and safety; and at length Father Rousin, its director, had to leave Paris, and, after some years of continual persecutions, the congregation was finally dissolved in 1830.

More serious still was the attack directed against the Jesuit schools. After the terrible storm that had overthrown the altar and the throne, the necessity of a Christian education for the rising generation was keenly felt in France, and the eight colleges belonging to the Society enjoyed extraordinary popularity. In 1821 and 1822 twenty-one Bishops petitioned the fathers to open schools in their dioceses; secular priests, the directors of colleges, asked permission to resign them to the Jesuits; and the university and government schools were abandoned for the Petits Séminaires.

It may easily be imagined that such popularity roused feelings of jealousy and anger, and the attacks of the Radical and Liberal party were directed against the Jesuit schools, the existence of which, being perfectly legal, could only be destroyed by violent measures. The fathers were described as the tyrants of youth, as grasping, bloodthirsty, ambitious men, whose one desire was to reëstablish the *autos da fé* in France.* To these attacks the Jesuits, in obedience to the instructions of their Provincial, replied by silence; and the invectives of the revolutionary press might perhaps have failed in their object, had it not been for the intervention of the Comte de Montlosier, a man of strong Jansenist tendencies, whose ruling idea it was that France was exposed to destruction from the encroachments of the clergy, and particularly of the Jesuits, and who, by joining in the cry against the Society, contributed to the ruin of its colleges. He was seconded by the violent pamphlet of Martial de la Roche Arnaud, who, in his *Jésuites Modernes*, thus describes Father Jean-Baptiste Gury, master of novices at Montrouge: 'His will, his very look, has the power of putting in motion a thousand arms bearing poignards to assassinate princes and to destroy empires. . . . At the aspect of the tyrant

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. vi. p. 163.

of Montrouge all tremble ; he speaks, and all are silent. His prophetic air, his threatening look, mysterious words, and imperious tone, so impress the minds of his novices that they would endeavour to reduce the world to ashes, in order to have the merit of obedience.*

The Jesuits disdained to notice these ravings, but all lovers of truth and justice—and among them eminent writers, such as De Bonald and Laurentie—indignantly protested against them, while at the same time they watched with anxiety the progress of the warfare against the colleges. In order to destroy these effectually it was necessary to proceed with an appearance of legality, and the efforts of the irreligious party tended to throw the responsibility on the government. The Vicomte de Martignac, minister of Charles X., allowed himself to be persuaded that his own popularity and that of his royal master depended on the sacrifice of the hated Jesuits, and in his turn he persuaded the king that the safety of his throne demanded this concession. Charles X. was religious and well-meaning, but timid and uncertain : he began by naming a commission to examine the Petits Séminaires ; then yielded so far as to sanction the vexatious measures taken against them ; and finally, in spite of the eloquent protest of many of the Bishops and of several large cities, he allowed them to be closed throughout France in the summer of 1828. The Jesuits submitted in silence ; but the government did not long reap the benefit of its cowardly proceedings, and two years later Charles X. was driven from the throne by the revolutionists, whom, at the expense of justice, he had vainly striven to conciliate.

Although they were no longer able to devote themselves to the education of youth, the Jesuits remained in France and continued to exercise their priestly functions ; while their pupils went chiefly to the colleges of the Society at Brugelette in Belgium, Friburg in Switzerland, and Los Passajes in Northern Spain, and there received the Catholic training denied to them in the 'very Christian kingdom.'

* *Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 175.

In the month of January, after these events, Father Fortis died in Rome, at an advanced age; and only fourteen days later Pope Leo XII. followed him to the grave. The Congregation for the choice of a new General assembled at the Gesù in June 1829. For some time the votes seemed almost equally balanced between the celebrated Father de Rozaven and Father Roothaan, a Dutchman; but on the 9th of July the latter was elected; and, among all the Generals of the Order, few have ever displayed more eminent qualities in times of greater danger and trial. Meantime Cardinal Xavier Castiglione ascended the Pontifical throne under the name of Pius VIII.; and when the Jesuits of Rome went to congratulate him, he replied that he was a pupil of the Society, that he had a singular love for St. Ignatius, and that, in presence of the storms then darkening the horizon, union was more necessary than ever. 'The Church,' he added, 'cannot be separated from the Pope, nor the Pope from the Society of Jesus.'*

* Ibid. vol. vi. p. 228.

CHAPTER XIX.

Father John Roothaan, Twenty-first General of the Society, 1829-1853.

FATHER JOHN ROTHAAAN was born at Amsterdam in 1785, and assumed the reins of government at a period fertile in political and religious catastrophes. During the twenty-four years that the destinies of the Society were committed to his care, his vigilance, firmness, and prudence never failed; and by his ability in directing the external affairs of the Order in times of peculiar difficulty, as well as by the attention which he devoted to its internal organization, he presents many traits of resemblance with Claudius Aquaviva, to whom he has been sometimes compared.

It has been seen that, soon after their return to Spain, the Jesuits encountered much opposition on the part of the government of Ferdinand VII., at whose death the kingdom became a prey to civil war. While the Christinos supported the claims of the infant princess Isabella, and the Carlists those of Don Carlos, brother of the late king, the revolutionary party, prompted by the workings of the secret societies, took advantage of the general confusion to perpetrate outrages that recall the worst days of the French Revolution.

Thus, on June 17, 1834, bands of insurgents, composed chiefly of Freemasons, who had succeeded in poisoning the minds of the people against the Society, marched against the Jesuits' College in Madrid, broke open the gates, profaned the sacred vessels, and massacred fifteen of the fathers. The Franciscan and Dominican convents suffered similar outrages; and when all was over a royal decree was issued by the Queen Regent Christina, blaming the magistrates who had tolerated these scenes of horror. But this tardy intervention does not prevent the responsibility of the crime from resting, in an al-

most equal degree, upon the government and upon the revolutionists and Freemasons: what the latter perpetrated, the former tacitly permitted.* The following year the Society of Jesus was formally suppressed in Spain. No pretext, either political or religious, was brought forward to justify this measure; the real crime of the Jesuits was that they possessed houses and lands coveted by the government.

About the same time the neighbouring kingdom of Portugal was likewise torn by civil war. Don Pedro, the former Emperor of Brazil, had undertaken to overthrow the throne of his brother Don Miguel; and by proclaiming himself a liberal sovereign had gained the sympathies and support of the revolutionists throughout Europe. A short time before, on hearing of the enthusiastic reception the Jesuits met with on their way to Coimbra, Father Roothaan wrote these prophetic words: 'To-day is the Hosanna; to-morrow may be the Crucifige!† And so indeed it happened. Although the fathers remained strictly neutral between the contending parties, they could hardly expect to find favour with a government of revolutionary tendencies. Their expulsion was decided in May 1834, and circumstances of peculiar cruelty accompanied the execution of the sentence. The Jesuits were made to walk from Coimbra to Lisbon, under a burning sun, along the same road where, a few months before, they had been so gladly welcomed; while the country people, bathed in tears, knelt to receive their parting blessing. On arriving at Lisbon they were detained as prisoners, and the government seemed ready to sacrifice them to the hatred of the secret societies, had not the French ambassador interfered on their behalf, and by his means they were sent out of the kingdom.

In the southern countries of Europe the political convulsions of this period had an essentially anti-Catholic tendency, and were disastrous in their effects on religion; but it was not so in Belgium. Although when, in 1831, the Belgians rebelled against William of Holland, they accepted another Protestant prince for their ruler, the Catholic interests were improved by

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. vi. p. 253.

† Ibid. vol. vi. p. 264.

the change. The new king, Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, was required before ascending the throne to promise that he would respect the religion of his subjects. This engagement was faithfully observed, and under his just and tolerant rule the Jesuits reëntered the country from which they had been banished for about fifteen years. Their return had been eagerly desired by the people, and their numbers multiplied so rapidly that, whereas in 1834 there were only 117 Jesuits in Belgium, in 1845 they had increased to 454. Under Father Van Lil, who became Provincial in 1832, colleges and residences were founded at Namur, Ghent, Bruges, Turnhout, Alost, Antwerp, Liège, and other towns; and in 1835 the fathers of the French Province, whose colleges had been closed by government seven years before, established a school at Brugelette, which in a short time attained a high degree of prosperity. Holland, where in past times the Jesuits had encountered such cruel persecution, likewise became open to them on the death of William of Nassau, whose son and successor allowed them to establish two colleges on the Rhine for the education of his Catholic subjects.

In Switzerland the Jesuits were the pretext brought forward by the Radicals and the secret societies for attacking the Catholic cantons. The inhabitants of Lucerne, witnessing the beneficial influence of the Society in the cantons of Valois and Friburg, desired in their turn to place their chief college under its direction. This measure was opposed by the Swiss Radicals, who organized bands of free troops, composed of revolutionists from all countries, and marched against the peasants of Lucerne. They, however, proved formidable adversaries; like the royalists of La Vendée, they went to battle, holding their guns in one hand, their rosaries in the other, and, commanded by General de Sonnenberg and by a single peasant named Joseph Len, they successfully dispersed their enemies.

Meantime in France the elder branch of the Bourbons was once more in exile. The Jesuits had experienced neither favour nor even common justice at the hands of Charles X.; yet when he was driven from the throne the revolutionists, with un-

reasoning hatred, vented their fury upon the houses of the Society. The novitiate of Montrouge was sacked and pillaged on the 29th of July 1830, and St. Acheul met with a similar fate.

Under the government of Louis Philippe, with its open profession of hostility to religion, the fathers could hardly expect the justice they had failed to obtain from the last sovereigns; yet, with the silent patience that forms one of the characteristics of their Order, they continued to labour for religion, while avoiding, as far as possible, anything that could excite the animosity of the government. During the ravages of the cholera in 1832 some of the fathers devoted themselves to the care of the sick, while others, at the request of the Bishops, gave spiritual retreats throughout the kingdom.

In 1833 the exiled king, Charles X., desired to intrust the education of his grandson, the only hope of his race, to members of the Society of Jesus. His request was transmitted to Father Roothaan, who replied by a refusal; and it was only by command of the Pope that he at length yielded, and Fathers Druilhet and Deplace were directed to proceed to Prague, where the royal family had found an asylum. 'Had Charles X. been on the throne,' wrote Father de Rozaven, 'the Society might have resisted his entreaties; but he is unfortunate and in exile, and he calls upon us to train in the paths of religion that which he holds most dear.*' The king's choice, however, was unpopular with a portion of the Legitimist party, who persuaded him that the fact of his grandson being a pupil of the Jesuits would render him unpopular in France; a spirit of intrigue was busily at work in the little exiled court, and the education of the young prince was an endless subject of dissension. The two fathers remained at their post little over four months, at the end of which Charles X. was persuaded to let them depart. They carried away with them the warm affection of the royal child, and the esteem of all those who had witnessed their prudence, humility, and truly religious spirit.

During the first few years after the accession of Louis

* *Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 344.

Philippe the Society was unmolested; but in 1843 a book appeared called *Le Monopole universitaire destructeur de la Religion et des Lois*. Its author was Father Deschamps, a Jesuit, who denounced in forcible language the system of infidelity and corruption by which the university perverted the youth of France. The work created a deep sensation, and the partisans of the university seized the pretext to organize a formidable crusade against the Jesuits. Professors in their public lectures, journalists and authors in their books and periodicals, vied with each other in heaping accusations and insults upon the detested Order of St. Ignatius. Among the former, M.M. Michelet and Quinet, who professed to explain the constitutions and history of the Society, made themselves conspicuous for the unmeasured violence of their statements. The ministers themselves became alarmed, and the fathers were exposed to perpetual vexations on the part of the government. At length the heads of the Order judged that a public defence was necessary, and that after having suffered so long in silence the Jesuits were now bound to choose one of their number who should vindicate the whole Society from the charges brought against it. The religious to whom this difficult task was intrusted was worthy of the confidence reposed in him, and among the remarkable members of the Order in modern times few occupy a more distinguished place.

Father Xavier de Ravignan was born at Bayonne on the 1st December 1795. In 1817 he went to the bar, and ere long, in spite of his youth, he had gained a reputation for eloquence and talent. The gravest and most experienced magistrates of the day could not conceal their admiration for his clear logical mind, and his rare argumentative power. A brilliant and useful career seemed to lie before him, when one day it was announced that the promising young barrister had cast aside all worldly prospects to enter the seminary of St. Sulpice. A few months later he completed his sacrifice by entering the novitiate of the Jesuits at Montrouge. He himself owns that, like many of his contemporaries, he had at one time strong prejudices against the Society. 'I had prejudices against the

Company of Jesus,' he writes, 'and the parliamentary traditions misled me as they misled many others. I must own that it was, so to speak, in spite of myself that I learnt the truth on the subject of the Jesuits.' And again: 'I may affirm that it was exactly those things that are most misunderstood, disfigured, and attacked in the Jesuits that made me resolve to become one of them.'*

In a biography written by one who was intimately acquainted with Father de Ravignan, and who, himself a Jesuit, was well fitted to understand and to describe this great and holy soul, we can follow the ex-magistrate through the successive phases of his religious life. After filling the different offices by which the Society tries the virtue and capacity of her sons, he was selected, in 1837, to continue the conferences at Notre Dame of Paris, instituted by Father Lacordaire. Less brilliant, perhaps, than the illustrious Dominican, the Jesuit orator was equally powerful for good; the energy and elevation of his eloquence, his clear and calm mode of reasoning, his deeply religious tone, the dignity of his personal character, and even the holiness and recollection of his demeanour exercised great influence and produced lasting results. His reputation as an orator was established when, in January 1844, he published by order of his Superiors the defence of the Society known as *De l'Existence et de l'Institut des Jésuites*.

Never, perhaps, has a religious body been defended with more boldness and moderation. The Constitutions and the Spiritual Exercises, often wilfully misunderstood and distorted, are here clearly explained; the object of the Order, its spirit, mode of government, its mission, and its doctrines, are exposed with a clearness and loyalty that to all unprejudiced minds bear the unmistakable stamp of truth. The book, which reveals throughout unusual reasoning power, rises to eloquence when here and there the writer breaks forth in expressions of filial love for the Society; but never is logic sacrificed to enthusiasm; and if it is the work of a Jesuit who deeply loves his Order, it

* *Vie du R. P. Xavier de Ravignan*, par le P. de Ponlevoy (Paris, 1860), vol. i. chap. iv.

is at the same time that of a magistrate, whose solid arguments contrast with the blind prejudices of his adversaries.

'This book was an event,' says M. Créteineau-Joly;* it excited general enthusiasm in the Catholic world, and even won the admiration of men of liberal and anti-Catholic tendencies. M. Royer Collard, the celebrated philosopher, and once the leading spirit of the university, wrote thus to Father de Ravignan: 'Your eloquent appeal for the Order of the Jesuits has made me understand the energy of this extraordinary creation, and the power it has exercised. If it were possible to compare things most dissimilar, it might be said that, with the distance that separates earth from heaven, Lyncurgus and Sparta are the cradle of St. Ignatius. Sparta has passed away; the Jesuits will not pass.†

In the course of the one year 1844 twenty-five thousand copies of the work were sold in four different editions; and the seventh edition, published in 1855, was corrected by the author himself.‡ But more precious to Father de Ravignan than all other testimonies was the approbation his book received from the common father of the Society. Father Roothaan wrote to him thus: 'I read your work on the Society with the liveliest interest. I saw and felt in it the excellent mind and heart of my beloved Father de Ravignan, and his strong and tender love for our common mother. The preface and the conclusion seemed to me magnificent.'§ In spite, however, of the deep impression made by Father de Ravignan's work, the campaign against the Society continued with unabated vigour. The book so far produced the desired effect that many men, whose naturally loyal minds had been led astray by false statements, now recognized the true worth of the Order of Jesus; but it could not be expected to convert a government hostile to the interests of religion. In the Chamber of Deputies M. Thiers was the leader of the enemies of the Society; but he found a formidable antagonist in M. Berryer, whose talented defence of the Jesuits is one of his chief

* Vol. vi. p. 378.

† Ibid.

‡ *Vie du P. de Ravignan*, vol. i. chap. xi.

§ Ibid.

claims to celebrity. At first the government had regarded the war against the Society with comparative indifference; but gradually the ministers deemed that their popularity depended upon their taking part in the conflict, and at the suggestion of Pellegrino Rossi, an Italian then attached to the government of Louis Philippe, they resolved, ostensibly for the sake of peace, to obtain the intervention of the Holy See.

Rossi imagined that the conciliatory disposition of both Gregory XVI. and his minister Cardinal Lambruschini would make them ready for any concession; and he demanded, in the name of the French Government, that the Jesuits should be secularized in France, bringing forward their unpopularity as the chief grievance against them. To this request the Pope replied by assembling on June 12th, 1845, a Congregation of Cardinals, before whom the affair was laid, and by them it was decided that the existence of the Jesuits in France being perfectly legal, their conduct blameless, and their services valuable to religion, the Holy See could not yield to the request of the government. This clear and decisive reply did not discourage Rossi, who returned to the charge; but at this juncture Father Roothaan learnt that the Pope, although resolved to persevere in his refusal, was willing to allow the Jesuits themselves to make some concessions for the sake of peace. The Father General then determined to take the initiative, and proposed to the French fathers that some of their houses should be temporarily either dissolved or diminished. 'It is a sacrifice to me to take this step,' he writes; 'but I feel it is my duty to suggest this measure of prudence. I hope it will be managed quietly, and, as I have already said, without attracting attention. . . .' A few days later he wrote again: 'We must endeavour to withdraw ourselves a little from notice, and thus to pay the penalty for the excessive confidence we have placed in the fair promise of liberty, which is to be found in the charter, but there only.'*

The measures suggested by the Father General, but which he did not impose in the name of obedience, were a sacrifice

* Ibid. vol. i. chap. xii.

to the French Jesuits, who, encouraged by eminent lawyers and writers, such as Montalembert, Beugnot, and Berryer, were ready to make, as Father de Ravignan expressed it, 'a calm, dignified, and legal resistance for the honour of the Holy See, for the honour of the Society, and for the rights and liberties of the Church.'*

Nevertheless they yielded with prompt obedience to their Superior's desire, and the houses of Paris, Lyons, Avignon, and some other towns were either dispersed or considerably diminished.

The French Government, who wished it to appear as if these concessions freely made by the Jesuits had been imposed upon them by the Pope at the request of Rossi, officially thanked the Papal Court for its intervention, implying that the Holy Father had sided against the Society; but Gregory XVI. perceived the snare, and his minister Lambruschini replied in these terms to Rossi's communication: 'His Holiness is greatly surprised at the thanks addressed to him and to his minister, as he granted nothing in the affair of the Jesuits. . . . If the government of the very Christian king has any thanks to render, they should be addressed to the General of the Society; for it was he who, without any advice or order from the Holy See, took the measures of prudence, destined to relieve the king's government from its difficulties. His Holiness, in these circumstances, admired the discretion, wisdom, and abnegation of the venerable head of the Order, and trusts that, after the great sacrifices which the French Jesuits have thus imposed upon themselves for the sake of peace and conciliation, his majesty's government will grant them protection and favour.'†

The following year, 1846, Gregory XVI. breathed his last, and a new Pontiff sat in the Chair of St. Peter. The history of his long and eventful reign has still to be written, and the recollection of even its early years is still too fresh for a full account of them to be given in these pages. It is well known how, in the first moment of his accession, a burst of universal enthusiasm hailed the generous and forgiving Pontiff, who took

* *Ibid.*

† Crétineau-Joly, vol. vi. p. 405.

the name of Pius IX.; and how, only two years later, the 'Hosanna' became 'Crucifige,' and the Vicar of Christ had to fly in disguise from the Eternal City.

In the letters of Father de Ravignan, who spent the winter of 1847-48 in Rome, we find a mournful chronicle of the rapid progress of the revolutionary movement in Italy. He travelled through Piedmont, Nice, Turin, and Genoa, in the midst of frantic cries of 'Morte ai Gesuiti,' but his French priest's dress prevented him from being recognized as a member of the Society. In Rome he found the Holy Father patiently struggling with the daily increasing tide of revolution. The generosity displayed by him at the beginning of his reign had brought him only ingratitude and treason. Italy was undermined by the secret societies, and, after the Pope, the Jesuits were the chief objects of their hatred. 'The Pope is very sad,' writes Father de Ravignan. 'I do not wonder at it; his heart must suffer. All the Cardinals are alarmed; the Father General is ill, but transacts business as usual.*' And again, on January 2, 1848: 'In spite of demonstrations, and in spite of a very real and serious indisposition, the Pope, in his generous kindness, insisted on coming as usual to our *Te Deum* and solemn Benediction for the end of the year. He had declared that he would rather be carried there than not come. Everything went off well, and with great pomp. . . . In Rome every sort of attack is made on us; the Pope has clearly declared that he will be a martyr rather than suppress us. We are waiting in calmness and in peace.†

During the winter of that eventful year the violence of the persecution against the Jesuits increased with fearful rapidity. 'The most absurd lies were printed, the most revolting calumnies placarded in the streets; men were paid, some to clamour at night around the Gesù, others to break the windows of the house.‡ In the midst of these perils Father Roothaan was resolved to remain at his post; but at length the Pope, feeling that his government had lost all power to protect the religious,

* *Vie du P. de Ravignan*, vol. ii. chap. xiii.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Notices, &c.*, par P. Guidée, S.J.

whom the revolutionists regarded as their first victims, advised the General to bow before the storm, and to disperse his subjects for a time. The suggestion was obeyed—what threats and intimidation could never bring about a word from the Pontifical throne immediately obtained; and on March 28th, 1848, the desire of Pius IX. was communicated to the Community, and before night the Gesù was deserted. Those of the fathers who were able to do so left Rome; others, whom their infirmities or their occupations prevented from taking long journeys, found asylums in the city itself; and Father Roothaan, accompanied by Father de Villefort, Assistant for France, started for Cività Vecchia, where he embarked for France. He subsequently visited the different houses of the Society throughout Europe. It was the first time for more than two centuries that a General of the Order had crossed the Alps; and great was the contrast between the solemn embassy undertaken by St. Francis Borgia to the courts of Europe in 1571 and the journey of his exiled and persecuted successor in 1848.

At the end of twenty-five months' separation the dispersed Jesuits met once more at the Gesù. Order had been restored in Rome by the French troops, and the Pope had returned to the Vatican; but Father Roothaan only lived three years after this happy event, and on May 8th, 1853, he breathed his last.

Father de Ponlevoy thus describes him: 'He is, among our Generals, one of those whose administration has been the longest and most laborious; overwhelmed with business and tribulations, often harassed from within, always persecuted without, he was unflinching in labour, constant in prayer; and the prayer most familiar to him was the cry of trust and supplication, "Jesu miserere!" A perfect Superior, according to the ideal of the Institute, he governed with a wisdom only equalled by his kindness. He was one of those who, since the restoration of the Society, contributed most powerfully to put the Exercises of St. Ignatius into constant practice; and he has commented upon them with an intelligence revealing

not only a deep acquaintance with spiritual science, but also special assistance from God.*

With regard to the *Ratio Studiorum*, Father Roothaan did a great and useful work. In spite of its intrinsic excellence the *Ratio* necessarily required a few modifications in harmony with the progress of learning and science, particularly of the exact sciences, where many new discoveries had been made.

The year after his election, Father Roothaan named a commission of five fathers, remarkable for their learning and experience, to whom he intrusted the thorough revision of the *Ratio Studiorum*. The general plan of studies was carefully preserved, but several important changes were introduced in its details, in order to keep pace with recent improvements and discoveries. When this work was completed, in 1832, the new edition was sent to all the houses of the Society, with a letter explaining the reason of the different changes: 'The needs of the time in which we live have forced us to give up the custom of our predecessors on certain points that do not touch the essence of solid instruction. This is not forbidden; on the contrary, it is in keeping with the end of our Institute, which is the greater glory of God. Thus in the higher branches of science many points which were formerly not contested are now vehemently attacked, and should be strengthened by proofs and by solid arguments. Other questions, which served rather to exercise the mind than to advance the cause of truth, have been set aside, to give more space to what is really useful and necessary. More time also must be given to mathematical and physical sciences; our Society has never regarded these studies as foreign to its Institute, and could we neglect them now that without them our schools could not keep up their reputation or fulfil what is expected of them?† So admirable did this plan of studies appear to the enemies of the Society, that in 1839, the fathers of Brugelette having published their programme, its chief points were instantly appropriated by M. Cousin, the head of the French University and the systematic adversary of the Order.‡

* *Vie du P. de Ravignan*, vol. ii. chap. xxii.

† Créteineau-Joly, vol. vi. p. 417.

‡ *Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 422.

The paternal vigilance of Father Roothaan extended to every branch of the Society, and the letters and circulars which at various times he addressed to his subjects are full of eloquence, lofty views, and clear reasoning. One of the most remarkable is the Encyclical Letter, which he issued in December 1839, when the fathers celebrated the third century of their solemn approbation by Pope Paul IV. He took advantage of the occasion to exhort them to humility, and did not fear to recall the sorrowful memories of 1773. This exhortation, so deeply religious and so truly humble in its tone, conveys far better than any description the real spirit of those whom the world misjudges, chiefly because it does not know them. After recalling the renown enjoyed by the Society in the days of its prosperity, Father Roothaan continues thus : ‘ Who would then have imagined that by a revolution as complete as it was unexpected this admirable and beautiful edifice, whose utility equalled its grandeur, whose vast proportions seemed to promise immortality, would tremble, totter, and at last fall to the ground? And yet that which seemed incredible was permitted by God, in order to teach us all that neither a reputation for science and virtue, nor brilliant success, nor what are called immortal actions, nor the favour of the great ones of this world, can support any human institution, unless it is supported by God Himself. . . . God permitted this catastrophe in order to teach us in particular to entertain lowly sentiments of ourselves. Instructed as we are by faith and by experience that God and His Church do not need our help, any more than they need that of any other human being, let us say with the Psalmist, for each one of us in particular as well as for the Society in general : “ Keep me, O Lord; for I have hoped in Thee, and in Thee alone.”’*

The private letters written by the Father General to some of his sons breathe the same spirit of religious humility; the advice given by him to Fathers Deplace and Druilhet, when they were appointed instructors of the Duc de Bordeaux, recalls the directions given by Father Claudius Aquaviva to the con-

* *Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 422.

fessors of kings. After stating that it is with no small anxiety and repugnance that he invests them with a mission commanded by obedience, he pursues: 'As for what regards you personally and your mode of living, take for your models those of our fathers who in past times were called to live in the palaces of princes, and who lived there so well, and observed so faithfully the spirit of their rules, that many of them deserved the name of good angels of the court. Solely devoted to the duties of their vocation, they breathed nothing of that corrupt atmosphere which is to be found, alas, in the best and most pious courts. In the midst of the grandeur surrounding them they led, as far as they could, a life hidden in God and detached from the tumult of the world. They fulfilled every day at stated hours, and according to our custom, the exercises of religious life. If the occupations and labours of their employment left them any spare time, they joyfully took advantage of it, and, like faithful religious, they gave the assistance of their ministry to Christian souls, especially to the poor and infirm.' After giving them directions for their personal conduct, Father Roothaan goes on to advise the fathers on the subject of their royal pupil, and especially exhorts them to teach the prince that if one day he is called to reign, 'he must take as his rule divine and eternal reason, and not human ideas.' But while bidding them raise the heart and mind of their pupil towards God, the King of kings, Father Roothaan cautions them against overwhelming the child with religious exercises, and quotes the words of St. Francis Borgia, who bade the fathers of the Province of Guyenne beware of treating their scholars as though they were religious.*

Of a more intimate character is the correspondence between Father Roothaan and Father de Ravignan, who not only sent him every year the plan of his conferences for the ensuing Lent, with a brief *résumé* of the last station, but also poured out to him with filial confidence his difficulties, embarrassments, and temptations. Father Roothaan's sympathy was never wanting: 'I love you more and more, my good father,' he writes; 'and

* Ibid. vol. vi. p. 347.

how the Lord blesses you and your labours! At the same time He gives you what is more precious than success, the grace to be dissatisfied with yourself.*

It was Father Roothaan who suggested that Father de Ravignan should write a history of Clement XIII. and Clement XIV., for the purpose of clearing the memory of the first from the attacks directed against him, and that of the second from flatteries yet more insulting. The letter in which he communicates his idea is dated December 1852. 'You know,' he writes of Father Theiner's last work, 'it has caused much displeasure here. His intention is to vindicate the honour of a Vicar of Jesus Christ; this is doubtless very praiseworthy, but the manner in which it has been carried out is unfortunate. Apart from the outrages addressed to the Jesuits in order to justify the hostile Courts of Portugal, France, and Spain, Clement XIV. is in fact very badly defended, and his predecessors on the throne of St. Peter are really insulted. The Holy See, far more than the Society, is injured by the author. The Society belongs to the Church and to the Holy See; therefore the insults addressed to both should touch us far more than those which directly attack the Order. It has occurred to me that a defence of Clement XIV., written by one of us, might be better and more successfully carried out.' Pity for the sufferings of the unfortunate Pontiff is Father Roothaan's keynote. "Povero Papa," wrote St. Alphonsus Liguori, "che poteva fare?" This is the sentiment to which I agree with all my heart.† This pity, however, is equalled by his indignation at the attempts made to represent as a revolutionist, and almost a free-thinker, a Pope whose great fault was his weakness, and he is especially anxious that Clement XIV. should be proved undeserving of 'the perfidious flatteries of the impious who have outraged his memory, and of the praises lavished on him by the revolutionists in these latter times, even in the Pontifical States. . . . He has been turned into a philosophical Pope. . . . It has been said that his Brief was not only the destruction of perverted and rebellious monks (this is from Gioberti), but that in the eyes of intelligent

* *Vie du P. de Ravignan*, vol. i. chap. ix.

† *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 223.

persons it laid the foundation of tolerance, of principles of religious indifference. . . . It is from these charges that the memory of the Pope should be cleared.*

Father Roothaan did not live to see the completion of the work he so zealously promoted ; when Père de Ravignan published his history of Clement XIII. and Clement XIV., in which he successfully carried out the General's intentions, the latter had been gathered to his rest.

Among the celebrated members of the Society who died during the generalate of Father Roothaan must be named Father MacCarthy, an eminent preacher of Irish extraction, the Bourdaloue of his day. He died at Annecy in 1833 ; and so edifying were his last moments that the Bishop of Annecy, who assisted him, wrote of him thus : ' If Father MacCarthy was great in the pulpit by his sublime eloquence, he appeared to us far greater on his bed of suffering. Never was there a sermon so touching, or words so burning, as what we heard from his dying lips. †

Four years later, in 1837, the Society lost a religious whose career had been one of unusual vicissitudes. Father Potot, a native of Metz, was educated for the bar ; but, when still very young, he enlisted as a soldier, and took part in the wars of the Revolution and in those of the First Empire. His wounds obliged him to renounce his military career ; and, turning the energy of his character towards religion, he determined to become a priest. In 1818 he was ordained, and devoted himself to the work of evangelizing the inhabitants of his native province of Lorraine. Fifteen years later, at his earnest request, he was admitted into the Society of Jesus ; and in 1837 he died at Metz, where his funeral resembled a public ovation. His former companions-in-arms, the clergy and religious, the magistrates and government officials, the poor, to whom he had been a father, followed him to the grave. On the coffin his soldier's sword and epaulettes lay side by side with the emblems of his priesthood.

Four years later died in Rome a member of the Order

* *Ibid.*

† Créteau-Joly, vol. vi. p. 352.

whose career had been widely different. Born in 1786, of a princely family, Charles Odescalchi had from his youth felt a strong inclination towards the Society of Jesus; but, in compliance with the desires of his family, he became a secular priest, and ere long his virtues, talents, and noble birth caused him to be raised to the purple. Gregory XVI. appointed him Vicar-General of Rome; but, in the midst of a career at once brilliant and useful, his heart yearned for the obscurity of religious life, and he resolved to seek admittance into the Jesuit novitiate. As might be expected, this determination caused much disapproval on the part of his family and friends; but, after having obtained the permission of Pope Gregory XVI., by whom he was much loved, the Cardinal proceeded to Modena; and on the 8th December 1838 was received into the Society. That same day, in the first effusion of joy, the Prince of the Church, now a simple Jesuit novice, wrote thus to Father Roothaan: 'I cannot defer writing to him, who is now on earth my Superior in the new career I have embraced. I am very happy. The joy of my heart cannot be described. The world, whose judgments are so often false, praises what it is pleased to call my heroic sacrifice. For me, I bless the Divine Mercy who has given me time and means to sanctify myself, and, above all, to be converted. . . . I desire, very reverend father, that you should always see in me an obedient child, and that as such you should dispose of me unsparingly; that always, in short, you should remember that the sacrifice of my will is a happiness to me.*'

Father Odescalchi only lived three years after his entrance into the Society; but during this brief period the joy with which he embraced the mortification of religious life, his humility and fervour, deeply edified his brethren.

In the course of this narrative the name of Father Rozaven has frequently been mentioned; and it has been seen how, in 1829, he narrowly escaped being raised to the dignity of General of the Society. Under the government of Father Roothaan he continued to exercise considerable influence. He

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. vi. p. 240.

was professor of theology, consultor for several Roman congregations, and generally regarded as the most eminent controversialist of the Society. When the Jesuits were forced to leave Rome in 1848, Father de Rozaven found a home at Sorrento with some English friends. Subsequently he visited his native town of Quimper, in Brittany, which he had quitted sixty years before, and where his return was a subject of general rejoicing. After twenty-five months of exile the venerable religious had the happiness to resume his post at the Gesù, where a few months afterwards, in April 1851, he peacefully breathed his last, at the age of eighty-four. Few members of the Order in modern times have left a greater reputation for learning and wisdom. During the first year after the restoration of the Society his example and teaching powerfully contributed to enforce the strict observance of the rules among the numerous ex-Jesuits, who returned to die under the banner of St. Ignatius, and who, although full of good-will, had necessarily forgotten some of the minute observances of community life. Later on, and especially during the controversy with Lamennais, he became celebrated for his keen intellect, his powers of argument, and profound theological knowledge.

It would be too long to give a complete account of all the eminent members of the Society whose literary or scientific labours illustrated the government of Father Roothaan; but it is impossible to pass over the names of Fathers Moere and Van Hecke, who resumed the labours of the ancient Bollandists in Belgium, and Fathers de Vico and Secchi, whose astronomical discoveries have attracted the attention and excited the admiration of all European astronomers.

CHAPTER XX.

Missions of the Society since its Restoration in 1814.

THE suppression of the Society had, as has been seen, dealt a terrible blow to the Christian missions throughout the world; and one of the first thoughts of the Jesuits after their reëstablishment was, as far as lay in their power, to repair the evil.

It was in the United States of America that they first resumed their apostolic labours. In 1789, upon the separation of the States from England, John Carrol, an ex-Jesuit, was named by Pius VI. Bishop of Baltimore. He had been educated by the Jesuits of St. Omer; had subsequently entered the novitiate; and, at the time of the suppression, he was a professed father. His coadjutor at Baltimore, Leonard Neale, had, like himself, belonged to the Society; and in 1803 the two prelates wrote to Father Gruber, Superior of the Russian Jesuits, to express their joy at finding that the Order still existed in a remote corner of Europe. They added that thirteen ex-Jesuits were living in Maryland and Pennsylvania; that, though most of them were aged and infirm, they nevertheless earnestly desired to end their days in the bosom of the Society, and petitioned to be incorporated with the Jesuits of Russia, whose existence was recognized by the Holy See. For this purpose the Archbishop asked Father Gruber to send to America an experienced man, 'full of the spirit of St. Ignatius,' and capable of restoring the Society in the United States. This petition was favourably received in Russia. Father Molineux was appointed Superior of the new mission; and among the fathers sent with him were several men of eminent virtue and learning, the most celebrated of whom were Father Grassi and Father Kohlman, one of the first companions of Tournely. In 1815, Dr. Carroll, to whose zeal the Society owed its re-

turn to America, breathed his last in the arms of Father Grassi. Only a few months before his death the college founded by the fathers at Georgetown, near Washington, had been raised by the Congress to the rank of an university. Eighteen years later, in 1833, the Maryland mission was erected into a Province of the Society by Father General Roothaan ; and Father McSherry, a native of Virginia, became its first Provincial.

Throughout the States the Jesuits continued to enjoy a popularity, which was farther increased by their charitable exertions during the cholera in 1831. In Maryland, Father MacElroy obtained such influence that the Protestant inhabitants of Frederick city came forward to contribute to the foundation of a Jesuit college ; and in this State alone the Society, in 1844, numbered 130 members ; while in Missouri its numbers had risen to 148. But, not content with establishing missions and colleges for the benefit of the more wealthy classes, the Jesuits directed their efforts towards the Indian tribes, among whom the fathers of the ancient Society had achieved so memorable a success.

In 1823, Father Van Quickenborn, with a little band of missionaries, descended the Missouri to second the Bishop of St. Louis in his efforts to civilize the Indians in his diocese. In 1829, at the request of the European colonists, a Jesuit college, to which Protestants and Catholics alike contributed, was opened at St. Louis ; and three years later it was raised by the government to the rank of an university. In the forests of Ohio, along the banks of the great rivers, among the tribes of the Oregon, and the Rocky Mountains, the Jesuits bent their steps with the fearless perseverance that had characterized them of old ; and they frequently had the consolation of ascertaining that, in spite of long years of neglect, the good seed sown by their predecessors had not perished. Among the most celebrated American missionaries of the Society in modern times is doubtless Father Peter de Smet, whose successful apostolate recalls the most illustrious apostles of the past. In 1840, hearing that the Flatheads, who inhabit the Rocky Mountains, desired the visit of a Black Robe, he set off, and, after many

perils, reached the tribe, where he was welcomed with joy and gratitude. He spent some time among these poor Indians, instructing, baptizing, and training them to the practices of Christian life ; and at length he was obliged to return to St. Louis to seek other missionaries to assist him. He thus describes his farewell to the Indians : ' All the tribe assembled round my hut. No one spoke ; but sorrow was expressed on every countenance. The only word that seemed to comfort them was my formal promise that in the spring I would return, and bring with me several other missionaries. I said morning prayers amidst the sobs and tears of these good Indians, whose grief drew from me, in spite of myself, the tears I wished to repress. I then pointed out to them the necessity of my departure ; and I exhorted them to persevere and serve the Great Spirit fervently ; and, to avoid all subjects of scandal, I reminded them of the principal truths of religion ; and I appointed as their spiritual chief a very intelligent Indian, whom I had taken care to instruct, myself, in a special manner. He was to take my place in my absence ; to assemble them to prayers every night and morning, and on Sundays to exhort them to virtue ; to baptize the dying, and even the children in case of necessity. There was but one voice to promise me that all I recommended should be observed. With tears in their eyes they wished me a happy journey. The old chief then rose, and said : " Black Robe, may the Great Spirit accompany you in your long and perilous journey. We shall pray night and morning that you may arrive safely among your brethren at St. Louis ; and we shall continue our prayers till you return to your children in the mountains. When the snow disappears from the valley, after the winter, when the trees begin to bud forth, our hearts, now so sorrowful, will begin to rejoice. As the grass grows in height, our joy will increase ; and when the flowers are in bloom, we will set off to meet you. " *

After a perilous journey of four months Father de Smet reached St. Louis ; but, faithful to his promise, he started

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. vi. p. 296.

again in the spring, accompanied by Father Nicolas Point, a Vendéan by birth, full of energy and zeal; Father Mengarini, an Italian, famous for his skill in medicine and in music; and by three lay-brothers. They safely crossed the wild regions into which even the European traders did not venture to penetrate, and were at last welcomed by the Indians, who had been eagerly waiting for their arrival. From the settlement of the Flatheads they visited the neighbouring tribes, where they were received with equal cordiality, and ere long they had established several colonies on the model of the ancient reductions of Paraguay. A special protection seemed to surround them in their adventurous expeditions. Father de Smet writes in November 1842: 'Since the beginning of April this year I have travelled five thousand miles; I have gone up and down the great river Columbia, and have seen five of my companions perish in its waters; I have crossed different branches of the Rocky Mountains; and, for the second time, I have travelled through the whole extent of the Yellow Rock desert, and have descended the Missouri to St. Louis. In the course of this long journey I have not once wanted the necessaries of life, nor have I received the slightest hurt. . . . Dominus memor fuit nostri et benedixit nobis.'*

In other letters he states that from 1839 to 1845 the missionaries of Canada baptized 3000 persons, and from 1841 to 1845 those in the mountains baptized 2857. It is pleasant, too, to read of the hospitable greeting the Jesuits invariably received from the traders of the Hudson Bay Company. Speaking of one of them, Mr. Harriot, Father de Smet writes in 1845: 'He invited me and received me under his roof with a civility and a cordiality truly fraternal. These qualities distinguish all the members of the Hudson Bay Company, and though a Protestant Mr. Harriot urged me to visit the Black Feet Indians, who were soon to arrive at the fort, and promised to use all his influence to secure me a friendly reception on their part.'†

* Ibid. vol. vi. p. 300.

† *Missions de l'Orégon et aux Montagnes Rocheuses*, par P. de Smet, S.J.

Father Point, in a letter written the same year, compares the state of the Indians before their conversion with the present aspect of their settlements: 'Their intelligence was so narrow that although they adored all the animals they knew of they had no idea either of the existence of God or of their souls, and still less of any future state of existence. They were a race so degraded that they retained only two or three very obscure notions of even the natural law, and these they did not practically observe.*' He then describes the village where he resided, which was dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and organized on the plan of the ancient reductions. A church rose in the centre, and around it clustered the Indian cabins; and the peace, industry, and piety that reigned in the little colony recalled the golden age of Paraguay. The Indians, who assisted at the father's instructions, displayed touching charity in repeating his lessons to those of their companions whose age or infirmities prevented them from being present. Thus old men might be seen humbly listening to the little children, who repeated to them what they themselves had learnt from the Black Robe; while young and vigorous hunters, accustomed to a life of constant exertion and freedom, would spend long hours patiently instructing those whose dulness or deafness had prevented them from fully seizing the father's meaning. Their eagerness to receive the Sacraments was only equalled by their wonderful purity of conscience. Father Point relates that they would confess in public and with floods of tears those slight failings that the frailty of human nature can hardly hope altogether to avoid.

While Father de Smet and his companions were planting the Cross on the hitherto inaccessible heights of the Rocky Mountains, other members of the Society were resuming their missionary labours in different parts of America. In 1823, M. Tournaire, a secular priest at Haiti, wrote to implore them to revisit a mission where the name of the Society was still deeply venerated. 'For long years,' he writes, 'fathers of your Institute directed the missions of this country; they built churches,

* Ibid.

and taught the people to reverence the name of Jesuit. . . The old natives still speak of their good works, and repeat fragments of prayers, the only remains of piety left in the country after the cruel wars. When the Jesuits left the island, religion disappeared with them.*

From Jamaica came equally earnest appeals; and in 1837 two fathers were sent there to labour in the service of the unfortunate negroes. In Mexico the Society was recalled some years later, in 1843; and General Santa Anna invited its members to resume their apostolic labours in California, Sonora, Durango, and the other territories where, in former days, their brethren had extended the reign of Christ.

A modern traveller thus alludes to the Jesuit colleges at San Francisco: 'The Jesuits possess two large colleges—St. Ignatius, at San Francisco, and Santa Clara, in the town of the same name, forty miles south of the capital. At St. Ignatius they have one hundred boarders and five hundred and fifty day-scholars, and at Santa Clara the number of boarders is much greater. . . . A rich American merchant, a Protestant, said to me: "I have placed my sons with the Jesuits, first, because the studies there are better than in any other schools; secondly, because their pupils learn obedience and good manners." †

It has been seen, at the time of the suppression, with what heartfelt sorrow the inhabitants of South America parted from their Jesuit teachers; so deep, indeed, was their feeling on this point that when, in 1817, the Spanish colonies proclaimed their independence and separated from the mother country, one of the reproaches addressed by them to the Court of Spain was, that they had been unjustly deprived 'of the Jesuits, to whom they owed their social state, their civilization, all their instruction, and with whose services they could not dispense. ‡ Accordingly the fathers were speedily recalled by the new republics, and gladly welcomed by the descendants of their former converts in Brazil, Chili, Tucuman, New Granada, and Paraguay.

* Crétineau-Joly, vol. vi. p. 285.

† *Promenade autour du Monde*, par Baron de Hübner, vol. i. p. 236 (1871).

‡ Crétineau-Joly, vol. vi. p. 302.

The missions of the Society in the East were likewise resumed a few years after the restoration. Jesuit houses were established at Scutari, Syra, Beyrouth, Gazir, and other places ; and the fathers joyfully endured the trials and privations to which they were subjected. The missionaries of the island of Syra in particular were so poor that they could not have bought the necessary food and clothing, had not the Father General assisted them by his alms. But neither the sufferings of poverty nor the perils of an unhealthy climate could daunt the courage of the Jesuits. The temperature of the island of Madagascar was peculiarly trying to Europeans ; but, on the other hand, the dispositions of its inhabitants seemed to promise an abundant harvest of souls ; and in 1844, Father Maillard, Provincial of Toulouse, announced to his brethren that the Madagascar mission was henceforth annexed to their Province. In spite of opposition and persecution the Jesuits obtained a footing in the island ; and in the course of a few years churches were built, schools founded, and innumerable conversions rewarded their zeal. Their influence may be estimated by the fact that when, twenty years later, the Vice-Prefect Apostolic of the mission, Father Weber, died, his remains were carried in solemn procession through the streets of the capital, children of the noblest families in the kingdom acted as acolytes, the queen sent her condolences to the missionaries, and the princes of the royal family assured them that they felt as though they themselves had lost a beloved father.

But among all the missions where the apostles of the Society had laboured, those of India and China were regarded by the Jesuits with peculiar love, for there had the greatest difficulties been encountered, and the blood of many martyrs had been poured forth for Christ. The state of religion in the Indian peninsula presented a spectacle well calculated to sadden the hearts of apostolic men, when, in 1834, Father Robert St. Leger, the former Vice-Provincial of Ireland, set sail for Calcutta. He was accompanied by four other fathers, and they had received their appointment from Pope Gregory XVI.

himself. It was a mission fraught with difficulties and trials, for not only had the fathers to encounter the opposition of the English Protestants and of the heathen natives, but their chief adversaries were the degenerate Portuguese priests of Goa, whose laxity of doctrines and morals greatly contributed to the ruin of religion in India. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, many abuses had been introduced among the clergy of Goa, and their number and gravity may be estimated by a Brief of Pope Alexander VII. in 1658, where he enumerates the principal heads of accusation brought to his notice. However, his admonitions and those of his successors remained unheeded; the clergy of Goa, supported by the Portuguese Government, openly resisted the Papal decrees; but the evil influence which its members might have exercised over the Christians in India was in a certain measure neutralized by the admirable holiness and devotion of the missionaries, who were labouring with unwearied zeal in various parts of the peninsula. The suppression of the Society of Jesus dealt a terrible blow to the interests of religion. The priests sent to replace the Jesuits were few in number, and by degrees many of the missions fell into the hands of the schismatics from Goa, whose immorality, avarice, and ignorance brought the Catholic faith into discredit and excited general indignation. 'If the faith continued to exist in certain localities, it may be attributed solely to the beneficial influence of the religious practices formerly established by the missionaries, to respect for old traditions, to the prayer-books composed by these missionaries, which were still read in the assemblies and in the churches, and lastly to the small esteem inspired by the Anglican ministers.*'

It may be imagined with what displeasure the schismatics witnessed the arrival of the new missionaries, appointed by Gregory XVI., in India, and the history of the mission at this period is but a long and protracted struggle between those who only longed to gain souls to Christ, and the adversaries who tenaciously opposed them by every means in their power, and

* *Histoire du Schisme Portugais aux Indes*, par De Bussière, p. 59.

whose worldliness and rapacity contrasted with the self-denying zeal of the envoys of Rome. In spite of the difficulties they encountered, the Jesuits succeeded in doing much solid good: churches and colleges were founded, the Christians who had grown lax and negligent were induced to embrace a new life, and conversions were made among the heathen. But it was long before the schism died out, and as late as 1853 we find the Vicars-Apostolic in India sending a deputation to Pope Pius IX. to denounce the scandals caused by the rebellious clergy.

While Father St. Leger and his companions were evangelizing the district of Calcutta, the Vicar-Apostolic of Pondicherry wrote to implore the Pope to send Jesuit missionaries to Madura, where the fathers of the ancient Society had once performed prodigies of heroism, but where the people, in consequence of long years of neglect, were now plunged in ignorance and superstition, and exposed to the insidious attacks of the Anglican ministers. The Holy See first proposed to erect Madura into a separate diocese under a Jesuit Bishop, but the fathers themselves begged to be left under the Bishop of Pondicherry. On the 4th July 1837, Fathers Bertrand, Garnier, Martin, and Duranquet, belonging to the French Province, set sail for Madura, where they were gladly welcomed by M^{onsieur} Bonnaud, the Vicar-Apostolic. The difficulties that met them on their arrival would have daunted men who were not impelled by zeal for the salvation of souls. The people once trained to virtue at the cost of so much suffering had relapsed into habits of gross superstition and vice; the Protestant ministers and, at times, the English magistrates regarded the new-comers with dislike and suspicion; while here, as at Calcutta, the schismatics exercised their baneful influence, and were the Jesuits' bitterest foes. 'I cannot describe,' writes Father Garnier in 1839, 'all that these schismatics do in order to bring me into discredit, to draw away my Christians, to create annoyances for me, or to compromise me with the English.*' Father Bertrand, on one occasion, narrowly es-

* *Lettres curieuses et édifiantes de la nouvelle Mission du Maduré*, par P. J. Bertrand, S.J.

caped death at their hands. They had bribed his catechist to put some poisonous white powder in the water he used at Mass ; fortunately the father took but a small quantity of water, and though he was very ill in consequence, he eventually recovered. It is he who, writing to the Provincial of Lyons, thus describes the state of the once flourishing missions : ' You may conceive an idea of their state when I tell you that these poor Christians have been abandoned for the last ten or twenty years without instructions, confessions, and Sacraments, and left in consequence a prey to ignorance and superstition. It is not that priests do not exist in the country ; but these mercenary priests, seeking only their own interests and forgetting the care of souls, were satisfied with residing near certain churches, and with travelling about the country on certain days, in order to preside at feasts wholly material and half heathen in character. Often their presence was only felt by the trouble and scandal they created, and by their lawsuits against their own parishioners.'*

In the Province of Marava in particular, where Blessed John of Britto had won the martyr's crown, a large number of Christians, finding themselves deserted after the suppression of the Society, had returned to the errors of paganism.

Undaunted by the mournful spectacle that met them on every side, the four Jesuits set to work ; day and night they laboured, preaching, instructing, administering the Sacraments, cheerfully enduring every species of privation and suffering. New auxiliaries were sent out to them from Europe ; but disease and fatigue thinned their ranks with fearful rapidity, and during the first years of its existence the mission of Madura resembled a battle-field, where the soldiers of the Church joyfully laid down their lives for their Master's sake. To the honour of the Society be it recorded that, in proportion as the missionaries succumbed to the effects of the unhealthy climate and of unceasing labour, new recruits offered themselves, and eagerly begged to take the vacant places. The history of these martyrs of charity breathes the same spirit that animated John

* Ibid.

of Britto, Laynez, Borghese, and Robert de' Nobili, and shows that, in different circumstances and amidst difficulties of a different nature, the Jesuits of the nineteenth century had in no way degenerated.

Father Alexander Martin, one of the first missionaries sent to Madura, was also one of the first to die. 'His life,' writes his Superior, 'was during three months together but a series of forced marches under a burning sun. He wished to take advantage of the ravages of cholera in order to bring the schismatics into the Church, and his efforts were rewarded by consoling success; a number of schismatics, and sometimes whole villages together, were converted by his preaching.'*

He was alone in a distant mission when he suddenly became seriously ill, and though his brethren started to join him as soon as they heard of his danger, the distance was so great and the progress of the disease so rapid, that when Father Bertrand, his Superior, arrived, he had been dead some hours. His faithful Hindoo Christians surrounded him during his agony, which at first was troubled by the thought that he should die without the assistance of his brethren; but soon seeing that the end was fast approaching, he gave up all hope and desire of seeing the fathers again. 'God's will be done,' he said; 'I shall be equally content whether they come or not: God is sufficient for me;' and with this act of resignation on his lips he calmly expired, May 30, 1840. His memory was held in great veneration by the native Christians; and, two years after his death, Father Garnier relates that crowds of pilgrims came from long distances to pray by his tomb, and that many miraculous cures had been obtained through his intercession. The same father adds that this concourse of pilgrims, their faith and confidence, and the undoubted graces obtained by their prayers, reminded him vividly of the spectacle presented at the tomb of St. Francis Régis, at La Louvesc. The loss of Father Martin was not the only sacrifice demanded of the Jesuits of Madura; a few days later they had to mourn the death of Father de Bournet, a young religious of great pro-

* Ibid.

mise and of a singularly ardent and generous character, who, like Father Martin, expired with the words, 'My God, I am ready; Thy will be done!' Three years later, Father Alexander de St. Sardos fell a victim to his indefatigable exertions in behalf of the cholera-patients of a distant mission. When he felt himself stricken by the disease he sent word to one of his brethren, who was several miles off, wrote his last instructions in his pocket-book, in case the father should arrive too late, and then calmly prepared for death. The house he lived in was so wretched that his disciples carried him into the church, to shelter him from the wind and rain; and there he died at the foot of the altar, with his eyes fixed upon the tabernacle. Only one hour later, Father Combe, whom he had sent for, and who had travelled with the utmost speed, arrived, and found the body still lying in the church; the head was turned towards the altar, and the Christians of the mission were weeping and praying around. A few days later, Father Charignon was carried off by cholera; he had but lately arrived, and in the short space of three weeks had heard two hundred and seventy confessions. In the course of the next few months, Father Garnier, Father Faurie, Father Duranquet, Father Deschamps, who was said to be the living image of St. Aloysius, and many others fell with fearful rapidity in the exercise of their apostolate. Father Duranquet, who, by his ability and energy, had rendered great services to the mission, had four brothers, all of whom were already Jesuits and missionaries. At the news of his death, the fifth brother, then a theological student at the Jesuit house of Vals, offered himself to the Provincial for the Madura mission; his proposal was accepted, and with the full approval of his family he started to take his brother's place.

The labours and sacrifices of the fathers were rewarded by the success that crowned their efforts; and the mission of Madura, where so many heroic lives had been laid down in the service of Christ, produced a rich harvest of souls. Many touching traits are related by the fathers to illustrate the faith and piety of the poor Hindoos. They quickly perceived the

difference between the Catholic and the Protestant missionaries, and, alluding to the system of bribery practised by the latter, one of the natives said to Father Bertrand, 'The Protestant religion is a religion of money; this is the name we give it, and this name is enough to condemn it. We are not very learned, but in our simplicity we are not so foolish as is supposed; and we say that if a merchant pays us for receiving his goods, they must be poison.*'

The same father relates that many poor Christians were in the habit of fasting every Saturday in honour of our Blessed Lady. 'There are many places,' he writes, 'where this practice is general, even among the labourers; those who can afford to do so prefer only to work half the day, in order to bear the fast to the end. . . . Sometimes I give them the Saturday fast, as a sacramental penance; and many of them then reply, "But, father, I already fast on Saturday!" If I say this is enough, they return to the charge two or three times: "Father, what day must I fast for my penance?" It has sometimes happened that when I fix another day, I meet with the same difficulty. . . . A very sensible consolation to us in the midst of our endless journeys,' continues the same missionary, 'is the joys with which our Christians receive us, and the visible good produced by these rapid visits to the missions. After the usual formalities these good Christians crowd round us, beg us to bless their villages, houses, and cattle; we go along the streets with them in procession, and often, in order to detain us longer, they take us beyond the village to bless the fields and crops. Once I stopped in the midst of the fields with a deep feeling of sadness at the sight of their extreme poverty. "It is true," the Christians replied: "this year is a bad one; the good God has willed it so; His will be done!" Not one word of murmur, complaint, or lamentation escaped them, and they might have been thought perfectly indifferent. Yet these crops were their only hope for the whole year; and they owned themselves that they would have to suffer many privations, but always added, "The will of God be done!"'†

* Ibid.

† Ibid.

Even among the schismatics real good was done; and in 1845, Father Canoz, Superior of the mission, wrote that though the schism could not be said to be destroyed, it had received several heavy blows, and its influence was rapidly decreasing.

A Jesuit college was founded at Negapatam for the children of European colonists, and only a few months after its establishment it counted a large number of pupils. A college for Hindoos was founded in the same city; and as the parents of most of the scholars could or would not pay for their support, the fathers had the entire charge of their education. A preparatory school, also for natives, was founded at Trichinopoly, and also a Jesuit novitiate, afterwards transferred to Dindighal. In 1850 there were among the novices English, French, Portuguese, Irish, Creoles, Spaniards, Indians, Bengalis; and on the feasts of our Lady her praises were celebrated in twenty different languages. Much attention was devoted by the fathers to the training of catechists, who, owing to the limited number of missionaries, were greatly needed to assist in instructing the neophytes, and a special congregation was formed for this object, under the patronage of our Lady of the Seven Dolours. Besides these different foundations, the Jesuits established a seminary for native secular priests, and the care and zeal displayed by them in the training of these young students is a sufficient reply to those who accuse them of being indifferent to the formation of the secular clergy on the mission.

In 1847 the Holy See gave a striking testimony to the useful services and devotion of the missionaries, by appointing Father Canoz, their Superior, Vicar-Apostolic of Madura and Bishop of Tamassen. He accepted the honour thus imposed upon him with touching humility, his chief comfort being that it was especially stipulated that he should remain a Jesuit. On hearing of his nomination he wrote thus to his Provincial: 'Consider me always as the humblest of your children. . . . The dignity with which I am about to be invested will make no change in my feelings of love, reverence, and devotion towards the Society, our common mother, to whom I am happy

to belong for ever. This is my glory, my joy, and my consolation.* Father Canoz was consecrated on the 29th June 1847, in presence of more than three thousand people, who had flocked to Trichinopoly for the occasion.

It is interesting to note the joy experienced by the missionaries when, in the midst of their labours, they chanced to come across the traces of their predecessors, the great apostles of the last century. In 1838, Father Martin wrote to Father Bertrand, from a town near Cape Comorin, where he had found a church built by the former missionaries: 'What happiness it was for me to see once more the habit of the Society, my beloved mother, in the picture above the high altar! It represents St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier at the feet of our Lady, who appears to be giving them her Divine Son to reward their labours.† And when, as sometimes happened, the fathers found that customs or devotions established by their predecessors survived, in spite of long years of neglect, it may be imagined with what filial respect they endeavoured to preserve them.

A few years later, the Vicar-Apostolic of Chang-Tong in China sent a petition to Rome, asking that the Jesuits might be restored to the empire which had been the scene of some of their most glorious conquests, and where their name was still cherished. An old man, who died in 1829, after relating to his children the labours of the ancient missionaries, used to add these words: 'The successors of these apostles will one day return; and you who are young will see them, but we who are bowed down with age will not have this happiness. When the Jesuits return, religion will once more flourish in China.‡ Thirteen years after the death of this aged Christian three Jesuits—Fathers Gotteland, Estève, and Brueyre—received orders from the Holy See to proceed to China, where they landed in 1841.

At the present moment the Society of Jesus possesses two

* Ibid.

† Ibid.

‡ *Mémoire sur l'Etat actuel de la Mission du Kiang-nan*, par P. Brouillon, S.J.

missions in China, both of which form dioceses governed by Jesuit Bishops. That of Kiang-nan has been, since 1865, under Monseigneur Languillat, and is supplied from the Province of Paris; and that of Pé-tché-ly, under Monseigneur Dubar, belongs to the Province of Champagne.*

The mission of Kiang-nan, which comprises a territory equal to the whole of France, and has fifty millions of inhabitants, numbered, in 1868, thirty-nine priests, thirteen scholastics, and fifteen lay-brothers of the Society, besides about seventeen native priests and a certain number of Lazarists. Here, as in India, the suppression was a terrible blow to the interests of religion. After the death of Monseigneur de Leimbeckhoven, the last Jesuit Bishop, in 1787, the Christians of the country were comparatively neglected, and many, in consequence, were the difficulties encountered by the first missionaries. Besides the task of gaining new children to the Church, they had to revive the faith of those whose religious convictions had grown cold. Their labour was increased by the immense distances they had to travel, and the national and religious prejudices of the natives, which exposed them to continual danger of death. But the fathers bravely set to work, and recent publications on the subject give us an idea of the success that crowned their efforts. In the course of one year, 1853, they heard 91,000 confessions, baptized 5445 pagan children, of whom 187 were brought up in the orphanages founded for the purpose. Like the ancient missionaries, they established schools for children, seminaries for native priests, and homes for the deserted Chinese infants, whom their parents abandoned to certain death. In 1848, a cathedral was begun at Shang-hai by Father Hélot, an able architect. Five years later it was consecrated in presence of an immense multitude; and among those who assisted at the ceremony was a naval officer, Alexis Clerc, who beheld with deep emotion this impressive display of faith on the soil watered with the blood of so many martyrs. Less than twenty years afterwards the officer had become a Jesuit, and in his

* Since the above was written, Monseigneur Languillat and Monseigneur Dubar have been carried off by death at a few months' distance.

turn was called upon to die for Christ—not, indeed, on the distant shores of a heathen land, but in the heart of the capital of France. Throughout his religious career, Father Clerc attributed his vocation to the Society of Jesus to the holy example of the missionaries of Kiang-nan.*

At a short distance from Shang-hai the fathers have founded a seminary for secular priests; a little further, at Zi-ka-wei, they possess a flourishing college, of which a modern traveller remarks that all within 'bears a look of order and discipline. The pupils pursue classical studies, according to the Chinese sense of the word, and acquire much useful knowledge. Those who are orphans are taught trades, and on returning to their families these youths will carry with them the germs of civilization. Every one in the house, fathers and pupils alike, looked healthy and happy.†

In China, as in Madura, the Jesuits continued to benefit by the wisdom and experience of the former missionaries, whose books of instruction and devotion they zealously distributed. Thus Father Ricci's celebrated Catechism, Father Verbiest's Abridgment of Christian Doctrine, and Father Aleni's Life of our Lord continue to this day the apostolate begun by these great men. In many parts of the vast territory committed to the care of the Society the fathers found instances of piety that amply repaid them for their labours. Father Bulte, one of the missionaries, writes in 1868: 'Out of 1840 Christians, who compose the parish of Ton-ka-ton, you generally see at Mass, on ordinary days, about four hundred persons; many of them remain more than an hour in the church, in order to hear, if possible, two or three Masses. On the second-class feasts, such as for instance the feasts of Apostles, the number of persons at Mass is much greater. . . . During the triduum celebrated for the Holy Father, on the 17th, 18th, and 19th of March, eight hundred and sixty Christians went to Communion for his Holiness.‡ Another account describes the Christians

* *Alexis Clerc, Marin, Jésuite et Otage de la Commune*, par P. Daniel, S.J.

† *Promenade autour du Monde*, par Baron de Hübner, vol. ii.

‡ *La Compagnie de Jésus en Chine: 'Le Kiang-nan en 1869.'*

belonging to the class of fishermen, in the province of Kiang-nan, who are divided into a certain number of congregations, placed under the patronage of an Apostle, and form so many large families. They are born, live, and die on board their boats, and, though poor in the things of this world, are rich in gifts of faith and piety. Most of them in their annual confessions do not give the missionary sufficient matter for absolution. The other classes of Christians are richer. As a specimen of their mode of life may be taken the family of Melchior Tsu. At five all rise and say prayers in common, and then the Little Office of our Lady is recited at the different hours of the day. At half-past seven evening prayers are said together; then come supper and spiritual reading. At ten the Rosary is said in common before retiring to rest. In a letter written by Father Hende, S.J., in 1869, describing his excursions around Nankeen, we find the following curious account of his meeting with the family of the celebrated Chinese giant Chang: 'One day, at about ten in the morning, we stopped at a village called Fom-chouei-ouen to wait for our porters and to prepare our dinner. In this locality no European had ever been seen before, and in spite of the heavy rain the news of our arrival spread quickly. Then, as usual, men, women, and children hastened to come to look at the men from the far West. . . .' On hearing that the travellers were French, the natives informed them that a man from their village had once gone to their country, and they inquired whether the fathers could give any news of him. On further inquiry the Jesuits discovered that it was no other than the famous Chinese giant Chang. 'I told them,' continues Father Hende, 'that when I left France he was quite well and earning a great deal of money. One of his uncles told us that the giant had a brother also a giant. At our request he was sent for. He proved to be a Colossus indeed, but simple and good. He invited us to tea at his house, where he introduced us to his little girl, who is already a giantess. There were three brothers of the same size, the eldest of whom is dead; their mother was a giantess.*'

* *La Compagnie de Jésus en Chine*: 'Le Kiang-nan en 1869.'

As has been stated, the mission of Kiang-nan is not the only one directed by the Jesuits in China; the diocese of South-eastern Pé-tché-ly, governed by a Bishop of the Society, Monseigneur Dubar, is likewise committed to their care. It is a vast territory, with a peculiarly trying climate, to which many missionaries have already succumbed; but the progress of the mission, if necessarily slow on account of the difficulties to be overcome, is steady and uninterrupted. When the Jesuits took possession of it in 1857 there were but 9475 Christians in a population of 10,000,000 infidels, and not a single Catholic school existed throughout the province. In 1870 and 1871 the total number of Christians had increased to 20,517, and the number of baptisms of adults during one year was 1333. There existed moreover in the mission one seminary, twenty-eight schools for boys, twenty-one for girls, four schools for training catechists or schoolmistresses, two orphanages for boys, and two for girls. In the account published for 1873 we read: 'The mission of Pé-tché-ly, south and east, numbers at this moment fifteen missionaries of the Society of Jesus, one Chinese priest, one scholastic, six lay-brothers, and five novices. Out of these, twelve priests are employed in the districts, giving missions to the Christians and evangelizing the pagans. . . The others remain at the residence to take care of the seminary, the orphanages, and to direct the house. The lay-brothers are occupied with the material cares, and, as many of them possess useful talents, they are of great service to us. One is a clockmaker; besides repairing our own watches when they want it, he doctors the clocks and watches of the mandarins. They find it very convenient to have their chronometers and clocks mended free of cost by a clever workman, and the services we thus render to them have already proved useful to ourselves, as when we are obliged to have recourse to their authority we find them less harsh and more willing to oblige us. Another brother is an architect; he helps to build our chapels and houses; and as, at the same time, he is clever at decorating, he adorns our churches with his paintings, and teaches his art to some of the Chinese. A

third is a painter, a carpenter, and something of a locksmith ; the fourth is an infirmarian and doctor ; he is the Hippocrates of the surrounding country, and I have seen pagans come eighteen miles in order to consult him. What makes his reputation so useful is that it often enables him to baptize children in danger of death, whose souls are thus secured to heaven. . . . The care we take of the sick makes us favourably known in the country, and causes the better sort of heathens to regard us as charitable and compassionate men.*

Like the ancient missions of the Society, the modern Jesuit missions of China have had their martyrs. Father Vuillaume, a Frenchman, was massacred at Zieka in 1862 while endeavouring to console his neophytes, who were suffering from an invasion of brigands. Father Gaetano Masse, one of five brothers, all Jesuits, and all missionaries in China, died in 1850, a martyr of charity. Three years later one of his brothers, Father René Masse, was carried off by typhus. During a fearful famine that had ravaged the country he laboured constantly in the service of his beloved Christians, to whom he gave away even the scanty allowance of food necessary for his own support. Exhausted by fatigue and privations he speedily fell a victim to the fever, and died far away from his brethren, attended only by his catechist, but to the last calm and joyous, and wholly resigned to the will of God. Like the ancient missions, too, the present ones possess men of great learning, like Fathers Edel and Hende, whose letters are full of curious scientific observations on the natural productions of the country. They have mandarins, like Father Leboucq, whose thorough knowledge of the manners, language, and customs of the country, as well as the decoration awarded to him by the Imperial Court, render him a valuable auxiliary to his brethren in their occasional difficulties with the authorities. Two observatories have likewise been established by the Jesuits, one near Shang-hai, the other in Tchély ; and the result of the scientific observations made there is regularly sent to Europe.

It is interesting to read how the missionaries of the present

* *Notice sur la Mission du Pé-tché-ly sud-est (1873).*

day have often met with the traces of their predecessors. In 1863 a lay-brother of the Society visited Peking, being the first of his Order to enter the imperial city since the suppression. He describes the now deserted observatory, with the bronze instruments still standing where they were placed by Father Verbiest two centuries ago; and upon his inquiry why they were thus abandoned, he was told that no one at Peking knew now how to use them. He also found in the same building maps drawn out by Father Verbiest, and books of astronomy and geometry by Father Ricci and others. In the Christian school of Peking he met with a grandson of one of the Tartar princes, whose sufferings for the faith have been recorded; and among the Christians who came to visit him was an old man, who related that he had been baptized by the Jesuits, and that the one desire of his life had been to see a Jesuit before he died.*

In the province of Tché-Kiang the fathers found the tombs of about twenty missionaries of the former Society; among others, of Father Intorcetta, who died in 1696, and Father Martini, who died in 1661. The body of the latter remained incorrupt for many years; and the Christians were in the habit of assembling round his tomb on feast-days. They used to take the body out of the coffin, seat it on a chair, and repeat their prayers before it, after which they respectfully laid it back in the coffin. This went on till the first years of the present century, when the heathens began to adore the body; and it then fell to pieces.†

This brief and incomplete account of a few of the Jesuit missions since 1814 cannot be closed better than by a list of the missions of the Society throughout the world at the present day, classed according to the Provinces from which they are recruited, and to which they consequently belong:

1. Province of Rome: Brazil.

* 'Une Visite à Peking en 1863,' *Etudes religieuses, historiques et littéraires* (Juillet 1864).

† *Mémoire sur l'Etat actuel de la Mission du Kiang-nan*, par P. Brouillon, S.J. (1855).

2. Province of England : English Guiana ; Jamaica ; Honduras ; Southern and Central Africa.
3. Province of Austria : Australia.
4. Province of Aragon : Argentine Republic ; Uruguay ; Chili.
5. Province of Belgium : East Indies (Calcutta) ; Central Africa.
6. Province of Castile and Portugal : Havana ; the Antilles ; Republic of Ecuador ; Peru ; Nicaragua ; Texas.
7. Province of Champagne : China (Tché-li).
8. Province of Paris : China (Kiang-nan).
9. Province of Lyons : Kabylia ; Syria ; Africa (Algeria) ; United States.
10. Province of Toulouse : Madura ; Madagascar ; the islands of Réunion, Maurice, Ste. Marie, &c.
11. Province of Holland : Java ; Sumatra.
12. Province of Ireland : Australia.
13. Province of Germany (dispersed in Holland, Denmark, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria, and England) : United States ; Bombay ; Brazil ; Chili ; Paraguay.
14. Province of Naples : New Mexico ; Colorado (United States).
15. Province of Turin : California ; Rocky Mountains.
16. Province of Sicily : Turkey ; Malta ; Greece.
17. Province of Venice : Dalmatia ; Albania ; Monaco ; Styria.
18. Province of Mexico.
19. Province of Missouri (United States).
20. Mission of New York and Canada.
21. Province of Maryland (United States).

CHAPTER XXI.

Father Peter Beckx, Twenty-second General of the Society, 1853.

IN his letters to his brethren in Paris, Father de Ravignan gives an account of the General Congregation assembled at the Gesù on the death of Father Roothaan, and at which he assisted as one of the representatives of the Province of Paris. At the end of June he writes: 'All is well; all goes on in peace, harmony, and silence. . . . I am edified at the manner in which the informations for the election are taken. Truly the Spirit of God reigns here.' And on the 2d of July following: 'Glory be to God and to Mary! We have just come from the church, where a *Te Deum* has been sung. At half-past eight this morning all was over amidst the deepest peace and recollection. The Rev. Father Beckx, Provincial of Austria, was elected General.*' Father Peter Beckx, who, on the feast of the Visitation, 1853, was chosen to govern the Society of Jesus, is a native of Sichem in Brabant, where he was born on February 8th, 1795. The twenty-second successor of St. Ignatius has had an unusual share in the heritage of suffering left by the holy founder to his children. He has seen the members of his Order driven out of Germany, Italy, and Spain; and he himself is now an exile from the Gesù.

But together with numerous trials and anxieties, the Father General has experienced a large share of consolation. He has seen many saints and martyrs of the Society—Peter Favre, Peter Canisius, John Berchmans, Ignatius de Azevedo, the martyrs of Japan—raised to the altars of the Church by Pius IX. of glorious memory. He has witnessed too the increase of the Society in England, where the Jesuits now possess

* *Vie du P. Ravignan*, par P. de Ponlevoy, vol. ii. chap. xxii.

with three colleges a novitiate, a house of studies, many flourishing residences and missions; and its rapid development in Catholic France, where, in spite of continual attacks on the part of the infidel and revolutionary press, the Society has twenty-five colleges and between nine and ten thousand pupils.

But the generalatè of Father Beckx belongs to contemporary history; and of the striking and varied events that mark its course one episode only shall be extracted.

During the Franco-Prussian war the Jesuits transformed their colleges and residences into ambulances, where night and day they nursed the wounded soldiers, while some of their number accompanied their countrymen on the battle-field as military chaplains. The best officers in the French army were their pupils; and if the devotion of these heroes could not save France, it proved at least that the spirit of religion and chivalry was not dead within her.

When the war with Prussia was over, the unhappy country became a prey to an internal contest yet more terrible; and it was then that five members of the Society of Jesus, together with many secular priests and religious of different orders, gained the martyr's palm.

Father Olivaint, Superior of the house of the Rue de Sèvres in Paris; Father Ducoudray, Rector of the School of Ste. Geneviève; Father Clerc, once a naval officer; Father de Bengy, who had acted as military chaplain during the war; and Father Gaubert, were arrested by order of the Commune. From the Conciergerie, their first prison, they were transferred to Mazas, where they endured many weeks of solitary confinement; and their letters now published* are worthy to take their place by the side of those written in bygone days from the prisons of China and Japan. The same spirit reigns throughout. Sufferings and death are accepted with calm and cheerful courage, and grief for the calamities of the country and the Church absorbs every personal feeling. On the 17th of April, a few days after his arrival at Mazas, Father Olivaint writes: 'Thank all those who take an interest in my fate, and

* *Actes de la Captivité*, par P. de Ponlevoy, S.J.

tell them that I am not at all to be pitied. My health is pretty good. I have not a moment of *ennui*.' And Father Clerc, a few days later : 'I pray, I study, I read, I write a little ; and I find that time passes quickly even at Mazas.' And when, thanks to the ingenious charity of some courageous souls, Holy Communion was secretly conveyed to the prisoners their joy seems to overflow : 'O my prison,' writes Father Clerc, 'beloved prison, the walls of which I kissed, with the words, "Bona Crux !" Thou art no longer a prison, but a chapel ; thou art not even a solitude, for I am not alone ; my Saviour and my King, my Master and my God, lives with me. . . . I feel that I can do all in Him who strengthens me, and who will be with me to the end.'

In the evening of May 22d the prisoners of Mazas were removed to La Roquette. Among them were the Archbishop of Paris, many secular priests, religious of different orders, and the five Jesuits, who now met for the first time since their imprisonment. Two days passed ; and while the troops of Versailles and those of the Commune were engaged in a final contest under the walls of Paris the prisoners of La Roquette were preparing for death. On the 24th of May, towards eight in the evening, the first summons came. The Archbishop, two secular priests, one layman, and two Jesuits, Fathers Ducoudray and Clerc, were the chosen six. They were led to the foot of the prison-walls ; and a few minutes later a discharge of musketry, followed by cries of 'Vive la Commune !' told those who were kneeling anxious and breathless in their cells that the wickedness of man had done its worst. Two days later, on the 26th, when the troops of the Commune were driven into their last intrenchments, fifty more victims were immolated ; and this second sacrifice was accompanied by circumstances of peculiar cruelty. Through the crowded Paris streets, amidst the yells of a maddened people, the prisoners were led on foot from La Roquette to Belleville. Among them were priests and religious ; and as they passed along every kind of indignity, insults, and even blows were heaped upon them. In this long 'Via Dolorosa,' which lasted nearly two hours, the Society of

Jesus was nobly represented; and the historian of the martyrs describes Father Caubert, whose health was weak, leaning on the arm of Father Olivaint, and conversing quietly with him, as though they had been far away from the horrible tumult. Doubtless they spoke of that bright land towards which they were journeying, and where the soldier-saint of Loyola stood ready to welcome home his martyred children. Close to his brethren walked Father de Bengy, ever calm and joyous.

On arriving at a species of court or open garden on the heights of Belleville, a frightful scene took place; men, women, and children joined in the massacre, and for about a quarter of an hour the discharge of firearms mingled with the moans of the dying and the ferocious cries of the murderers. At about seven that evening the tumult ceased, and fifty mangled bodies were cast into a pit which happened to be on the spot. Two days later, on Pentecost Sunday, May 28th, the victorious armies of Versailles had crushed the last remnants of rebellion; the bodies of the victims were reverently taken from their unblest grave, and on the following Wednesday a solemn funeral service took place at the Jesuits' church in presence of the five coffins, which now rest under the altar dedicated to the martyrs of the Society in Japan.

It is yet early days to speak of the crowds who, during the last eight years, have visited that humble chapel, and who carry away the hope that one day perchance, after time and research have done their work and the Church has given her decision, five new names may be added to the list of the canonized saints of the Society of Jesus.

At the sight of the incessant persecution which, from its origin to the present day, has pursued the Society of Jesus, and which only eight years ago sacrificed those whose names have just been recorded, we can clearly trace the fulfilment of the prayer of St. Ignatius that the Cross should be in a special manner the heritage of his disciples. Thirty-four years ago, in the French House of Peers, an illustrious orator,*

* Montalembert, 'Séances du 11 et 12 Juin 1845,' *Discours*, vol. ii. p. 160 (édit. 1860).

whom none will accuse of narrow-minded prejudice, thus alluded to this characteristic trait of the Society, and pointed out that the blows nominally directed against the Jesuits were in reality aimed at the Church. 'It has never been asserted,' he said, 'that the Jesuits constitute the Church, but that they are *in* the Church and *of* the Church; that they are her most devoted sons and most faithful soldiers; and that to injure them is to injure the Church. For this simple reason it is impossible to insult those who are in the service of a power without insulting that power itself, or to injure a son without injuring his mother.'

THE END.

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