

# THE PROGRAMME OF THE JESUITS

**A Popular Exposition**

BY

**W. BLAIR NEATBY, M.A.**

AUTHOR OF "A HISTORY OF THE PLYMOUTH BRETHREN,"  
"THREE LETTERS ON THE PROPOSAL FOR A  
ROMAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY"

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## PREFACE

**A**T the present crisis it can scarcely be necessary to apologise for calling attention once more to the policy of Jesuitism. However well-worn the subject may appear, it will be time enough to think of dropping it when Jesuit activity shows the slightest sign of slumber in any part of its world-wide domain, or when a just and necessary suspicion is fairly aroused in our nation. The Jesuits, who brought France to the verge of ruin in 1870, seemed on the very point of completing their work of destruction a year or two since; and he

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would be a very bold man who would dare to say that the peril had passed even yet. "Jam proximus ardet Ucalegon;" but that old familiar warning of our schooldays has been wasted on our easy-going security. It is a ruinous mistake to imagine that the Jesuits have no foothold, firm and broad, in the affairs of our own nation; and it is simply ignorance or infatuation, however it may assume the guise of liberality, to treat Jesuitism as a negligible quantity in our national problems.

The intrusion into England of religious orders expelled abroad, however serious it may be, is by no means the most alarming feature of the outlook. The spirit of reaction is passing, like a desolating blast, over the land that has been for centuries the sanctuary of free institutions and of spiritual religion. We are confronted with

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a legislation which, in its disregard of the principles of the English constitution, its contempt for our evangelical faith, its cynical indifference to the feelings and convictions of half the religious population of the country, startlingly recalls the reckless and, as the event so speedily proved, the disastrous legislation of the times of the Restoration. The opponents of the present Education Bill may be sure that they are counterworking, directly or indirectly, a far mightier and more terrible foe than any that appears on the immediate scene of conflict. For there is a spirit of reaction ever at work throughout Christendom—a spirit that will not rest content short of the full measure of mediæval darkness, superstition, and tyranny. That spirit is, so to speak, incarnate in the frightfully misnamed Society of Jesus; and many a man

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to whom the very name of the Society is an abomination is doing, in his simplicity, the Society's work, by giving his shortsighted, if not his selfish, support to a reactionary policy. It is not, of course, the Jesuits who sow the seed of every policy of the kind, but it is the Jesuits who may safely be counted on to reap the harvest.

This little book does not deal directly with contemporary English questions. Perhaps it is not the less seasonable on that account. No one knows the perils of a game of reaction unless he knows something of the history of the supreme masters of reaction. That our civil and religious liberties are in jeopardy is probably plain to the majority of Englishmen to-day. It is not so widely realised that such a state of things in England, in the twentieth century, would be perfectly inconceivable

## PREFACE

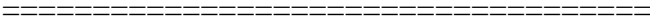
apart from the great work to which the Society of Jesus devoted its earliest energies, and which it has prosecuted ever since with such a success in the face of apparently insurmountable obstacles as is not to be paralleled amongst all the other achievements of frail mortality. Yet this is, to the very letter, demonstrably a fact; and Jesuitism is therefore the last question of which any Christian, or any Englishman, has a right to be ignorant. If any man have no sound and reliable knowledge of the subject, let him sell his garment and buy it.

*March, 1903.*

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If every American does his or her best for America and for Humanity we shall become, and remain, the Grandest of Nations – admired by all and feared by none, our strength being our Wisdom and kindness.

Knowledge knows no race, sex, boundary or nationality; what mankind knows has been gathered from every field plowed by the thoughts of man. There is no reason to envy a learned person or a scholarly institution, learning is available to all who seek it in earnest, and it is to be had cheaply enough for all.

To study and plow deeper the rut one is in does not lead to an elevation of intelligence, quite the contrary! To read widely, savor the thoughts, and blind beliefs, of others will make it impossible to return again to that narrowness that did dominate the view of the uninformed.

To prove a thing wrong that had been believed will elevate the mind more than a new fact learned.

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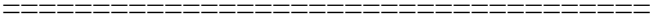
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To facilitate the verification of references and quotations, the following list is given. It contains the full title and date of all works quoted or referred to in this book, with the exception of works in regard to which uncertainty could scarcely be felt. The edition used is also carefully specified in all doubtful cases.

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CHARACTER AND WORK OF  
JESUITISM

# I

## CHARACTER AND WORK OF JESUITISM

“**E**XCEPT the mystery of godliness,”  
a friend somewhat addicted to paradox once observed to me, “there is nothing so grand in the world as the mystery of iniquity.” The saying might have sounded less startling to the Apostles than it will sound to men of our own day. For the New Testament writers were profoundly impressed with the thought that the Gospel must encounter an opposition organised and inspired by the powers of darkness, established in

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the bosom of Christian profession, and working its way, subtilly, hiddenly, irresistibly, to an awful consummation in the "last days." This thought inspired an apocalyptic passage in almost the earliest of the writings of the New Testament, and it bulked larger and larger as the canon drew towards its completion.\*

History, at all events, has facts not easily explained without the help of this hypothesis. One of the puzzles of the Apocalypse is the picture of the beast that received a mortal wound, and whose wound was healed. Possibly the prophetic hint is pregnant, and by no means to be limited to a single fulfilment; but we are at least offered a tempting

\* See especially 2 Thess. ii., the Pastoral Epistles, 1 John ii. 18, and the Apocalypse *passim*.



## OF JESUITISM

analogy in the modern history of the Papacy. To be the dominant religion of the Middle Ages was but a light thing, and at the epoch of the Revival of Learning it seemed that Popery was to be trampled underfoot in the rush of new ideas. But Popery rose from its fearful peril unbroken and undaunted, and to-day it commands the homage of knowledge as of old it commanded the homage of ignorance. It confronted Protestantism when Protestantism had reached the fullness of its strength—the strength of enlightenment, of social amelioration, of arts and discoveries, and above all of its irrefutable appeal to the Bible. Everywhere revived Popery held its ground. Too often Protestantism gave ground before it; and to-day, four hundred and fifty years after the beginning of the

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Revival of Learning, Popery is the predominant religion of the civilised world. This has been justly considered the most astounding *tour de force* of history. Is it, perhaps, only to be explained in the light of that ever-working mystery of iniquity—that operation of principles superhuman in their wickedness, in their craft, in their energy, as in their exploits—which St. Paul and St. John saw filling the field of history from their own time on to “the last days”? Let us wait and see. What is certain is that the triumph of Popery is the work of the Jesuits, and in the history of the Jesuits accordingly we must seek for an answer to the question.

It is worthy of all attention that Rome has not purchased her triumph by a single concession. On the contrary, her

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pretensions are more arrogant than ever, her yoke is heavier, her formulated doctrines are more hopelessly wicked and absurd,\* her superstitions are no less gross, and are much more defiant of the common sense of mankind. Yet not only does she command more extensive allegiance among civilised nations than any other professedly Christian religion, but even among Protestants she is flattered, courted, and caressed by many, and deferentially treated by the great majority. A study of this amazing movement—this stream of events that springs from what is aptly termed the Counter-Reformation—is the study of Jesuitism; and therefore to form a correct

\* As illustrated above all in the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception (1854) and in the Vatican decrees (1870).

## CHARACTER OF JESUITISM

estimate of Jesuitism is a matter of unsurpassed importance.\*

\* It should be borne in mind that the present treatise is merely an historical essay. It is not a history, even on the smallest scale, and it does not conform to the principles of historic perspective. Its aim, as its title indicates, is to exhibit and illustrate the programme of the Society of Jesus, and the facts of history are selected and treated accordingly.

FORMATION OF THE SOCIETY OF  
JESUS

1. IGNATIUS LOYOLA.
2. THE SOCIETY CONSTITUTED.
3. THE FIRST ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY.

## II

### FORMATION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

#### § 1. *Ignatius Loyola.*

THE founder of the Jesuits, as every one knows, was Don Inigo Lopez de Loyola, the youngest son of a family of the highest rank in the Spanish province of Guipuzcoa. Loyola was born in 1491, eight years later than Luther. A brilliant career as a soldier was opening before him, when frightful wounds received in the defence of Pampeluna against the French left him a cripple; and by this misfortune his vast energies

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were diverted to a very different warfare.

During his tedious convalescence, an intense and doubtless most sincere devotion took possession of him. The legends of the saints violently excited his fancy. Visions of spiritual consolations for disappointed ambition, and, it is said, for disappointed love, allured him. The Church does not despise a crippled champion, nor "our lady Mary" a crippled lover; and to the ardent imagination of Loyola these were no shadowy consolations. He wholly devoted himself to Mary, and thus took, apparently not altogether without design, the first step in the path that led him on to the institution of the mightiest organisation that has ever influenced the destinies of mankind.



## SOCIETY OF JESUS

He set to work in the right way. Frightful mortifications laid the foundation of that influence which is seldom denied to a relentless self-devotion. After a time he journeyed to Rome, and thence to Jerusalem, filled with a plan for the conversion of the Mahometans. Relinquishing this unhopeful project, he returned to Spain, and applied himself to study. His eccentricities, however, brought him more than once into trouble with the Inquisition, and rightly judging that he would have more freedom in France, he betook himself thither. In Paris the great work of his life was at last inaugurated.

Loyola seems to have made no particular proficiency in learning. The bent of his mind was exclusively practical, but his practical faculty was of extra-

## FORMATION OF THE

ordinary power. His earliest project had been the conversion of non-Christian races; but this, though never relinquished, though set forth, indeed, as his primary object when first he formed his Society, though pursued with ardour by his followers in many a toilsome and perilous mission, had ere long to yield pride of place to an enterprise to which the necessities of the Church seemed to constitute a still more urgent and an imperative call.

### § 2. *The Society Constituted.*

It was not till his residence in Paris that Loyola came in contact with Protestantism, or even formed any distinct idea of its existence. It immediately aroused all the energy of his soul in opposition. The magnetic influence that

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he wielded over his fellows was thenceforth wholly employed in establishing and organising a standing army for the suppression of heresy; and by means of that wonderful institution his mind and personality remain to the present day amongst the greatest forces to be reckoned with in the affairs of Christendom.

His earliest associates were eminent men, but it was his personal influence that gathered them, his will that guided and ruled them, his mind that organised them. He impressed his own spirit on the Society, and stereotyped it. Few indeed are the institutions that have realised so exactly and so fully the idea of their founder; and very few, in developing, have developed so strictly on his lines.

The first band of Jesuits (the name is

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of somewhat later origin) was seven in number.\* They took together the threefold vow of poverty, chastity, and obedience † on the 15th of August, 1534. Only one of them (Peter Faber) was at that time a priest, and from his hands the little band received the sacrament together.

It was a great day in the history of

\* They were Loyola himself, Francis Xavier, Peter Faber, Diego Laynez, Alfonso Salmeron, Francisco de Bobadilla, and Simon Rodriguez. Faber was a Savoyard, Rodriguez a Portuguese. The rest were all Spaniards.

† From the first the Jesuits were satisfied with no half-hearted obedience. Even before the Society was formally confirmed, they assumed "the extraordinary obligation to do whatsoever the then Pope should command; to go into every country whither he chose to send them, among Turks, heathens, or heretics, instantly, without discussion, condition, or reward" (Ranke, i. p. 132).

## SOCIETY OF JESUS

mankind when the seven friends bowed together in the gloomy chapel of Dionysius the Areopagite, on the heights of Montmartre, and swore to fight eternally as spiritual knights "only for the things of God, of the Holy Mary, and her Son Jesus Christ, as also for the protection of the holy Roman Church and its supreme head, the Pope." "*Ad majorem Dei gloriam*," ("To the greater glory of God"), exclaimed Loyola as he repeated the oath. All his associates followed suit; and the words have remained to this day the motto under which the mystery of iniquity has recorded its most sinister triumphs. From daybreak until night the devotees prayed and fasted in the subterranean chapel, their hearts swelling with their mighty purpose. Yet they can little

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have guessed the world-wide destinies that lay in their hands that day.

It was not until 1537 that they obtained the Pope's licence to receive priestly ordination, and permission to go as missionaries to Jerusalem. At the end of that year, "Loyola announced his intention that their fellowship should henceforward be known as the 'Company of Jesus,' and that, abandoning their original plan of a purely Oriental mission, they should offer themselves to the Pope as a special militia." \*

The new order was confirmed by Papal bull in 1540. From that time the term "*Society of Jesus*," used in the Latin translation of the *Constitutions*, gradually replaced the earlier term, "Company."

\* *Encyclopædia Britannica* (9th ed.), vol. xiii. p. 652b.

## SOCIETY OF JESUS

Loyola was formally chosen the first Superior, or General, in 1541.

### § 3. *The First Activities of the Society.*

The earliest activities of the newly-confirmed society foreshadowed the whole subsequent course of its work. In the spring of 1541 Xavier sailed from Portugal on his East Indian mission. His own career was brief, but his example was fruitful; and with such zeal was the enterprise prosecuted that at the time of Loyola's death in 1556, the mission, which then stretched eastward to Japan, numbered a hundred priests. At the same date, in the far West, twenty-eight Jesuits were labouring amongst Portuguese subjects in Brazil. This rapid expansion produced no languor in the home work. Indeed, of the seven who took the earliest vows of the Society

## FORMATION OF THE

in the chapel of Dionysius, Xavier alone devoted himself to the work outside Europe. Rodriguez had been with him in Portugal, intending to accompany him to the East, but the Portuguese King obtained permission from the Pope to retain one of the missionaries. Remaining accordingly, Rodriguez founded at Coimbra the first college of the Society, and took up his station there as its rector.

Faber went in 1540 to the Diet of Worms, and not long after was working with immense success at Louvain. Laynez, who became in process of time the second General, also began operations in Germany, and there, as early as 1543, the first German Jesuit was enrolled in the person of the famous Canisius. Salmeron was sent to Ireland with Brouet, one of the earliest associates of the original seven, to



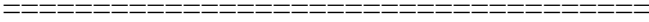
## SOCIETY OF JESUS

counterwork. the policy of Henry VIII. For this important service they were invested with the dignity of apostolic nuncios. Naples fell to the lot of Bobadilla; while Loyola, with admirable judgment, devoted his own energies to a kind of rescue work in Rome itself, thus to remove from the Church the sinister reputation, if not the reality, of the unspeakable moral corruption of its metropolis. The advance of the Society in Roman Catholic countries, especially in the Spanish peninsula, was extraordinarily rapid. Within some fifteen years of the day when Xavier left the shores of Europe the Jesuits had in Spain alone twenty colleges; and in Portugal, where the early efforts of Rodriguez had commanded a remarkable success of the usual ambiguous kind, the position of the Society was still more commanding.

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The wealth of thought hidden in obscure books of bygone ages makes fascinating reading, and as much of this great original thought was suppressed by the sheer power of the established systems of the time, these ideas may well be the ones needed to bring peace and human progress to our world. One thing is certain, the belief systems we have are not the ones we need.

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THE EQUIPMENT OF THE JESUITS

1. THE ORGANISATION OF THE SOCIETY.
2. THE TRAINING OF ITS MEMBERS.
3. THE SOCIETY AND THE POPE.

### III

#### THE EQUIPMENT OF THE JESUITS

##### § 1. *The Organisation of the Society.*

LOYOLA'S first followers were men of mark, and the Jesuits have at all times selected their associates with care; but personal qualities, even at a far higher average level than the Society has ever reached, could have accomplished very little of its gigantic undertaking. Loyola wisely set to work to make the strength of his Society as far as possible independent of the individual strength of its members, and brought all the resources

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of his matchless sagacity to bear on *organisation* and *training*.

The keystone of his arch was centralisation. In the case of the earlier orders, the bond of union lay in the common rule of the order, and in the common vow of obedience to the rule. If the whole order acted in concert, it was because of the rule by which all the members alike held themselves bound. Jesuitism trusts to no such precarious guarantee of corporate action. Power is concentrated in the hands of the General. The General, it is true, is elected by those members of the Society who are "professed of the four vows,"\* and the *Constitutions* distinctly provide that other members shall be present; but he is elected to despotism.

\* See below, p. 40.

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This is in keeping with the military idea which belongs to the very essence of Loyola's scheme; it is a dictatorship. To the General himself every member takes the vow of obedience. The General has plenary power to admit or to dismiss, and if he delegates the power, he delegates it at his own discretion.\* Appointment to practically every office, small or great, is entirely in his hands. By the rules of the Society he is kept continually informed of everything that takes place throughout the whole Jesuit world. The heads of all Jesuit houses or colleges in Europe make a weekly report to their provincial on all matters respecting the Society and its

\* The power of dismissal belongs *theoretically* to the Society at large, but it is vested in the General in the case of all members except himself. Cf. *Constitutions*, part 2, ch. i., § 2; part 5, ch. 1, § 2.

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operations, and the provincials make a monthly report to the General.

Yet even this is not all, for the heads of houses and colleges make a quarterly report to the General direct, thus supplying an effectual check upon the provincials. And "an elaborate system of espionage and delation"—in plain English, of spying and informing—"forms part of the recognised order of every house . . . and every inmate of a house is liable to secret accusation to its Superior, while the Superior himself may be similarly delated to the provincial or the General." \*

\* *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xiii. p. 648a. Also cf. *Institutum Societatis Jesu*, ed. Prague, 1757, vol. ii.; *Instructio* xv., p. 331. On the subject of delation see especially Mariana's indictment of his Society. In the French translation of his book (*Discours du Père Jean Mariana, Jésuite Espagnol, Des Grands Défauts qui sont en la Forme du*



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The only check on the General is that he is watched in the interests of the Society by a "consultative council,"\* neither chosen nor removable by him. This council, however, does not appear to hamper or control him, though it could proceed even to his deposition if he should prove treacherous to the Society. Such a step has never yet been taken. Jesuitism understands its business far too

*Gouvernement des Jésuites*, 1625, p. 126) we read: "J'ose assurer que si les archives de notre maison de Rome estoient épluchées, il ne s'y trouveroit un seul homme de bien, au moins de ceux qui sont éloignez, et que le Père General ne cognoist: car tous sont tachez, les uns plus, les autres moins."

\* *I.o.*, four "assistants elected by those who have the right to elect the General, and in addition a person styled an 'admonisher.'" Dr. Littledale adds the General's confessor, but I have not been able to discover his authority for this. That the confessor should be virtually a sixth in such a council was no doubt almost inevitable.

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well to lightly break its iron military discipline.\*

\* It is right to say that Dr. A. W. Ward takes a different view of the power of the General. "In truth," he says, "the success of the Company was much more largely than that of most other orders due to its chiefs or aristocracy. For though at first sight the enormous authority of the General might seem to give a monarchical character to the whole system, this authority was in fact the reverse of limited [*sic*]. The assistants, representing the chief provinces, and forming a kind of cabinet under the General, had not only the right of assembling a general congregation of the order in his despite, but in a case of urgency might proceed to his deposition by a still more summary method" (*The Counter-Reformation*, p. 37). Dr. Ward's authority is, of course, entitled to the deference of much better scholars than I; nevertheless I still maintain the common view with a good deal of confidence. Against his argument, which rests on the *theory* of the Society, I set the Society's unwavering *practice*. In 360 years no oligarchical factiousness or ambition has, in one single instance, brought about the deposition of a General. It is true that, in the single case of Nickel (1652-64), a vicar, with right of suc-

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### § 2. *The Training of a Jesuit.*

Such, in briefest outline, is the *organisation* of the Jesuits. It is evident that no Jesuit can call his soul his own; and that this is true in a much deeper and more terrible sense still will become clear on the barest glance at the *training* of the members of the Society.

cession and with independent authority, was attached to the General, who would thus seem to have been virtually superseded. But even this occurred at a time when the vigour of the Society had fallen greatly below par; and on the opposite side of the argument may be quoted the vehement complaints on the part of the French of the "unlimited power of the General which was not compatible with the laws of the country" (Von Ranke, vol. iii. p. 141). Guettée, at the opposite extreme to Dr. Ward, considers that all checks on the General might be theoretically, and have been in practice, neutralised (not uniformly, I apprehend) by the absolute authority of the General over the very men who are supposed to act as a check upon him (vol. i. p. 43).

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Without the training the organisation would have been unworkable. Loyola, whose sagacity was never at fault, recognised the need and supplied it. His *Spiritual Exercises* and his *Letter on Obedience* are the complement of his *Constitutions*. In point of time, indeed, the *Spiritual Exercises* are anterior even to the formation of the Society, and date back to the period of the horrible mortifications that marked the beginning of his devoutness.

The great object in the training of a Jesuit is to reduce him to his rôle of a minute part of a huge animated machine. If the general of an army in the field is practically supreme over the bodies and lives of his troops, a Jesuit Superior in respect of his subordinates, and a Jesuit General in respect of the whole Society, are

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supreme over bodies and lives,\* souls, minds, and consciences. If the older orders required absolute obedience to superiors, Loyola went much further. It is a sin for a Jesuit to act, speak, choose, think, feel or judge for himself. It is not merely that the will of his Superior is to be law to him; the will of his Superior is to be *his will*. Nor is this all; for the thought of the Superior is to be his thought. Obedience is a poor thing if it is merely the result of principle. The following passages from the *Letter on Obedience* are decisive:—

“I passionately desire that it should be perfectly evident to you, and remain thoroughly fixed in your

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\* Not of course in the sense that they can irresponsibly put to death, but in the sense, for example, that they can at their discretion send any one on an errand necessarily fatal.

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minds, that that kind of obedience is the lowest, and utterly imperfect, which merely accomplishes in outward act that which is commanded; and that it is unworthy of the name of virtue, unless it rise to that other grade where a man makes the will of his superior his own will, and so thoroughly agrees with it that not only is there an accomplishment in actual performance, but also a harmony in inward affection" (§ 5).

"He who wishes thoroughly to immolate his whole being to God must sacrifice, besides his will, his understanding also (which is the third and highest grade of obedience),—so that he may not merely wish the same thing as his superior, but may feel the same thing, and subject his own judgment to his superior's so far as a yielded will can bend the understanding (§ 9).

*"The illustrious simplicity of blind obedience vanishes if once we question with ourselves whether we have been rightly commanded or otherwise, and perchance even condemn our superior because he gives commands that are not pleasant to us"* (§ 12). (The italics are mine.)

It will of course be remembered that a Jesuit cannot even exercise a discretion in

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the choice of the man to whom he thus subjects his mind. He has simply to accept his official superiors as men entitled to a submission of heart, will, and mind, such as can be neither honourably nor reverently rendered to any save God. "The first [help to acquiring obedience of thought]," says the *Letter on Obedience*, "is to see in the person of the superior, not a man liable to errors and infirmities, but Christ Himself, who is supreme wisdom, measureless goodness, infinite love, who neither can be deceived, nor wishes to deceive you" (§ 16).

The formal *Constitutions* of the Order are equally emphatic:—

"Let every one persuade himself that they who live under obedience should permit themselves to be moved and directed under Divine Providence by their superiors just as if they were a corpse, which allows

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itself to be moved and handled in any way; or as the staff of an old man, which serves him wherever and in whatever thing he who holds it in his hand pleases to use it."

The crowning act of obedience is perhaps that which is defined in the well-known passage from Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*: "That we may be altogether of the same mind and in conformity with the Church herself, if she shall have defined anything to be black which to our eyes appears to be white, we ought in like manner to pronounce it to be black." \*

Such is the training of the Jesuits, and such the deepest secret of the success of this campaign of darkness.†

\* *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola*, with preface by Cardinal Wiseman, p. 180.

† In reference to certain attempts to defend these abominable principles, Dr. Littledale (himself, be it remembered, a great champion of the Tractarian



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In the light of these facts, is Kingsley's language too strong? In *Westward Ho!*

movement) writes in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* as follows: "It has . . . been alleged in defence that this very strong language must be glossed and limited by two other maxims penned by Loyola: (1) 'Preserve your freedom of mind, and do not relinquish it by the authority of any person, or in any circumstances whatever'; and (2) 'In all things *except sin* I ought to do the will of my superior, and not my own.' But the value of these checks is seriously diminished when it is added that the former of them occurs in the introductory part of the *Spiritual Exercises*, a manual expressly designed and used for the purpose of breaking down the will of those who pass through its appointed ordeal under a director; while the latter is qualified in its turn, not only by the whole principle of probabilism, the special doctrine of the Society, which can attenuate and even defend any kind of sin, but by the four following maxims, in close juxtaposition to itself in the very same document: 'I ought to desire to be ruled by a superior who endeavours to subjugate my judgment or subdue my understanding'; 'When it seems to me that I am commanded by my superior to do a thing against which my

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he says of Eustace Leigh, who joined the Society of Jesus:—

“Eustace Leigh vanishes henceforth from these pages. He may have ended as General of his

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conscience revolts as sinful, and my superior judges otherwise, it is my duty to yield my doubts to him, unless I am otherwise constrained by evident reasons'; ‘If submission do not appease my conscience, I must impart my doubts to two or three persons of discretion, and abide by their decision’; ‘I ought not to be my own, but His who created me, and his too by whose means God governs me, yielding myself to be moulded in his hands like so much wax,’ &c.”

Though I am glad to call in Dr. Littledale's high authority, it might have sufficed to say that, since Jesuits have carefully and elaborately effaced *all* moral distinctions in their code of ethics (see below, Chaps. VI., VII.), it is idle for them to fall back on such an expression as “except *sin*”; and that if Loyola saw fit to insert mutually contradictory principles in his manuals, it may be presumed that he left himself at liberty to enforce esoterically whichever set should suit his purpose.

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Order. He may have worn out his years in some tropic forest 'conquering the souls' (including, of course, the bodies) of Indians; he may have gone back to his old work in England, and been the very Ballard who was hanged and quartered three years afterwards for his share in Babington's villanous conspiracy; I know not. This book is a history of *men*; of men's virtues and sins, victories and defeats: and Eustace is a man no longer; he is become a thing, a tool, a Jesuit; which goes only where it is sent, and does good or evil indifferently as it is bid; which, by an act of moral suicide, has lost its soul, in the hope of saving it; without a will, a conscience, a responsibility (as it fancies) to God or man, but only to 'The Society.' In a word, Eustace, as he says of himself, is 'dead.' Twice dead, I fear. Let the dead bury their dead. We have no more concern with Eustace Leigh."

These principles thoroughly scandalised Roman Catholics of the older school, and were condemned by the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal. But the older school little knew what it was doing. Loyola was right as usual. The very existence of the

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Roman Church was bound up with the programme of the Jesuits.

### § 3. *The Society and the Pope.*

It might seem that the relation of the Society to the Pope limited its independence, and qualified the absolutism of its General. But this appearance is misleading. It is true that within the class of fully professed Jesuits—that is, Jesuits professed of the three vows—there was an inner circle, from which all the great officers were chosen,\* consisting of Jesuits professed of the four vows, the fourth being a vow of special obedience to the

\* Even the office of Vice-Provincial *pro tem.* was confined, so far as Europe was concerned, to the professed of four vows, as early as 1581. The same restriction was extended to all Vice-Provincials in 1687. *Decreta Congregationum generalium Soc. Jesu (Institutum, vol. i. pp. 541, 665).*

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Popo.\* Moreover the General was further bound directly to the Pope. But all this is nothing more, as history abundantly witnesses, than the Jesuits binding the Pope to their own interests, and using his authority and prestige for the forwarding of their own purposes. Woe to the Pope that withstands their will! They

\* This obedience was explicitly limited by the Constitutions to matters relating to missions (part v. c. 3, § 3, and note). Guettée makes an interesting suggestion as to the Society's reason for allowing of this fourth vow. "Those only are allowed to be professed of the four vows who are so thoroughly devoted to the company [of Jesus] that the General has nothing to fear from their fourth vow. Moreover, by an excess of precaution, the Constitutions decide that if one professed of the four vows has any doubt, he must apply to the General rather than to the Pope for enlightenment; he is not even permitted to apply to the Pope, unless he has first obtained the permission of the General himself" (*Histoire, &c.*, vol. i. p. 47).

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will be able to thwart him and humble him, or, if they have a Ganganelli to deal with, they will be able to predict the date of his death, and the prediction will not miscarry.\*

Indeed, the history of Jesuitism reveals a long struggle for the complete capture of the Papacy; and only after many vicissitudes in the conflict, many checks and counterchecks, has the Papacy at last capitulated. But the Jesuits have fought their battle against the Papacy under the Papacy's own banner, and have turned

\* There is good evidence that this actually happened in the case of Ganganelli. The reader may compare De Potter's *Memoirs of Scipio de Ricci*, Roscoe's English edition, vol. i. pp. 8-18; and, if he please, the less weighty authority of Griesinger, vol. ii. p. 202, &c. Ranke in one of his later editions added that Ganganelli was led to believe that the suppression might endanger his life (Foster's translation, vol. ii. p. 451).

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against the Vatican the Vatican's own weapons; and the Jesuit despot is always in profession the very humble slave of the Pope. No better example of Jesuit tactics, no more brilliant instance of Jesuit triumph, need be asked for. The Jesuits appeared in the hour of Rome's utmost need. They offered to save her, but she must be saved on their terms. Slowly and reluctantly Rome yielded. The bargain was struck; the life of the Church was saved; her liberty was gone. She is enslaved in her own house. It is a new version of an old story; the king falls before his too powerful general. The Pope is the prisoner of the Jesuits in the Vatican.

Such is unmistakeably the Society's course as it is observed in the distant perspective of history. Examined more in

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detail, it seems to present certain irregularities. In the latter half of the seventeenth century, for example, the Jesuits are constantly found siding with the French Court against the Papacy, and assuming a position which, however remote from doctrinal Jansenism, was more or less Gallican in a political and ecclesiastical sense. The question arises, Were the Jesuits playing a more than commonly deep game, or had the peculiar genius of Jesuitism suffered a temporary eclipse? The latter alternative is possible; it might even be held probable in the light of the numbing spirit of avarice and worldliness that evidently contributed in the following century to the downfall of the Society. Yet I greatly doubt if the Jesuits had for a moment lost sight of their goal, however they might mask their movements. At the



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epoch of their seeming Gallicanism, it was their cue to keep in closest touch with the French Court, and to utilise Louis XIV. for their immediate ends—the extirpation of Jansenism on the one side and Huguenotrie on the other.\* At an earlier period they had even given the impression of an absorbing devotion to the interests of Spain. Antoine Arnauld the elder, in his passionate plea for their expulsion from France (1594), denounced their Society as one that had been founded by the Emperor Charles V. for the purpose of bringing the world under the dominion of Spain. On this judgment M. Martin has an acute comment: “It was to fail to get below the surface; the Jesuits served Spain merely accidentally; at bottom, they were moving towards

\* See below, p. 98, and Chap. VI. *passim*.

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a theocratic cosmopolitanism, destructive of all nationality." "If," as he remarks with equal aptness, "the form is variable with the Jesuits, the spirit is immutable."\*

\* *Histoire de France*, vol. x. p. 369.

# THE PLAN OF OPERATIONS

1. THE WORLD-WIDE SPHERE OF ACTION

2. THE RELATION OF JESUITISM TO THE EARLIER  
ROMANISM.

## IV

### THE PLAN OF OPERATIONS

#### § 1. *The World-wide Sphere of Action.*

WHEN we pass to the consideration of the Jesuits' plan of operations, we find the difference from the older orders as strongly marked as before. Roughly speaking, the fundamental principle of the older orders had been seclusion from the world. The principle of the Jesuits, on the contrary, was to mix intimately with the world, and to take part in every phase of human activity. The warfare was not now to

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be waged against the devil within the heart of the devotee, but against the devil in the world at large. The older, the individualistic, aim gives place to an aim that is social and political.

Not that the Jesuits exactly initiated the new conception. A great movement gathers up the floating ideas of its age, concentrates and unifies them, and applies them with steady pressure to one well-defined end. The movement lives by means of such ideas, and the ideas survive in the movement. Thus, leaving aside the earlier case of the mendicant orders, there had already been, in the generation that witnessed the rise of the Jesuits, several attempts to found societies with more or less similar objects; and some of the attempts had achieved no inconsiderable success. The Theatines were founded

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in 1524 by the famous Caraffa and others; and Loyola, who had lived for a time in their convent at Vienna, probably derived from them the first idea of his own society. Four years later the far more important Capuchins, who have resembled the Jesuits in the vigour with which they have always conducted missionary operations, took their rise from the midst of the great Franciscan order. But whatever ideas Jesuitism assimilated, it at any rate gave them a unique development.

No feature of the Society is more noteworthy than its perfection of ready mobilisation. A Jesuit is ready to go anywhere, as well as to do anything; and it is said that at any given station a foreigner is for preference employed.

A feature quite as important is the

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affectation, or the reality, of a severe social morality—the claim, whether well or ill founded, that the vow of chastity is taken by a Jesuit to be kept. It was imperative from the first that great prominence should be given to this profession. At the time of the constitution of the Society, the most devout and orthodox Romanists—not only men of our insular “domesticity,” like Reginald Pole, but many an Italian prelate as well—were recommending the gradual abolition of all conventual orders on the ground that they were a scandal to Christendom\* ; and

\* The following extract is taken from the *Consilium de emendanda ecclesia* which was signed by Contarini, Caraffa (Paul IV.), Pole, and six others: “Alius abusus corrigendus est in ordinibus religiosorum, quod adeo multi deformati sunt, ut magno sint scandalo secularibus, exemploque plurimum noceant. Conventuales ordines abolendos



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Adrian VI. may well have had this special form of corruption in his mind when, in a message to the Diet of Nürnberg (1523), he described the Church as corrupt from the head downwards. If no better example of self-control and decency were to be set by the new Society there was nothing to be hoped from it; and we find accordingly that the Society, from the very first, has posed as equally the patron and the exemplar of the strictest morality.

That there is some truth in the claim, no Protestant, I think, is at liberty to deny. All the scandalous stories collected by Griesinger may be absolutely true for

*esse putamus omnes, non tamen ut alicui fiat injuria, sed prohibendo, ne novos possint admittere. Sic enim sine ullius injuria cito delerent, et boni religiosi eis substitui possent. Nunc vero putamus optimum fore, si omnes pueri, qui non sunt professi, ab eorum monasteriis repellerentur."*

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ought I know ; but they afford no kind of proof that the social morality of the Society as a whole has not been much better than that of most other vast celibate fraternities. Dr. Littledale, who is not their friend, pays them a high tribute on this head ; and a seceder from their ranks in recent years, whose name escapes me, says (if I remember rightly) that, in spite of isolated cases, a high standard of social purity may be taken as a note of the Society. I call these witnesses in their favour most ungrudgingly, and have certainly no wish to rebut the evidence. Unhappily, as will only too fully appear ere long, even the virtues of Jesuits lack, strictly speaking, all ethical value. The ethical motive is wanting. The ulterior object is everything.

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### § 2. *The Relation of Jesuitism to the Earlier Romanism.*

I would here guard against any impression that I look upon Jesuitism as alien in spirit from the older Romanism, or that I am disposed to enhance the wickedness of the Jesuits by an undue indulgence towards the earlier forms of Popery. I believe, on the contrary, that Jesuitism was the logical development of Popery, and that its very innovations, even though they drew down the condemnation of Romanists, were genuine developments of the Papal spirit. Take a few points in illustration. Was Romanism, throughout the Middle Ages, chargeable with having baptized heathen worship, and assimilated heathen elements? The missions of the Jesuits to the heathen merely exhibit the

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same principle in its perfection, though the Popes themselves stood aghast at Jesuit effrontery. Had Romanism already relaxed the sanctions of morality? Jesuitism reduced the breach of every clause of the moral code to a system. Did the older Romanism depend on the confessional? The Jesuits have worked the confessional to better purpose (that is, to viler purpose) than any other confessors. Did old Popery strive to base itself on the infallibility of the Pope? The Jesuits from the first put the Papal Infallibility in the forefront of their scheme; they established it at last in the Vatican decree of three-and-thirty years ago, and have imposed the dogma on the whole Roman communion.

Lastly, has Popery always depended supremely on the separation of the clergy

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from society? Jesuitism has boldly carried this principle to the farthest extreme the imagination can reach, and, by the splendour of the results it has achieved thereby, it has set in a new light the great value of the instrument.

This is a point worthy of special attention; for here we are at the very kernel of Romanism, both in its older and in its newer (or Jesuitical) forms. Two names divide the honours of this vast anti-christian development; they are the names of Hildebrand and Loyola.

The heathenish Gnostic notion of the malignity of matter was the root of bitterness from which the celibacy of the clergy first sprang in comparatively early days; but until the time of Hildebrand (Gregory VII.) it was very imperfectly enforced. He, for sagacity and administrative ability

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the true predecessor of Loyola, saw fully the immense value to the Church of a system that separated churchmen from the common affections and ambitions of their kind, and that bound up all their interests with the interests of the Church. It was this policy that fitted the Church for its stupendous career of self-aggrandisement during the centuries that followed.

In the long run Hildebrand's policy was bound to prove purely and incalculably evil. At first it was doubtless not an unmitigated curse. The ascendancy of the Church was probably a useful check on the more frankly brutal ruffianism of the lay-lords of medieval Europe; but in the effort to do justice to this important consideration we run a great risk of missing the general trend and inevit-

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able goal of this master-policy of the genius of Rome. But Satan casting out Satan is at best an unedifying and unpromising spectacle. The gospel was the need of medieval Europe, and it was the manifest duty of the Church to supply it. The time called for a St. Boniface, and could find only a Gregory VII. Often has the need of an age cried in vain for the man who could meet it, but seldom more tragically than in this instance.

Loyola, as usual, advanced even upon the most brilliant precedents. Hildebrand had insisted on the clergy stultifying (as Kingsley well puts it) the primary law of their nature; and in this way he cut them off from society, which is based on that law. Loyola insisted on his agents stultifying *every* law of their nature. They

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may no more be sons, friends, or neighbours than they may be husbands or fathers. They are not to have any feeling, will, choice, or opinion of their own. Hildebrand depended on the unsexing of his clergy; Loyola on the unhumanising of his agents altogether. He outbid Hildebrand, and his achievements were proportionately more remarkable. How thoroughly the success of the Jesuits depended on this extension of the old principle that separated the clergy from society, and left them no stake in it, will appear only too plainly in the sequel.



## PHASES OF JESUIT ACTIVITY

1. THE MULTIFARIOUSNESS OF THE OPERATIONS OF  
THE SOCIETY.
2. JESUITISM IN THE POLITICAL SPHERE.

## V

### PHASES OF JESUIT ACTIVITY

#### § 1. *The Multifariousness of the Operations of the Society.*

THE description of the instrument the Jesuits used and the plan on which they worked has paved the way for the consideration of their actual operations.

In the first place let us notice that they despised no means by which their prestige could be advanced and their influence extended. To think of them only as plotting against the lives of sovereigns or exciting subjects to rebellion, as carry-

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ing on their intrigues in every court and in every king's bedchamber, is to form a ludicrous underestimate of the countless phases of their activity. They sought by every homeliest means for influence and reputation. They were as thorough, as unwearying, as dauntless, in the humblest drudgery of foreign missions, school teaching or rescue work, as in the largest and most perilous of their political conspiracies. In the deepest stakes that they played for they scarcely watched their game with a more close and untiring supervision than they bestowed on the least of their undertakings. The credit of every kind of work must revert to the Jesuits.

Their first appearance on the scene was at once followed by an outburst of missionary activity not unworthy of the heroic ages of the Church. Xavier's

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romantic achievements in India and Japan were followed up with unflagging zeal, and with at least a specious appearance of remarkable success. In the far East the Jesuits occupied Japan; in the far West they lined the Pacific coast. Some of their most famous missions were conducted in Mexico and Paraguay; and they pushed northward in the American Continent to the hunting-fields of the Red Indians. In spots yet more inaccessible their labours gave promise of the healing of ancient schisms. In India, the adherents of the schism of Nestorius accepted the Roman ritual and a Jesuit bishop. An emperor of Abyssinia received a Jesuit as patriarch of Ethiopia. Into Constantinople itself the emissaries of the Society made their way, in the hope of reclaiming the remnant of the Greek Church; and

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the incipient Protestantism of the patriarch, Cyril Lucar, found itself confronted *in partibus infidelium* by 'the very champions who, in the heart of Latin Christendom, were forbidding the further advance of the victorious Protestantism of Luther and Calvin.\*

In like manner, Loyola was almost immediately able to parade a great procession of penitents as trophies of his rescue work in Rome; while everywhere the industry, enterprise, and tact of Jesuit teachers made them the leaders of Roman

\* Unhappily, Jesuits are Jesuits all the world over; and the fathers of the Constantinopolitan mission are vehemently suspected of foul play in connexion with the death of Cyril. Indeed, so high an authority as Professor T. M. Lindsay asserts categorically that they stirred up the Turks to murder the reforming patriarch. (*Enc. Brit.*, vol. xi., p. 158b.)

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Christendom in the education of the young. Wherever the Jesuits spread themselves Christendom seemed to witness a revival of a zeal, a courage, a self-sacrifice, a rigour of personal conduct and a tenderness towards the erring, that recalled the dim and distant memory of antique saintship. The wisdom that inaugurated the Roman Catholic revival on such lines is beyond praise.

No doubt it is true that these exploits of the Jesuits have left at best but the scantiest residuum of solid benefit behind them, and palpably none at all in most cases. Rome has always excelled in the work of conversion made easy—and worthless; yet even Rome was shocked at the shamelessness of Jesuit missionaries, and Pope after Pope endeavoured to rein them in. Their heathen converts, indeed, re-

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nounced just as much of their heathenism as they pleased (which was generally very little), and the remainder of their heathenism the Jesuits baptized. The "Chinese rites" have become a byword, even in the Church of Rome. Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), the father of the Chinese Mission, discarded the dress of the despised bonzes to assume the costume of the literates, making himself great to the great that he might by all means gain the great. Not content with this accommodation, he actually permitted the practice of the rites of ancestor-worship, on the plea that they were civil observances! It is no wonder that the Jesuits found they had laid themselves open to the furious assault of the Dominicans. Working on similar lines in India, Father Nobili converted seventy Brahmins in about three years by his con-



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ciliatory methods. He certainly became a Brahmin to the Brahmins, for he wore their dress, underwent their penances, and separated the castes even in church. He thus avoided the error with which he charged his predecessors, of having degraded Christ in the eyes of the Brahmins by preaching Him to the Pariahs. But to illustrate the Jesuit methods of making the Cross of Christ of none effect would be an endless task. To make matters worse, the missionaries did not always rest content with the spiritual capital that accrued to the Society by their labours, but also enriched its coffers with the substantial rewards of native industry, for the sake of which the spiritual work was suffered to languish deplorably.

Their older missions have vanished for

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the most part, "like the baseless fabric of a vision," simply not leaving a wreck behind. Loyola's rescue work in Rome, again, looks like a huge melodramatic bubble. His programme was penitence made easy and invested with pomp; and the genuineness of the conversion of his penitent train to the histrionic display of a splendidly dressed procession in the streets of Rome is much better attested than the genuineness of the conversion of many of them to the practice of an austere morality. Moreover, in relation to the celebrated exertions of the Jesuits in the cause of education, it is certain that they kept their hand on the throat of education even while they fostered it. That they should ever have afforded a glimpse of a truly liberal culture is inconceivable. It is the excellent observation of Macaulay that "they appear

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to have discovered the precise point to which intellectual culture can be carried without risk of intellectual emancipation."

But all this was of no consequence to Loyola and his followers. The appearance of success served their turn almost as well as the reality. Veneration began to return to the Church of Rome. Answers to Protestant taunts against a communion in which the faintest semblance of the ancient virtues had perished came pouring in from the streets of Rome, from the cities of India and China, from the huts of the native races of the New World. The works of darkness were a very brilliant, if a very hollow, travesty of the works of light.

If a courage that no danger can appal, if a patience that no suffering can weary, if a resolution that no failure can dis-

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courage, if the unflinching sacrifice of everything that makes life valuable or even tolerable to most men, may fitly be admired apart from all consideration of the end to which such qualities are applied, then the Society of Jesus has an almost unexampled claim on our enthusiastic admiration. Macaulay's glowing description of the Jesuit is well known, but will perhaps bear quoting once more.

“If his ministry was needed in some country where his life was more insecure than that of a wolf, where it was a crime to harbour him, where the heads and quarters of his brethren, fixed in the public places, showed him what he had to expect, he went without remonstrance or hesitation to his doom. Nor is this heroic spirit yet extinct. When, in our own time, a new and horrible pestilence passed round the globe; when, in some great cities, fear had dissolved all the ties which hold society together; when the secular clergy had forsaken their flocks; when medical succour was not to be purchased by gold; when the strongest natural

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affections had yielded to the love of life; even then the Jesuit was found by the pallet which bishop and curate, physician and nurse, father and mother had deserted, bending over infected lips to catch the faint accents of confession, and holding up to the last, before the expiring penitent, the image of the expiring Redeemer."

But when Macaulay goes on to say that "with the admirable energy, disinterestedness, and self-devotion which were characteristic of the Society, great vices were mingled," he only shows that he has utterly misapprehended the whole genius of Jesuitism. The Society is, in its very essence, a gigantic embodiment of vice—a deliberate and organised conspiracy against virtue and enlightenment—into whose service almost everything that bears the guise of virtue and almost everything that bears the guise of vice are impartially pressed.

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I would not be understood to deny that Jesuitism has been served by men of a lofty and disinterested virtue, who have displayed the splendid qualities of their order with no sinister object, but in genuine devotion to some beneficent undertaking. It is usually asserted that there have been many such, and I see not the least reason to doubt it. The operations of Jesuitism cover the whole range of human character just as they cover the whole range of human society. Jesuitism has work for virtue and work for vice, but the hand at the centre will bend the work of both to the purposes of the great conspiracy. If Bourdaloue possessed all the amiable and guileless qualities with which he is credited, it was the Society's wisest course to leave him to exercise them in peace. Inferior only to Bossuet and Mas-

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sillon amongst all the preachers of even the French pulpit, why should he not be left undisturbed to win *éclat* for his order by his graceful and elegant sermons, and be indulged meanwhile in the practice of as much virtue as he liked? Similarly, if a man incorruptibly simple and earnest were found, what easier than to ship him off to the Indies to convert the natives, and bring fame to the Society by his devoted labours, while he remained in happy ignorance of the intrigues and violence by which his fellow-Jesuits at home were establishing an incomparable title to the hatred of mankind.\*

\* I put the best case for the Jesuit missionaries. It is of course well known that in many of their missions, besides the Constantinopolitan, the Jesuits emphatically brought, though in a very unevangelic sense, "not peace, but a sword."

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But be it remembered that such men hold their virtue only on sufferance of their superiors, for they are pledged to have no will, judgment, or conscience of their own. If they are indulged it will not be because the men who control their movements respect virtue, or even feel any compunction in suppressing it, but simply because virtue, in the given person, time, and place, is more useful to them than vice. One and the same master mind may be at once utilising the benign devotion of a missionary among the Indians and inspiring the murderous fanaticism of a Gérard.

### § 2. *Jesuitism in the Political Sphere.*

But while the Jesuits clearly saw that nothing was to be hoped for in the conflict with Protestantism unless they could



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reestablish the reputation of the Church for virtue, for devotion, for missionary zeal, they were far from regarding such means as more than the negative conditions of success. From the first they waged war against Protestantism in the political sphere. Ireland, as we have seen, was the stage of some of their earliest activities, and perhaps in no country have their exertions been more fruitful ever since. England, for three centuries the stronghold of the revolt against Rome, has always been the object of their unremitting attention. The story of the seminary priests, with their ceaseless plots against the life of Queen Elizabeth, is known to all.\* It is not so generally known that

\* Seminarists were, of course, not necessarily Jesuits. Cardinal Allen, with the approbation of Gregory XIII., founded in 1568 a seminary for

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the secular priests of that day held the Jesuits entirely responsible for the heavy pressure of the penal laws enacted by Elizabeth's Government, and that one of their number—William Watson, of Bye

English Roman Catholics at Douay, in the Netherlands. Some ten years later this was removed to Rheims. About the same time an English college was founded at Rome by Gregory XIII., and was entrusted in 1579 to the care of the Jesuits. No student was suffered to enter this college unless he pledged himself to the service of the English mission. In 1579 the Jesuits, after some hesitation, acceded to the earnest request of Cardinal Allen that they should take part in the English mission; and their work in this country was inaugurated by the famous pair, Parsons and Campion, in the year 1580. Parsons was made the head of the mission. Secular priests had been coming over from Douay and Rheims for some time previously—since 1574, apparently; but from this time the Society of Jesus became the energising and controlling spirit of the whole, overshadowing all their fellow-missionaries, and reducing the surviving remnant of English secular priests to insignificance.

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Plot fame—addressing the Roman Catholic laity of England in the name of all his brethren, warned them against the persistently anti-English and treasonable policy of the Jesuits, and protested the unswerving loyalty of all the seculars.\*

\* Watson's letter was published (1601) as a prefatory epistle to a longer treatise to similar effect, bearing the abundantly explanatory title, "*Important Considerations which ought to move all true and sound Catholikes, who are not wholly Jesuited, to acknowledge without all equivocations, ambiguities, or shiftings, that the proceedings of her Majesty, and of the State with them, since the beginning of her Highnesse raigne, have bene both mild and merciful. Published by sundry of us the Secular Priests, in dislike of many treatises, letters, and reports, which have been written and made in diverse places to the contrarie: together with our opinions of a better course hereafter, for the promoting of the Catholike faith in England.*" This treatise also has been attributed to Watson, the author of the prefatory letter; but the point is as yet unsettled. Its

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A certain reaction has set in against a kind of cant that Macaulay did much to make popular, according to which the statutes of Elizabeth against Roman

authors deem it surprising that things had not gone worse with Roman Catholics, considering "what sundry Jesuits and men . . . addicted to Jesuitism, have written and published . . . against the Royal person of her Majesty, her Honour, Crown, and most Princely Sceptre." That the secular priests were jealous of the immense influence of the Jesuits over the English Roman Catholic laity is indisputable; scarcely less so, that they wished to ingratiate themselves with Elizabeth's Government; but this cannot in reason be taken to discount very heavily the value of their evidence. Their appeal is to facts that they securely assume are notorious to their readers. In 1601 there must have been hundreds of Roman Catholics in England who could remember Elizabeth's accession, and consequently the promulgation of all her ecclesiastical statutes, and the manner of their enforcement. The first appearance of Jesuits in England was only twenty-one years old, and yet the secular priesthood could appeal to the re-

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Catholic nonconformity are no mean counterpoise to the enormities of Papal rule under Queen Mary. Perhaps the reaction will have to go much further yet. At all events it is interesting to find that the natural heads of the Romish party in England were forward to protest their belief in the lenient intentions

evolution effected within that short period in the position of English Romanists as a fact that no one could pretend to ignore. The claim of Elizabeth's Government that they prosecuted the Jesuits and other seminarists on strictly political grounds could scarcely receive more convincing illustration. And what is perhaps specially noticeable is that the great change of the policy of the Government does not date, as many seem to imagine, from the promulgation of the bull of Pius V., by which Elizabeth was deposed, and a political character (we may surely say) ineffaceably impressed on Romish profession; for the bull was promulgated in 1570, and the persecution, or anything that could be plausibly so stigmatised, did not break out, as we have seen, till 1580.

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of the Government, and to declare that there would have been little to suffer if the hand of the authorities had not been forced by murderous seminarists. That Elizabeth escaped with her life is a signal instance of Almighty protection, and in its contradiction of all human probability might well be termed miraculous.

Several less fortunate Continental rulers are supposed to have fallen victims to Jesuit intrigues. It is in many cases not easy either to condemn the Jesuits or to acquit them. The ordinary rule gives the accused the benefit of the doubt, but the rule is of necessity partially suspended when the Society of Jesus is the accused party; for one of its most famous treatises, Mariana's *De Rege*, extols the murder, whether by open violence or by poison,

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of kings who are public enemies—a description that is doubtless specially applicable to the excommunicated. Now it can scarcely be a breach of charity to leave the Jesuits under the suspicion of responsibility for deeds that they proclaimed illustrious; and Mariana was so delighted with the murder of Henry III.—a devout Papist, but the enemy of the ultra-Romanist Guises and the League—that he actually brought Jacques Clément into his book with the title of “The eternal honour of France” — “*Æternum Gallix decus.*” Still, there is no evidence that the Jesuits contrived the plot. Clément was a Dominican, and there was quite enough fanaticism in his own order to account for his undertaking.\*

\* Mariana's book was at one time condemned by the Provincial Congregation of France, with the

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In several other famous cases, an unrelenting suspicion has dogged the Jesuits from the day of the crime until now. Philip of Spain, the head of the Roman Catholic interest, had no Continental foe sanction of the General, Acquaviva. As to this condemnation, there are four things to be said:

1. By a law of the Society embodied in its earliest constitutions, no member could publish any book without the consent of the General.

2. Mariana's book had actually been formally authorised, and it appeared along with the faculty granted for its publication. The faculty was issued by Stephen Hojeda, the visitor of the Society in the province of Toledo, "by special authority granted by our father, the General Claudio Acquaviva"—*"polestati speciali facta a nostro patre Generali Claudio Aquaviva."* Hojeda granted the faculty on the ground that the book had been "first approved by learned and weighty men of our own order."

3. The Provincial Congregation that condemned the book was trying to maintain a sufficiently slippery foothold in France under Henry IV. The Jesuits had already, on the occasion of Châtel's attempt on the King's life, been banished



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so terrible as William the Silent. As the champion of the liberties of the Netherlands, William stood for many years a conspicuous mark for the bullet of the assassin. He recovered almost miraculously from a desperate wound inflicted by Jaureguy, only to fall two years later by the pistol of Balthasar Gérard. Henry IV.,

from the capital, and to a great extent from the country, as the teachers of regicide.

4. Acquaviva had probably, as M. Martin suggests, a personal grudge against Mariana, who had headed the Spanish opposition to him.

We must therefore conclude that the Jesuits found it convenient, and on personal grounds not disagreeable, to condemn a book that they had previously sanctioned, that embodied their common oral teaching (twenty-three of their theologians, whose writings I have not searched, are said to have at least *excused* regicide), that harmonised with their moral code at large, and, we must add, with their common practice, as will abundantly appear below.

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the patron of the Huguenots and the vanquisher of the League, narrowly escaped assassination at the hands of Châtel within the first few years of his reign; and at length, in 1610, the dagger of Ravallac laid him low, in the very midst of those plans of a capacious statesmanship, backed by military talent and resource, by which he threatened to undo the political work of the Counter-Reformation.

In all these cases, according to Dr. Littledale, there is "direct proof of some Jesuit having been in communication with the actual agents engaged." This is certainly true, unless it be in the case of Jaureguy; and Jaureguy was found to have carried a Jesuit catechism in his pockets, along with crucifix, prayer-book, and prayers to the Virgin, to Gabriel, and to the Saviour, to use their intercession

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for the success of his enterprise. Gérard made no secret of his intercourse with the president of the Jesuit College at Treves, who "expressed high approbation of the plan, gave Gérard his blessing, and promised him that, if his life should be sacrificed in achieving his purpose, he should be enrolled among the martyrs."\* The

\* Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, vol. iii. p. 601. A Franciscan shares with the Jesuit of Treves the honours of strengthening the hands of the assassin. This was the well-known Géry. It is particularly worthy of notice that a second Jesuit of the college sought to dissuade Gérard "on the ground of the inconveniences which might arise from the forgery of Mansfeld's seals" (a forgery that Gérard had perpetrated in order to ingratiate himself with the Orange party, with a view to gaining an opportunity for his crime), and added "that neither he nor any of the Jesuits liked to meddle with such affairs." He advised, however, "that the whole matter should be laid before the Prince of Parma." This is a brilliant

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Jesuits of a later day were so zealous to share in the glory of the crime that one of their leading writers, Xavier de Feller, called the murderer "the executer of a sentence pronounced by a lawful king against a rebellious subject." \*

It was not unnatural that violent suspicion should fall upon the Jesuits in the

instance of double dealing. One Jesuit sanctions the crime; his colleague mildly dissuades (though not on moral grounds), but takes care to send the assassin to Parma, who had constantly taken ruffians into his pay for the same villanous purpose. The president's line of action is a little less unmanly than that of his colleague, though both are even more unedifying than the correspondence between Parma and Philip II. on the kingly and soldierly business of murdering the prince whom they could not conquer.

\* As is so often the case, other Romanists were found to keep the Jesuits in countenance. The celebrated theologian, Estius, numbered Gérard with many plaudits in the noble army of martyrs.

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case of Châtel, for he had been their pupil, and was only a youth of nineteen at the time of his execution. But though the circumstances are suspicious, especially in view of the character the Society had long borne even then, their actual complicity was steadily denied by Châtel, and was never brought home to them. But even by Châtel's account, the indirect responsibility of the Jesuits was immense. He had heard the lawfulness of the murder of the king maintained by his teachers. When the fathers of the college were arrested and their papers seized, a writing was found in which Father Guignard stated that if Henry could not be deposed without war, war should be waged; and if war could not be waged, Henry should be killed. Guignard paid the penalty with his life. The Jesuits were formally banished

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from Paris, and from a great part of the rest of France; and though Henry afterwards reinstated them, he seems to have acted on the principle that it was less perilous to patronise them than to persecute them. At any rate, nothing could be more significant than that the evidence of their teaching, as it came to light after Châtel's examination, should have availed to change the tolerant and indulgent conduct that the King had until then steadfastly maintained towards such notorious enemies of his title.

As for Ravailac, it is impossible to prove that he was actually instigated by the Jesuits. He had confided his plans to one of them, named d'Aubigny, but d'Aubigny, so far as it appears, did not encourage him, and is even stated by some to have dissuaded him. On the other

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hand, the Jesuit could only prove the sincerity of his dissuasions by preventing the crime. He had before him the example of the Dominican Banchi, who had been the recipient of similar confidences from Barrière in 1593, and had saved the life of Henry IV. by a timely warning.\* Even if d'Aubigny were deterred from following Banchi's example by pity for a monomaniac like Ravallac, he might still have insisted on the renunciation of the criminal project under pain of damnation. I am not aware that it has ever been claimed that he did anything of the kind; and therefore, notwithstanding

\* In the story of Barrière's crime a Jesuit's part contrasts unpleasantly with the Dominican's. Barrière's project took its first shape indeed under other influences, but he received in Paris, according to his own statement, the encouragement of Varade, the rector of the Jesuits.

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any prudent or conventional "dissuasions," he must at least bear the responsibility of having stood quietly aside and allowed the convenient crime to take its course.

But the indirect responsibility of the Jesuits in all crimes of the kind is simply incalculable. In the evil work of preaching the religious duty of regicide—a work into which the priests of many orders had thrown themselves in the stormy days of the dissolution of the League—the Jesuits had taken their usual lead. Nor had they been eager to lay aside their arms when the promise of peace was arising. "Even after the conversion of Henry IV. to Romanism, the Jesuit Commolet had exclaimed from the pulpit that it was needful that some Ehud should arise against him." \* Commolet by no means stood alone; and

\* Ranke, vol. ii. p. 211.



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even if in Ravailiac's case the general rule had been broken, and no Jesuit had been found "hovering beforehand in the obscure background of the crime," the Jesuits must still have sustained the responsibility of having contributed, more than any of the other orders, to impress a murderous character on the unhappy man's aberration.

At the same time, the Society's denial of complicity is, in view of their avowed code of morals, utterly worthless, and they had of course matchless facilities for hiding their hand. But indeed the question of their actual complicity is of secondary importance. Men who debauch the moral sense of nations incur legitimately very far-reaching responsibilities; and it is not wonderful that, as a sequel to Ravailiac's crime, the French Government should have

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condemned Mariana's treatise to the flames. The act was at least a significant indication of the quarter to which the Government traced the moral responsibility for a crime which was nothing less than a national and a European calamity.

Beyond all question, with Henry IV. out of the way, the Jesuits stirred up the horrible Thirty Years' War, which laid Germany waste and which constitutes to all time a chapter of history written within and without with lamentations, mourning, and woe. As things grew quiet in France after the overthrow of the League, a new and startling phase of Jesuit influence unfolded in Germany. The success of the Society was nowhere more rapid, and yet nowhere more durable. The Jesuits inspired the Roman Catholic party with a zeal, a fervour, an energy, a unity, before

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which in many a principality and kingdom the party of the Reformation was simply swept away. The ministers of their plans were the heads of the great princely families of the Empire, and not the least zealous were the Emperors themselves. Ferdinand II. had been a pupil of the Jesuits. As Archduke and as Emperor, he devoted himself to their cause with a fanaticism that cast out fear, pity, and principle. He surpassed even the other princely adherents of the same cause in the ruthlessness with which he trampled down, not only the prescriptive rights, but the chartered liberties of his Protestant subjects. He beat down Bohemia especially with reckless barbarity, and brought in the Jesuits to complete the work of Romanising the kingdom. To try the desperate chances of war against the Emperor and his

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party, flushed with triumph upon triumph, or to submit to the extermination of Protestantism within the Empire, was the alternative that the disciples of Loyola offered at length to the evangelical party in the nation that had given Luther and the Reformation to mankind.

In the war that followed, the fortunes of the Protestants long seemed desperate; and if in the end the situation was in great measure saved by the stubborn valour of the Swedes, the preservation of the remnant that had withstood the encroachments of the Counter-Reformation was achieved at a cost of misery and anguish to Germany that can never be computed.

M. Crétineau-Joly,\* who holds a brief for the Society, is eager to assert its claim to the honour of having "formed" Tilly,

\* *Histoire*, vol. iii. p. 371.

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Wallenstein, and Piccolomini, the three champions of the Catholic cause. He seems particularly proud of what he calls "this triple honour." Doubtless the most implacable Protestant will willingly make the Jesuits a present of any credit they can derive from such ruffianly pupils. And indeed it would not be easy to dispute their claim, for if all traces of the youthful training of these Imperial generals had vanished from history, the exquisite blend of ferocity and perfidy that their characters exhibit would almost irresistibly suggest the school in which they had been "formed." M. Crétineau claims, indeed, that the Jesuit fathers who accompanied Tilly's forces tried to restrain the unspeakable barbarities that their illustrious pupil sanctioned.\* Let us

\* Nicolini bluntly calls Crétineau's claim for the Jesuits "an impudent falsehood." There was

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be glad if in any instance it was so ; but it is highly unfortunate that their influence over the mind they had "formed" stopped short just where a religious influence might have been expected most powerfully to assert itself.

A generation had scarcely elapsed since the curtain fell on this hideous tragedy, when the Jesuits, partly by their direct influence with Louis XIV., partly through the evil agency of Madame de Maintenon, procured the odious persecution of the Huguenots which culminated in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes—an act that signalled the final undoing of Henry IV.'s great work of pacification.

perhaps, he says, a "single and exceptional instance" of the kind, but in general the fathers "preached the extermination of the Protestants," and "did not calm, but rather excited, the ferocious passions of their pupils the generals."

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By this cruel and treacherous policy France sustained an incurable wound, and the French Protestants entered on the long, wearing agony of the period of the Church in the Desert.\*

In our own day it is notorious that Jesuit influence has added yet another chapter of misery and shame to the history of France, by precipitating the Franco-Prussian War. It is plausibly supposed that at this crisis the Jesuits were moving on two concurrent lines of policy, and that the Franco-Prussian War was timed to coincide with the Vatican Council. Probably nothing but the astonishing display of military organisation and genius on the

\* For information on this little-known but intensely interesting subject, see Napoléon Peyrat, *Hist. des Pasteurs du Désert*; E. Hugues, *Hist. de la Restauration du Protestantisme en France au 18me siècle*.

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side of Prussia foiled a design to overwhelm Continental Protestantism in the field at the very moment in which the remnant of Gallicanism was being overwhelmed in the Council.

Working more subtilly in England, the Society had at least representatives privy to the Gunpowder Plot; and, in view of their undoubted power to prevent it, to be privy was tantamount to being accessories before the fact—an enviable position to occupy in regard to one of the stupendous crimes of history. This estimate of their guilt would hold good even if their knowledge had been obtained entirely under the seal of confession, and even on the extravagant supposition that they would in that case have been justified in concealing their knowledge; for they might still have forbidden the crime, and their



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influence over English Roman Catholics was commanding. But it would seem that the knowledge of Garnet, the Jesuit Provincial of England, was derived from other sources as well.\*

According to a sufficiently plausible conjecture, some of the choicest fruits of Jesuit astuteness are to be found in the two "Catholic reactions" that have distracted and enfeebled the Church of

\* S. R. Gardiner, *What was Gunpowder Plot?* pp. 177-8. It is a very interesting fact that when, immediately after the Plot, the English Government very naturally exacted the oath of allegiance denying the Pope's deposing power, Pope Paul V. intervened "authoritatively," as Dr. Ward says, "against the acceptance of this test by the English Catholic clergy." A controversy followed between King James himself and the great polemist of the Jesuits, Cardinal Bellarmine. Perhaps even Romanists will allow that the repressive measures against their coreligionists of that day were not exactly unprovoked.

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England—the reaction of the seventeenth century, and the reaction of the nineteenth—Laudism and Puseyism.

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1. JESUITISM MILITANT INSIDE THE CHURCH OF  
ROME: JANSENISM.
2. THE PROVINCIAL LETTERS: THE CASUISTRY OF THE  
JESUITS.
3. PROBABILISM AND DIRECTION OF INTENTION.
4. THE OBJECT OF THE JESUIT CASUISTRY.
5. RESULTS OF JESUIT INFLUENCE: MORAL CHARACTER  
OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION.

## VI

### JESUITS AND JANSENISTS

#### § 1. *Jesuitism militant inside the Church of Rome : Jansenism*

IT would be a very great mistake to suppose that Protestants were the only foes against whom Loyola unsheathed his sword. A mortal feud with the older Roman orders ran its course for literally centuries, and the Jesuits waged incessant war against all forms of belief within the Church that were not in harmony with that development of Popery (Popery's true genius, as I believe) which they themselves represented. The most celebrated of these internecine feuds was their

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struggle against Jansenism. This episode, apart from its intrinsic importance, deserves attention for the opportunity it affords of focussing light on the system of the Jesuits under its three great aspects—the moral, the theological, and the ecclesiastical.

The difference between the Jesuits and the Jansenists may be stated in popular language thus: The Jansenists were Calvinists, austere moralists, and Gallicans; the Jesuits were Arminians, the laxest of casuists, and Ultramontanists.\*

The combat began in the theological domain. The Church of Rome had never

\* “ ‘Ultramontanists’ . . . is a party name within the Roman Catholic Church, applied to those who wish to see all power in the Church concentrated in the Pope, in opposition to those [commonly called Gallicans] who desire a more independent development of the National Churches ”

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settled her creed on the burning questions of predestination, irresistible grace, and so forth ; and though it might well seem that a predestinarian theology was utterly at variance with the whole genius of the Romish creed, many of Rome's most devoted children were strong predestina-

(Schaff-Herzog, *sub voc.*). It is a curious fact that the term was first applied in precisely the opposite sense by the Italians to the Northern nations—who were, of course, to them *ultra montes*—“beyond the mountains.” The sense that the word received in the retort of the Northern nations is that which became stereotyped, and now alone survives, at all events in England. “Gallicanism” is now used as the simple contrary of Ultramontanism. It acquired this meaning from the fact that the effective assertion of the claims of national churches found its centre in France, more especially in 1682, when Bossuet, the supreme master of French sacred eloquence, gave it expression in the *Déclaration du Clergé*. It should never be forgotten that the Jesuit Bellarmine (1542–1621) was the father of theoretic Ultramontanism.

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rians, following Augustine and Augustine's great disciple of the Middle Ages, Thomas Aquinas. To this theology the Dominicans had at the period in question the reputation of devoted adherents.

In speculation the Jesuits had no reply to make to Augustinians or Thomists. The Jesuit training kills speculation, for which, even within the limits of scholastic divinity, a certain independence of mind is obviously requisite. Consequently Jesuitism has done very little for speculative theology. But in its own proper domain, which is (after the example of its founder) the practical in contradistinction to the speculative, Jesuitism plays a great and triumphant part in the history of the conflict of the standpoints. It discerned that predestinarian divinity, with its stress on human impotence and the



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sovereignty of Divine grace, was an anomaly in the Church of Rome, and a point of departure for a Protestant tendency. It therefore set itself to the extirpation of the heresy, and after a terrible conflict conducted its enterprise to so successful an issue that to-day many Protestants find it hard to believe that a really Calvinistic doctrine could ever have found a resting-place within the bosom of the Papal Church.

Jesuitism is seldom guilty of doing its work by halves. If it had thwarted, if it had even crushed, Protestantism without, and yet had allowed Jansenism to flourish within, Jansenism would have barred its triumphant way. Ultramontanism is the goal of the Jesuits, and with Ultramontanism Jansenism could never have fused. Jansenism must there-

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fore go down; and go down it did, after a struggle in which the success of the Jesuits had appeared now certain, now doubtful, now hopeless. Yet if Jesuitism had been really understood, the issue could never have been dubious; and in our own day Jesuitism has been left to celebrate in peace, over the grave of its great rival, the triumph of Ultramontanism.

The Jesuits were not able, in the France of that day, to fully show their Ultramontane hand. Gallican liberties were still dear to the French, and the Jansenists, who denied an absolute infallibility in the Pope, appealed so far to the national sentiment. But the Jesuit possesses in perfection one of the greatest attributes of strength: he can wait. Consequently the Society did not openly brave Gallican feeling. But their intrigues

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brought about the Papal condemnation of the *Augustinus*, the predestinarian treatise of Jansenius, Bishop of Ypres in the Low Countries; and from this vantage ground they struck at Antoine Arnauld, the foremost up to that time of the Jansenist recluses who had their headquarters at the famous Cistercian monastery of Port Royal des Champs. Arnauld had undertaken the defence of Jansenius's book, which had been written of set purpose against the Jesuit treatises by Molina and Lessius on grace and free-will.\* The Jesuits charged him with defying the Pope, and by the aid of endless intrigues they procured the condemnation of his

\* The controversy was no new one. Molina's book was published in 1588, and Lessius was still earlier in the field. In 1587, the faculty of Louvain condemned as Pelagian thirty-four propositions drawn from his works and those of a fellow-Jesuit.

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book by the Sorbonne,\* of which he was a member. This took place in 1656.

But the Jesuits had provoked a terrible foe. The Port Royalists were their equals in courage and self-devotion, their superiors in morality (however much credit we may accord to Jesuit claims in this particular), and transcendently their superiors in learning, in intellectual resource, in philosophical acumen, in literary genius. And when once the controversy was fully in progress, Arnauld and the Jansenists found in Blaise Pascal one of the most redoubtable champions

\* The Sorbonne was the famous theological college of the University of Paris. Its decisions were practically tantamount to decisions of the theological faculty of the University. It was suppressed at the Revolution after an existence of more than five centuries, during much of which it exercised an unrivalled influence on theological thought.

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that ever took pen in any quarrel, whether of ancient or of modern times.

### § 2. *The Provincial Letters: the Casuistry of the Jesuits.*

Pascal's contribution to the controversy took shape in the *Provincial Letters*. The first four letters were devoted to exposing Jesuit intrigue and chicanery in the matter of Arnauld's censure, and to attacking the semi-Pelagian doctrines concerning Divine grace. But having reached this point, Pascal suddenly, but most adroitly, shifted his ground, and made a terrific onslaught on the whole system of Jesuit casuistry. In almost all the remaining Letters he is occupied in exposing the unfathomable wickedness of a system in which every principle of social and religious morality is sacrificed, and in laying bare the pur-

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poses (as far as he saw them) for which the hideous sacrifice was made.

The blow was the heaviest that Jesuitism has ever yet received, and the Society reeled under it. Expulsion from every country in Europe in turn, even total suppression by Pope Clement XIV., proved small reverses in comparison. The Jesuits could reach their assailant neither by poison nor by dagger, for the Provincial Letters were immediately scattered broadcast over France, and indeed over Europe. It is still part of the popular belief that from this blow the Society has never recovered. Let us wait and see. Perhaps it will rather appear that the Society, gibbeted in a work that will live as long as the *Iliad* or *King Lear*, survives impenitent and unreformed, and, with its supreme indictment in everybody's hands, is a more formidable menace

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than ever to free institutions, stable government, and spiritual religion.

It is impossible \* to go in detail into the history of the moral code that Pascal held up to derision and loathing. Happily, information on the subject is very accessible. In this place the following summary must suffice.

\* Ranke thought it was also undesirable. "Who would wish now, as those times have gone by, to trace further the tortuous aberrations of a subtlety destructive of all morality?" Every eye has its blind spot, even Von Ranke's. When the *History of the Popes* appeared, the casuistry he so strongly condemns had been beatified in the person of its sponsor Liguori, and was about to be canonised. Yet a few years more and Liguori was to be invested with the authority of a doctor of the Church. Such was the wage of the infamous service he had rendered to the Jesuits. Rome was hiding her hand in 1836 cleverly enough to deceive a prince among historians. Did the insolent triumph of Jesuitism in 1870 awake the venerable scholar from the fascinating dream of progress all along the line?

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The casuistry of the Jesuits makes, as Pascal ironically observes, "all things pure"; and in the "all things" we must include the crimes of the stony-hearted, the rapacious, the perjured; of simoniacs, usurers, thieves, liars, murderers, assassins, pandars. It gives a formal discharge from all obligation to love God or to love one's neighbour. "I know," says Escobar, one of their leading authorities, "that the rich who do not give of their superfluity in the deep need of the poor, do not sin mortally;" and Vasquez the Jesuit, speaking of the gospel injunction to give alms of one's superfluity,\* says that "what men of the world keep to raise their status is not to be called 'superfluity'; whence," he goes on, "it is hardly possible to find that there ever is any superfluity among men of the world, or even among kings."

\* St. Luke xi. 41, Vulgate.



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To have been published by professed ministers of Christ, the maxims of the Jesuits in respect of love to God are perhaps even more astounding. Four at least of their fathers (and be it once more recalled that not one of them may publish a book without the sanction of the Society) have maintained that salvation may be won by those who have never had love to God in their hearts, nor yet that true repentance (contrition is their term for it) which springs from a sense of the love against which we have sinned. Pascal quotes Pintereau, a French Jesuit, as the representative of many more: "It was reasonable that under the rule of grace in the New Testament God should remove the irksome and difficult obligation, rigorously enforced under the law, of exercising an act of perfect contrition in order to justification; and

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that He should institute sacraments to make good the defect by help of a disposition more easily attained. Otherwise, surely, Christians, who are sons, would have no greater facility for reinstating themselves in their Father's good graces than had the Jews, who were servants, for obtaining mercy from their Master." Here we are at the very root of the quarrel between the Society and Port Royal; for the Port Royalists, like their master Jansenius, find the source of all virtue in love to God. "In this very love consists the liberation of the will; since its inexpressible sweetness annihilates the pleasure arising from the gratification of man's evil desires; hence arises a voluntary and blissful necessity not to commit sin, but to live a good life; and this is the true free-will—a will freed from evil and exclusively determined by

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good." \* To men whose hearts burned within them as they pondered this truly evangelic principle, the hypocrisy of the Jesuit casuistry (despicable as it must appear to any eye) was simply an unendurable outrage. "There then you will see," are the words that Pascal, with bitterest irony, puts into the mouth of his Jesuit acquaintance, "that this discharge from the irksome obligation to love God is the distinguishing privilege of the gospel law as compared with the Jewish." † Then, in his own person, he rejoins in his loftiest strain: "Before the Incarnation the duty to love God remained in force; but since God has so loved the world that He has given it His only Son, the world, redeemed by Him, is at liberty not to love Him!

\* Ranke, vol. iii. p. 99.

† *Les Provinciales* (Louandre's edition), p. 198.

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Strange theology of our days! They dare to lift the curse pronounced by St. Paul upon those who love not the Lord Jesus. They destroy the saying of St. John, that he that loveth not abideth in death, and even the saying of Jesus Christ Himself, that he that loveth Him not keepeth not His sayings. Thus they make those worthy to enjoy God in eternity who have never loved Him in all their lives. The mystery of iniquity is complete! . . . I pray God that He may vouchsafe to show them how false is the light that has led them to such precipices, and may fill with His love those who dare to release men from its claims."

Deeper than all their other plots against the stability of society is the havoc they make of every obligation to shun lying and perjury. Sanchez says: "A man may swear that he has not done a thing, though

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as a matter of fact he has done it, understanding in his own mind that he did not do it on some particular day, or before he was born, or understanding some other circumstance of the kind. . . . And this is very convenient in many emergencies, and is always perfectly right when it is necessary or useful for the man's health, honour, or goods." Filiutius recommends another means, which is, after having said aloud, "I swear I have not done it," to add, under the breath, "to-day." Thus, as the Jesuits maintained, the man certainly *spoke* the truth. Pascal agreed with them in his celebrated retort, "C'est dire la vérité tout bas, et un mensonge tout haut." \*

All these enormities are ingeniously justi-

\* *I.e.*, "It is to speak the truth inaudibly, and a lie aloud." But the neat antithetical structure of the retort is not easily retained in a translation,

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fied in the light of two great principles—probability and the direction of the intention. A short explanation will show that the justification of such crimes is less atrocious than the hypocrisy of the pleas by which they are justified. If this seems strong language I will undertake to prove that it is not a bit too strong; indeed, not nearly strong enough. Before a wickedness, at once the vastest and the meanest that the world has witnessed, human speech stands beggared. Pascal could not adequately characterise the wickedness he exposed, and where he failed who shall hope to succeed?

### § 3. *Probabilism and Direction of Intention.*

The principle of probability (or probabilism, as it has been called on both sides of the Channel to distinguish it from

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“probability” in the rational sense of the word) is briefly this: Any grave doctor’s opinion is *probable*, that is to say, probably right; his “gravity” makes it so, for as the Jesuit Sanchez says, “If the testimony of such a man is of great weight in assuring us that a certain thing has taken place (say) at Rome, why should it not be equally so in a doubtful question of morals?” Now the doctors whom the Jesuits produced or utilised furnished among them all kinds of discordant opinions on every question under the sun. The Jesuit system teaches that any number of discordant opinions may all possess probability in various degrees; that every probable opinion, *even though the contrary opinion be much more probable*, may be safely followed in practice; and that every confessor is bound, under pain of damnation, to acquit a penitent

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who has acted on a "probable" opinion, even though the confessor believes the opinion to be entirely erroneous.

Thus the Jesuits craftily refrain from setting forth a formal code of morality, and to this day they take great advantage of their craft. Any Jesuit may profess the principles of an austere morality, and thus persuade the ill-informed and credulous multitude that the Society has been maligned; but if he goes on to condemn as infamous, or even as demonstrably false, or even as not affording a perfectly safe ground of action to the conscience, any one of the vilest principles ever adopted by the Jesuit casuists, he perpetrates the lie direct. Outside the domain of purest speculative theory, every Jesuit is bound to accept every one of the villainous principles exposed by Pascal.



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From one end of the moral scale to the other—anywhere between the extreme of virtue and the extreme of vice—a man may pick and choose the course he shall follow, and may walk in it with perfect safety and perfect ease of conscience, because a huge, heterogeneous body of casuistry, too subtle to overlook any contingency and too unscrupulous to stick at any infamy, has invested every course with “probability.”

Nor is it only in the tribunal of penance that this principle obtains; it obtains equally in the kindred work of the direction of consciences. In other words, it is as valid for determining the advice to be offered beforehand, as it is for weighing the moral character of acts already committed. One of the great authorities of the Jesuits says that a doctor (*i.e.*, a

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director of consciences) may, when consulted, give counsel according to a "probable" opinion which he does not think correct, nay, which he is persuaded is absolutely false, if it is likely to be more favourable and agreeable than his own opinion to the person consulting him.

I do not hesitate to say that this principle is more immoral than the most detestable of the specific acts of fraud, rapacity, violence, or profligacy that it is used to sustain. By its warrant a man may steal to-day and make restitution to-morrow, and be just as safe in the one line as in the other. The confounding of moral distinctions is the guiltiest and most perilous form of immorality, and the Jesuits have carried it to a development from which the lowest idolater or the most cynical sceptic of the old heathen world would have shrunk appalled.

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The second principle is the "direction of the intention." If a bad act is foreseen to produce, besides its natural bad consequences, certain accidental indifferent consequences, a man may lawfully perform it, if he "direct his intention" to some indifferent consequence—or, as we might put it, if he fix his attention upon an indifferent consequence, and shut his eyes to the rest. Thus a Christian may slay without sin a man who strikes him, or who offers to strike him, or who even insults him; but he must direct his intention to the saving of his own honour, and not to the injury that will accrue in the process to the other party. The same principle has been used to acquit servants who assist their masters in the most infamous attempts against female honour, provided that the servants in complying have in

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view the avoidance of dismissal, ill-usage, or even harsh looks.\*

Nowadays the Jesuits attempt to throw dust in our eyes by asking if we do not hold that the intention determines the moral quality of the act, and whether cutting and wounding, which are felonious in a case of assault, are not often lawful

\* Liguori's words are: "Quæritur, utrum liceat famulo meretrici aperire? Negat Croix, at communius affirmant cum Salmanticensibus, Layman, Tamburini, cum Sanchez, Diana, &c., &c. Nec officit propositio Innocent XI dicens, Famulus qui, submissis humeris, scienter adjuvat herum suum ascendere per fenestras ad stuprandam virginem, et multoties eidem subservit, deferendo scalam, aperiendo januam, aut quid simile cooperando, non peccat mortaliter, si id faciat metu notabilis detrimenti, puta, ne a domino male tractetur, ne torvis oculis aspiciatur, ne domo expellatur; nam, aperiendo januam ex ipso contextu intelligitur de aperitione per vim confecta, ut recte dicunt Roncaglia &c. modo (ajunt) ipso non aperiente, adsit alius qui aperiat."

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on the part of a surgeon. But this defence presumes too far on our stupidity. The moral quality of my act does indeed depend on my intention, that is to say, on all the consequences I foresee, or am responsible to foresee ; but no amount of focussing of the attention on one of the foreseen results will release me from the responsibility of them all.

Something has been attempted in defence of the Jesuits, on the plea that their casuistry was by no means altogether invented by them. But we must reply that it was altogether *adopted* by them, and was made to contribute enormously to the success of their vast schemes. The great critic, Sainte Beuve, who is the supreme historian of Port Royal, but who will not be suspected of a mere *odium theologicum*, has this excellent remark on the

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subject: "If the Jesuits alone have paid the penalty for all, they deserved in a certain sense to do so. What others followed by routine and singly, they rejuvenated for their own use, and quickened with the breath of a keen purpose. In mingling actively in political and worldly affairs, in seeking to gain the ear or the heart of kings, they brought in human adroitness under cover of the gospel, and installed the principles of Machiavelli under the shadow of the Cross." \*

\* The Jesuits have never excelled in origination. Their strength has lain in their skill and sagacity in selecting and utilising such existing tendencies as suited their purpose. Even probabilism is said to be as old as Aquinas. In this also we may see how the Jesuits disengaged and developed those medieval elements that genuinely belonged to the spirit of Romanism.

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### § 4. *The Object of the Jesuit Casuistry.*

Good Protestants, when confronted for the first time with the Jesuist casuistry, find it difficult to believe that they are informed aright. "There must be some mistake," they say vaguely. This is not only, or even chiefly, because the casuistry is incredibly wicked, but above all because it seems incredibly foolish; and they are ready to lend a willing ear to the Jesuit who points them to members of his Society that have upheld the claims of a rigid virtue, or who bids them see how strict is the personal morality of the Jesuits. But as a matter of fact there is no morality (unless it be in the conventional sense of chastity) that was ever a feature of the Society; and if some of their moralists are rigid it is simply because it served their

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turn to have rigid moralists to point to. Moreover, it must be remembered that the rigidity could be no constraint upon anybody, since the most detestable maxims of their laxest casuists were "probable" and "safe," as certainly as the severest maxims of the most rigid. But Pascal long ago exposed the deep wisdom of a system that seems to bear all the marks of the very wantonness of folly. These are the words that he puts into the mouth of the stern Jansenist who figures in the early *Provincials* :—

"Know then that it is not their object to corrupt morals; that is not their design. But neither is it their only end to reform them; it would be a bad policy. This is their idea. They have so good an opinion of themselves as to think that it is useful and almost essential to the welfare of religion that their credit should spread everywhere, and that they should govern all consciences. And because the strict



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maxims of the gospel are suitable to govern certain kinds of people, they use them in cases in which they serve their end. But as the same maxims do not suit the purpose of most people, they forsake them in such cases, so as to have something to suit everybody. On this account, seeing that they have to do with people of every kind and of such various nations, it is necessary for them to possess casuists answering to all this variety.

“From this principle you will easily conclude that if they had only lax casuists they would ruin their chief design (which is, to embrace all the world), since those who are truly pious seek a severe rule of conduct. But as there are not many of this kind, they do not need severe directors to guide them. They provide a few for the few; while the crowd of lax casuists are offered to the crowd of those who seek relaxed principles.

“It is by this ‘obliging and accommodating conduct,’ as Father Petau calls it, that they stretch out their arms to all the world. For if any one comes to them with his mind made up to restore his ill-gotten gains, never fear that they will dissuade him; on the contrary, they will praise and confirm so holy a resolution. But suppose another comes to them who wants absolution without restitution, it will be a hard case if they do not furnish him with

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the means, and for the lawfulness of the means they will become sureties." \*

### § 5. *Results of Jesuit Influence : Moral Character of the Counter-Reformation.*

The Jesuits, of course, could make no defence worth examining. The only point that possesses a vestige of plausibility is

\* "Des moyens dont ils se rendront les garants." —It is a deplorable thing that a standard work of reference like the new edition of *Chambers's Encyclopædia* should mislead its readers on a point that lies at the vital centre of the whole Jesuit controversy. "The laxity of some of the Jesuit casuists was mercilessly exposed by this brilliant adversary [Pascal], who represented it as the authorised teaching of the order, &c." (vol. vi. p. 313*b*). From this passage any people who were so unhappy as not to have read the *Provincial Letters* would infer that Pascal had at least ignored the fact that some Jesuit casuists were rigid, whereas that fact is actually known to most of the world by Pascal's means, and by Pascal's alone. As for the suggestion that the Society might not as a whole be responsible for this mass of divinity issued by a crowd of its

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thus stated by Dr. Littledale: That "no one pretends that the large number of lay-folk whom they have educated or influenced exhibit any great moral inferiority to their neighbours." The answer must be a simple denial of the allegation. How about the 'Thirty Years' War, and its heroes whom the Jesuits "formed" ? But we need not appeal to the verdict of history. Let the experience of our own days suffice. Since Dr. Littledale's time all Europe has been scandalised by an example of the depravity of the pupils of the Jesuits. The Dreyfus case has furnished the spectacle of the whole of members, it is, I hope, sufficiently answered by what I have already said in this essay, and will be answered still more conclusively by what I have yet to say. The Jesuits, in canonising Liguori, have justified more than Pascal said against them, or could have said as things stood in his day.

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the highest ranks of the French army—of which nearly every member received his training in Jesuit colleges — exhibiting with cynical complacency a total want of the most elementary sentiments of truth, of honour, of humanity, of patriotism. We have gazed into an abyss of moral corruption in which a great and gallant nation must have been, but for the recent Providential reaction, speedily engulfed. If Europe is not warned, there is nothing left to say but—“Whom God will destroy, He first visits with madness.”

It is no doubt true that the whole Counter - Reformation, for which the Jesuits are mainly responsible, bears a certain aspect of real moral regeneration. It is Dr. Ward's remark upon the close of the Council of Trent that “the whole

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priesthood, from the Pope downwards, benefited by the warnings that had been administered, by the sacrifices that had been made, and by the reforms that had been agreed upon. The Church," he adds, "became more united, less worldly, and more dependent on herself. These results outlasted the movement known as the Counter-Reformation, and should be ignored by no candid mind."

That there were great improvements on the shameless indecency of the Middle Ages is of course quite true, though loud complaints of the immorality of the clergy have not ceased to be heard from orthodox Roman Catholic prelates, and were strongly urged as recently as the Vatican Council of 1870. It is also true that there was a real revival of the Church-spirit. The ambition of ecclesias-

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tics was largely diverted into ecclesiastical channels. Simony and nepotism doubtless declined. Indeed, the whole programme of the Jesuits would have failed from the outset if they had not stirred the Church up to something of the self-denial and enthusiasm that the great campaign against Protestantism imperatively required. But all this implies no necessary moral gain. It is possible to become a better churchman and a worse patriot. It is possible to become more decent and less scrupulous. It is possible to become more chaste and less humane. It is possible to become much more devoted to the interests of the Church, and much more careless of the rights of men. It is possible to wage war against every element of morality beneath a banner bearing the inscription, "*Ad majorem Dei gloriam!*" Pope Pius V.

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was a Dominican, but a most zealous child of the Counter-Reformation, "and such," according to Dr. Ward, "were the purity and holiness of the conduct of his life, that his canonisation in later days (1712) admits of no cavil." Opinions may perhaps differ. Dr. Ward's own account of this Christian saint contains instructive reading: "He congratulated Alva on the efficiency of his Council of Blood, and exhorted Charles IX. to pull up the Huguenot heresy by the very fibres of its roots (1569). He took part in the French wars with money and men; and while he spared no pains to animate the lukewarm loyalty of the Emperor Maximilian II. towards the Church, he was ready to cut off from it a rebellious member like Queen Elizabeth (1570), and to interest himself in the plots directed against her

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life." These are anomalous features in the conduct of a saint ; yet, after all, Dr. Ward lets Pope Pius off too lightly. For Pius sent to the French wars, as his own "contingent, a small body of troops . . . to whom he gave the cruel instructions to slay every Huguenot who should fall into their hands, and give no quarter."\* Of such saintship we will gladly make a present to the Counter-Reformation.

Gregory XIII., who specially favoured the Jesuits, was the patron of missions to the heathen, the founder of colleges, and the endower of churches. His indecent jubilation over the appalling carnage of St. Bartholomew's Day is one of the commonplaces of history. Nothing can be more typical of the movement of which the Jesuits were the leaders.

\* Ranke, ii. 45.



JESUITISM IN THE LAST TWO  
CENTURIES

1. THE SOCIETY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.
2. THE TRIUMPH OF THE JESUITS: THE VATICAN  
DECREES.

## VII

### JESUITISM IN THE LAST TWO CENTURIES

#### § 1. *The Society in the Eighteenth Century.*

FROM the wound inflicted on them by Pascal there is a general impression that the Jesuits have never wholly recovered. People speak emphatically of the extent to which they injured themselves by this quarrel, and of the thousands of deadly enemies that they made. I believe, on the contrary, that the Jesuits, as usual, were the best judges of their own interests, and so far from

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thinking, as Griesinger seems to think, that they would have acted prudently in not provoking the Jansenists, I feel sure that they would have made a mistake by which their whole policy would have been ruined. They took a terrible risk, and sustained grievous injuries; but they had no choice but to engage the foe, or else relinquish all their schemes. The fabric of an Ultramontanised Catholicism could only be built on the ruins of Gallicanism. It was probably the supreme crisis in the history of the Jesuits. Their daring prudence brought them through it in triumph.

True, the manifestation of their success was long delayed. Indeed, almost exactly two hundred years elapsed between the issue of the *Provincial Letters* and the promulgation in 1854 of the first of the two

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great Ultramontane dogmas that at once signalised the triumph of Jesuitism and celebrated the obsequies of the freer spirit of Gallicanism. The Pope, it is true, condemned the *Provincials* within the brief lifetime of their author, who only survived by six years the date of his immortal work; but seventeen years after his death Pope Innocent XI. condemned the system of Jesuit casuistry, the assembly of French clergy following suit in the year 1700. And the century that was then about to open proved a time of many adversities for the Society. In 1767 Charles III. of Spain expelled the Jesuits from all his dominions in spite of the piteous entreaties of Pope Clement XIII., and his example was immediately followed by Ferdinand IV., King of Naples and Sicily. This was at least a proof

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that a spirit that may fitly be termed Gallican was still possessed of life and vigour—as indeed it was for a long time after. But things were far worse when, at the instance of practically the whole of Roman Catholic Europe, the next Pope, Clement XIV., the illustrious Ganganelli, proceeded in 1773 to the entire abolition of the Society.\*

But no weapon forged in any earthly armoury can kill Jesuitism. In signing the Brief of Abolition, Ganganelli seems to have felt that he was signing his own

\* The Jesuits were freely charged with every kind of sinister influence in politics; but it was not more to persistence in their ancient vices than to a decline from their ancient spirit that the final catastrophe was due. Power had brought worldliness; wealth had brought avarice. Perhaps their suppression was the condition of their permanence. The bitter winds of adversity have completely restored their pristine vigour.

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death-warrant. "I hereby attest," he is reported to have said, "the proximity of my death." His forecast was based on the experience of such of his predecessors as had dared before him to thwart their masters, the Jesuits.\* He heroically determined to devote himself to death

\* "Sixtus V. having undertaken with a high hand the wholesale reform of the company, including the change of its name from 'Society of Jesus' to 'Society of Ignatius,' met with strenuous opposition, and the fulfilment of Bellarmine's prophecy that he would not survive the year 1590 was looked on less as the accomplishment of a prediction than of a threat — an impression deepened by the sudden death of his successor, Urban VII., eleven days after his election, who, as Cardinal Castagna, had been actively co-operating with Sixtus in his plans. The accuracy of a similar forecast made by Bellarmine as to Clement VIII., who was also at feud with the Society, and who died before he could carry out his intended measures, confirmed popular suspicion." (*Enc. Brit.*, vol. xiii. 648*b.*)

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with the foe, for the deliverance of the Church. Alas for a gallantry and honesty too seldom exemplified in the Papacy! He perished indeed, but the Jesuits survived, and led Vatican and Church captive in their triumph. In less than a hundred years from the decree for the suppression of the Society, was promulgated the decree of the Papal Infallibility — a decree that proclaimed the ruin of every principle for which St. Cyran and Pascal, Paolo Sarpi and Ganganelli, had braved the ruthless apostles of Ultramontanism.

### § 2. *The Triumph of the Jesuits : The Vatican Decrees.*

The tactics of the Society were worthy of its traditions. An Italian devotee, who was not of their order, Alfonso Liguori, embodied in his writings practically the



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whole system of Jesuit casuistry, basing it once more on the twin principles of probabilism and direction of intention. If Liguori, who professed to seek a golden mean, occasionally forsook some of the most flagitious rules of his predecessors, that is quite as much as can be said for him; nor is it of the slightest importance, since he admitted the "probability" of their vilest maxims, and assented to the old principle by which a confessor is bound under penalty of mortal sin (*sub gravi*) to acquit any penitent who has acted on a "probable" opinion. It is absolutely safe to say that there is not a single word used above to characterise the writers who were the objects of Pascal's onslaught that is not strictly applicable to Liguori. The old abomination thus reappeared in an unexpected

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quarter, and under the unsuspected name of one who, by a life of devotion conducted on quite un-Jesuitical lines, had established a high title to canonisation.

For this honour he was put forward early in the last century. In 1803 a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, duly confirmed by the Pope, declared "that in all the writings of Alfonso Liguori, edited and inedited, there was not a word that could justly be found fault with." In 1814, when the victories of the Allies over Napoleon had set Pope Pius VII. free from his exile in France, the Society of Jesus was immediately restored. The Pope entered Rome on the 24th of May, and on Sunday, August 7th, the solemn reinstatement was celebrated, the Pope reading mass in the Church of the Jesuits, before the altar of Ignatius

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Loyola. How active the Society had been during the forty years of "suppression," under the strange protection of Prussia and Russia, may be judged from the Pope's frankly avowed reasons for the reinstatement. "On the stormy sea," he observed, "when at every moment threatened by death and shipwreck, he should violate his duty by declining the aid of powerful and experienced mariners who offered themselves for his assistance."\* The French Revolution had, in fact, constituted a menace to the Papacy only less formidable than the menace of the Reformation. The champions who had sprung, as it were, ready-armed out of the very ground at the earlier crisis, rose as if from the dead to face the new peril, and to retrieve the later disaster. As of

\* Ranke, Bohn's edition, vol. ii. pp. 468-9.

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old, the Papacy paid the price of its deliverance: it made over the balance of its liberty to the sons and successors of Loyola.

Now mark the unfolding of the drama. In 1816 Alfonso Liguori received beatification. In 1839 he received canonisation. It is not surprising that within some fifteen years came the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, and sixteen years later the decree of the Papal Infallibility.

Now in these famous dogmas, and especially in the decree of 1870, we see the very wantonness of Jesuit triumph. The Jesuits recognised that the time had come to bid defiance to their foes. In the interval since the days of the *Provincial Letters*, Jansenism, as a school of Catholic thought, had perished. Harassed by bull upon bull from Rome, by edict upon edict from the

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French Court, denied the sacrament of penance and the last rites of the Church, dragged from their homes and from their religious houses, and committed to rigorous and hopeless imprisonment,—or driven, like Arnould himself, to pass the years of extreme old age in hiding and in wandering from land to land to escape the vengeance of their implacable foes,—the Jansenists confronted the victorious enemy with a spirit that no calamity could tame. But oppression can madden when it cannot tame, and Jansenism fell prematurely on the evil days of a spiritual dotage,—days of a degrading fanaticism,—days of “convulsionary” women, nailed to the cross that they might receive the wounds of Christ in the way He received them,—days of equally wild delusions of miracles of healing at the grave of the deacon Paris. Thus, at a time

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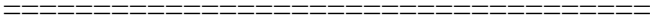
when the Jesuits had fallen into such ill-odour in France that their rivals might well have profited by that last turn of Fortune's strange wheel, Jansenism was far past profiting by anything. It had been done to death by the foe.

Yet, great as was the obstacle removed in this way from the path of the Jesuits, we have already seen that there was power enough left in the Gallican spirit to inflict heavy reverses upon them. In 1870, however, they triumphed finally over the remnant left to represent the freer polity within the Roman communion. The body of the Old Catholics, as they styled themselves, refused to accept the decree of Papal Infallibility, and seceded accordingly. In other words, the Jesuits, by forcing on the decree, cast the remnant of their old adversaries scornfully adrift.

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## **Bank of Wisdom**

Priestcraft is not a thing of bygone ages, it lives today and will live as long as people do not think for themselves. The clergy, by whatever name they present themselves – Minister, Priest, Bishop, Brother, Pope, etc. – are no more needed to bring people to truth or morality than beggars are needed for a better economy.

But how do we break the chains of the mind that are passed on from one generation to the next by child indoctrination? Priestcraft insists that the child's mind must be trained to believe in the one religion preached, and special schools are provided to assure that no child will escape the deadening influence of the old beliefs that provide the clergy with power, wealth and influence.

Emmett F. Fields  
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FAILURE OR SUCCESS?



## VIII

### FAILURE OR SUCCESS ?

**T**HE Society is sometimes charged with failure at every point. In the following words of Dr. Littledale, the charge is summarised and illustrated in a very impressive, if not a very convincing manner :—

“The brand of ultimate failure . . . has invariably been stamped on all its most promising schemes and efforts. It controlled the policy of Spain, when Spain was aiming, with good reason to hope for success, at the hegemony of Europe, and Spain came out of the struggle well-nigh the last among the nations. It secured the monopoly of religious teaching and influence in France under Louis XIV. and XV., only to see an atheistic revolution break out under

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Louis XVI. and sweep over the nation after a century of such training. It guided the action of James II., lost the crown of England for the House of Stuart, and brought about the limitation of the throne to the Protestant succession. Its Japanese and Red Indian missions have vanished without leaving a trace behind ; its labours in Hindustan did but prepare the way for the English empire there ; it was swept out of its Paraguayan domains without power of defence ; and having in our own day concentrated its efforts on the maintenance of the temporal power of the Popes and raised it almost to the rank of a dogma of the Catholic faith, it has seen Rome proclaimed as the capital of united Italy, and a Piedmontese sovereign enthroned in the Quirinal."

Dr. Littledale explains this failure to a great extent by the dearth of first-class intellects in the Society, and as this alleged dearth is, for reasons I suggested a little above,\* certainly a fact, the explanation seems plausible. But the question that Dr. Littledale raises reminds

\* See p. 108.

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me of the puzzling problem that Charles II. submitted to the Royal Society. He asked how it was that, when a live fish was put into a bowl of water, the bowl and its contents weighed no more than they had weighed before. The Fellows of the Society tried hard to suggest a really satisfactory scientific explanation of this curious phenomenon, but they found it the most intractable problem that had ever been before them. At last one of them took it into his head to weigh the bowl both with and without the fish, and found that there was just the difference of weight that might have been expected. The merry monarch must have made himself merry indeed over the learned attempts to account for his precious phenomenon. Perhaps the anecdote is hackneyed, but at least it is pertinent, and before we discuss Dr. Littledale's ex-

## FAILURE OR SUCCESS ?

planation of the failure of the Jesuits, we had better make sure that the Jesuits have failed.

Now take, for instance, the great Jansenist controversy. Behind all its ephemeral interests, what were the principles for which the Jesuits gave battle? Surely we must reply that the principles were—(1) a semi-Pelagian theology; (2) the relaxed and profligate code of morals by which they won the world to their confessionals; and (3) Papal absolutism, behind which they cunningly hid their own; or, in a word, the principles of Ultramontaniam. On these points the Jansenists passionately joined issue with them; and at that time, though the Jesuits had the ear of the Court, the French people, according to Voltaire, was with the Jansenists. This was still the case as late as the epoch of the bull

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Unigenitus (1713);\* while about the middle of the eighteenth century men were prepared to pity the Jesuits for the greatness of their fall before the rising influence of the infidel philosophers of the Encyclopædia; and twenty years later the Society was actually suppressed by Papal bull. I rely on the following plain facts of the ecclesiastical world of to-day to attest the completeness of their triumph over Jansenists, Encyclopædists, and Popes.

Predestinarian theology finds no audible voice in the Church of Rome to-day. The

\* "In which [bull] the Jansenist doctrines of sin, grace, justification, and Church . . . were denounced as heretical. It was the final decision of the old controversy agitated by Molina; after centuries of vacillation, the Roman see at length declared itself decidedly in favour of the Jesuits." (Ranke, vol. iii. p. 135). The Society obtained the bull by the agency of Le Tellier, the famous Jesuit confessor of Louis XIV.

## FAILURE OR SUCCESS?

moral code of Jesuitism has received the most solemn and deliberate sanction of the Sacred Congregation of Rites and of the Church of Rome. By Papal decree, the man who engrossed this unspeakable casuistry, "authorising," as I have said elsewhere, "lying, theft, perjury, murder, and protecting adultery and outrage," "by the resources of a bottomless hypocrisy,"—and who, after engrossing it, published it as his own,—is venerated in the prayers of all the faithful, and his mighty intercession with God is invoked; and all this on the avowed basis that in his entire works there is not one word that can justly be found fault with.\* And seeing that Liguori requires

\* The quotations are from *Three Letters on the Proposal for a Roman Catholic University*. I add the following: "It is a relief to find that he [Liguori] is doubtful whether even extreme necessity would

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a confessor on pain of damnation to acquit a penitent who has followed any "probable" opinion (however great the confessor's personal disapprobation of the opinion may be),—and since there was nothing in this dictum of Liguori's to find fault with,—it is plain that a confessor is not merely authorised by the Church, but is positively bound, to imitate the laxity that the Jesuits invented

justify a father in prostituting his daughter. Indeed, he thinks the contrary MORE PROBABLE (!), as the father could relieve his necessities by begging; though, at the same time, he quotes for the affirmative several grave doctors, who are quite weighty enough to make their opinion fully 'probable.' I need not explain to you that this is tantamount to saying to the necessitous father, 'Do as thou wilt; thou hast not sinned.' He also justifies a man 'in providing for himself out of other people's property,' if the man is of honourable position, and would think it a shame to beg *or to labour*, provided his shame were so great that he would prefer to die." Presumably it was from consideration for the same

## FAILURE OR SUCCESS?

for themselves, and to acquit in the tribunal of penance every one who has acted on any "probable" opinion in the whole range of this infernal system. And matters have been made yet worse, if possible, by Liguori having been subsequently named a doctor of the Church—a title that makes it doubtful whether it is lawful for a Romanist even to express a mild difference of judgment in regard to anything in the Saint's writings.\*

delicate sense of honour that the grave doctors Liguori quotes would permit a man to prostitute his daughter. Ashamed to labour, but not ashamed to steal! Ashamed to beg, I presume, but not ashamed to prostitute a daughter! And, according to the Sacred Congregation of Rites and the infallible pontiff, not a single word to be found fault with! With all respect to our English Roman Catholic laity, who generally, I believe, know next to nothing about Roman Catholicism, the knowledge of this one fact would make communion in the Church of Rome infamous to us.

\* Cf. Littledale, *Enc. Brit.*, art. Liguori.



## FAILURE OR SUCCESS?

Lastly, the Papal Infallibility, that ancient stronghold of Jesuit polemic, has been solemnly decreed as a dogma of the Church by Pope and Council; the decree being passed only after a desperate resistance by the minority, whose exertions bear eloquent testimony to the horror with which they contemplated its promulgation.

I ask, Could human triumph be more complete?

With reference to the specific cases of failure quoted by Dr. Littledale, I must here limit myself to two remarks. In the first place, I think he has sometimes mistaken Jesuit *means* for Jesuit *ends*, the scaffolding for the building. As it was said above, the transient appearance of success often served the purpose of the Jesuits sufficiently. In the second place,

## FAILURE OR SUCCESS?

many of their plans have certainly miscarried, nor could it possibly have been otherwise. The point to observe is that they have always returned to the charge. If baffled along one line they have never been at a loss to find another; and whatever vicissitudes may mark their conflicts, they may count securely, so far as past experience can guide us, on remaining at the last in possession of the hardest-fought field.

THE PRESENT IN THE LIGHT OF  
THE PAST

1. THE HISTORICAL SELF-CONSISTENCY OF JESUITISM.
- 2 CONTEMPORARY ACTIVITIES OF THE JESUITS.

## IX

### THE PRESENT IN THE LIGHT OF THE PAST

#### § 1. *The Historical Self-consistency of Jesuitism.*

AS seen on a large scale, the march of the Society of Jesus across the field of history is undeviating and unfaltering from first to last. The Jesuits grasped from the first the great principle that Romanism could never survive by a compromise with Protestantism. In the middle of the sixteenth century, many larger-minded Romanists were disposed to seek for the point of truth from which

## THE PRESENT IN

Protestantism had started. They would radically have altered the discipline of the Church; they would largely, perhaps even essentially, have modified its doctrines. The Jesuits prevented this, and they were right. A Protestant tendency lurks in the bosom of all Gallicanism. When Pascal heard that the *Provincials* had been condemned at Rome, he appealed to the tribunal of Jesus Christ; and when the very small remnant that refused in 1870 to bow their necks to the Jesuit yoke had formally seceded from the Roman communion, they speedily developed principles far more Protestant than many that seem to have now secured a permanent shelter within the Church of England.\* The Jesuits there-

\* At Bonn, in 1874, they abolished compulsory fasting, and made auricular confession a matter

## THE LIGHT OF THE PAST

fore from the first aimed at making the Pope absolute over Christendom, and themselves absolute over the Pope. The liberties of national Churches are as much proscribed, and with as good cause, as the liberties of individual consciences. Authority is to be the all-pervading principle from top to bottom of the whole system.

But an authority that will brook rival dictation is none. To submit now to authority and now to reason, to follow now the voice of a director and now the voice of one's own conscience, is a course that will end in Protestantism. Appeals have often been made to the Church of Rome, and are still constantly being made, to modify her principles in the light of

for the individual conscience. A few years later they permitted the marriage of priests.

## THE PRESENT IN

the development of thought, the progress of scientific discovery, the spirit of the age. But those who make the appeal have never explained how Rome could meet their views and yet remain Roman. Authority is authority, and must pit itself fearlessly against all knowledge, all reason and all conscience. The Jesuits saw this plainly. They braced themselves for the mighty task. The march of three hundred and seventy years of the most astonishing increase of knowledge has not left these protagonists of reaction helpless in the rear. They stand foot to foot with every foe. They laugh at a reign of reason or a reign of conscience. These are airy speculations. If you want a solid, concrete fact, they point you to the reign of authority at the Vatican.

Men who worked with them, who



## THE LIGHT OF THE PAST

perhaps sometimes even seemed to take the lead of them, in the beginning of the Counter-Reformation, were often no Ultramontanes. But all unwittingly they had to play the Jesuits' game. Bellarmine invented the theory of Ultramontaniam. Scarcely anybody liked it. It had to pass through centuries of opposition that often rose to persecution. How calmly now it dominates the whole field of Roman Christendom! How coolly it insults Protestantism, and claims a return in the strange form of deference, concession and endowment!

One goal, one course, one spirit, one tactic,—these are the marks of Jesuitism. It is far greater than the sum of the men who have composed it. In the case of every other society, the society seems to be simply a speculative generalisation,

## THE PRESENT IN

while its members are the living, personal units. This is reversed as we study Jesuitism. The individuals seem simply speculative particularisations, while the Society is a living, personal unit. And it lives as a personal power that does not change with the changes of succeeding ages; that moulds every age, and is moulded by none.

There have been corporations made up of far greater members; but there has never been a corporation half so great. Jesuitism could sustain no comparison with Jansenism in respect of its individual adherents. A generation of Jansenists was personally greater than three centuries of Jesuits. Yet the Jansenists survive in the solitary episcopate of Utrecht; the Jesuits give the law to the 230 million souls that render allegiance to the See of Rome.

## THE LIGHT OF THE PAST

The same principle has held good in our own day. In the last scene of the great tragedy of Gallicanism, to use the term still in its widest acceptation, three such men as Döllinger, Strossmayer, and Dupanloup were, I suppose, in a personal sense a sufficient counterpoise to the whole Jesuitic faction by which the Vatican decrees were forced triumphantly through. Yet what became of the Gallican party? The majority actually submitted to a decree establishing as a Christian doctrine what they knew to be a lie. The rest, much to their honour, seceded, and formed the communion of the Old Catholics. The movement excited the utmost interest everywhere, and in many an ardent breast it kindled the most glowing hopes. "Theodorus" — a pseudonym now known to have covered

## THE PRESENT IN

a name of great consideration in historical literature\*—gave the movement the ambitious title of the New Reformation. But this was in 1875, when Old Catholicism was at its height. Later events have been sorely disappointing. From that very time the Church of the Old Catholics declined; and the decline was so rapid that in about a dozen years preceding 1890 it lost, in Germany and Switzerland alone, nearly 50,000 adherents out of a total of 125,000. Anything more suggestive of the hopeless instability of un-Jesuitised Romanism could scarcely be imagined. To find the semblance of a triumphant resistance to the Jesuits we must turn to Protestantism, and, speaking generally, to Protestantism in its extremer forms.

\* Mr. J. Bass Mullinger, the historian of the University of Cambridge.

## THE LIGHT OF THE PAST

At Worms in 1557 it was the Jesuit Canisius who hardened the spirit of Romish intolerance until all chance of an understanding with the party of the Reformers was destroyed. In like manner it is the influence of the Jesuits that still shuts the door on the Romanist who cannot ignore all the results of scientific inquiry, and that makes the position of such a man as the late St. George Mivart untenable within the Roman communion.\*

Again, it was Laynez, the second General of the Society, who, with the aid of Canisius and Salmeron, dominated the Council of Trent. At Trent the traditional theology of Rome was stereotyped in formularies that forbade all hope of a

\* It will of course be understood that in saying this I in no sense commit myself to an approval of all Mr. Mivart's positions.

## THE PRESENT IN

reconciliation with the Lutherans. Nor was this for want of an alternative theory that could claim distinguished authority among the divines of Rome; for Contarini's doctrine of justification, inadequate as it was, indicated a certain approximation to the standpoint of the Reformation. Steadfast in the earliest policy of their Society, the Jesuits of 1870 simply howled down the eloquent Bishop Strossmayer, who had said "there were many able champions of Christian doctrine among the Protestants," and "that Leibnitz and Guizot had earned the gratitude of all Christian men."

Again, the policy that the Jesuits brought in 1870 to a successful issue had been outlined by Laynez at Trent more than three hundred years before, in terms of which the arrogance could hardly have

## THE LIGHT OF THE PAST

been greater if the Society had been taking off its armour instead of putting it on. He "audaciously demanded the reference of all questions of reform to the sole decision of the Pope, and denounced the opposition of the French bishops as proceeding from members of a schismatic Church." \*

\* A. W. Ward, *Counter-Reformation*, p. 93. The following comment on the influence of Laynez and the Jesuits, by another learned authority, is well worth quoting: "It was he who had contended for the doctrine of Papal infallibility; and he had braved the indignation of nearly the whole assembly by intimating his readiness to sacrifice the theory of the apostolical succession of the bishops in order to enhance more conspicuously the authority of the Pope. The attitude he assumed is well worthy of attention as supplying the key to the whole policy of the new fraternity. From the time that Jesuitism began to prevail in Europe, Œcumenic Councils assembled and were talked of no more. A mysterious influence spread through every Christian country, diffusing itself by

## THE PRESENT IN

### § 2. *Contemporary Activities of the Jesuits.*

It is significant that such a triumph has no whit relaxed the energy of the Jesuits. They are in possession within their own communion of all that they have fought for; but they will preserve it just in so far as they keep an eye on every nucleus of possible discontent. And they have enemies without, from whom their watchful gaze is never for an instant diverted—Protestants, Jews, and Freemasons. The Tractarian Movement and the ensuing convulsions in the Church of England,—the a thousand channels, and everywhere operating in favour of Papal pretensions and Ultramontane doctrines. The members of the Reformed Churches, which were singularly wanting in organisation of every kind, found themselves confronted at every point by the greatest masters of method that the world has ever known." ("Theodorus," *New Reformation*, p. 40.)



## THE LIGHT OF THE PAST

high consideration in which, in our simplicity, we seem now to hold the restored Romish hierarchy,—the vast Anti-Semitic agitation on the Continent which has taken such hideous forms of internecine strife, private misery and national disgrace in the *affaire Dreyfus* in France,—the furtive introduction, by newspapers under Jesuit influence, of an undertone of “Down with the Protestants!” into the mighty clamour of “Down with the Jews!”—probably all these things, and certainly many more, attest the unchanging energy, malice, and craft by which the Society is still animated.\*

\* This paragraph, as well as the bulk of the present essay, was written before any part of Mr. F. C. Conybeare’s invaluable book, *Roman Catholicism as a Factor in European Politics*, appeared in the Reviews. Mr. Conybeare has had to pay the penalty of his exceptional insight and courage in the accusation laid against him of “reckless calumny of the

## THE PRESENT, &c.

It will not escape the reader that the hatred of the Jesuits is directed precisely to those classes over which the confessional affords the Society no control. By means of devout wives many French husbands who are anything but devout come within the terrible grasp of the Society. But very few wives of Protestants or Jews confess ; and in the case of the Freemasons the Society of Jesus is confronted by a society so far fashioned after the same model as to have ramifications in every land, and secret worldwide counsels.

Jesuit order." It is to be hoped that Protestants will be correspondingly grateful for a work that leaves little or nothing to be desired as a picture of strictly contemporary Jesuit machinations.

THE FUTURE IN THE LIGHT  
OF THE PAST

1. FUTURE POSSIBILITIES.

2. IS JESUITISM DETACHABLE FROM ROMANISM ?

3. CONCLUSION.

## X

### THE FUTURE IN THE LIGHT OF THE PAST

#### § 1. *Future Possibilities.*

IT is idle to prophesy as to the future. I will content myself with saying that if the Jesuits should effect another St. Bartholomew in France,—if they should bring back England to the bosom of the Roman communion, and establish another Inquisition on the ruins of a Protestant constitution,—if universal Protestantism should become another of the giant wrecks with which all their path is strewn,—it

## THE FUTURE IN

would be scarcely more wonderful than what they have already accomplished. And in so far as I judge any of these calamities improbable, it is a question of faith, and not of the calculation of probabilities on any merely natural data.

It is all very well to be an optimist, but every optimist who does not wish to be "more sanguine than scientific" will reckon long with the darker features of the outlook. For what was the prospect a hundred years ago that the Society of Jesus would by this time have dictated its terms, without qualification or abatement, to the Church and the Papacy; that it would have imposed upon them its theology, its ethics, its political and ecclesiastical programme; that it would have triumphantly required from the avowed enemies of its

## THE LIGHT OF THE PAST

Church deference, patronage, and endowment? \* Yet all this the Jesuits have done without making a single concession. Their casuistry, when once it had been pilloried by Pascal, seemed to be their weak point—probably their fatally weak point. They knew, however, that it was their

\* Even towards the middle of last century Von Ranke, while fully acknowledging that the Jesuits had “attained once more not only to riches and local importance, but also to an extent of influence comprising the whole habitable world,” felt able to take the comfort of believing that the tide of Papal power in Europe was receding everywhere. So prevalent were such sanguine impressions that the events of 1870 seem to have fallen with bewilderment on the Protestant world—a fact that witnesses how admirably the march of Rome under the command of the Jesuits had been masked. At the present day, indeed, most of those maxims as to Roman Catholicism which passed for oracles of profoundest political wisdom in the second quarter of last century are felt to stand glaringly in need of revision.

## THE FUTURE IN

strength and their indispensable implement ; and they have now not only enthroned it at the Vatican, but in the person of its most celebrated exponent, their creature Liguori, they have glorified it in the heaven of the demigods of Romish worship. They have shut men up to the trilemma that the infallible Pope is either the most mischievous of impostors, or the most ridiculous and helpless of dupes, or the living and unfaltering voice of God upon earth. And, in spite of every opposition, they have accomplished it at the expense of an almost infinitesimal secession. If Romanists as a body do not believe the decree and yet remain in the communion of the Pope, it is a witness that the ancient spirit and integrity have perished from among them. For in that case, they have stood by and seen their most illustrious theologian, in



## THE LIGHT OF THE PAST

the person of Dr. Döllinger, and a crowd of their most venerable fellow-Romanists, cut off from the communion of the Church, or, in other words, consigned to perdition, for refusing to subscribe what they agree with them in deeming a lie. They have judged that the fellowship of a lie is the communion of Christ, and that the fellowship of the truth is schism. Gallicanism—in other words, everything of spiritual value that survived to Rome after the wreck of the Reformation—is dead.

### § 2. *Is Jesuitism Detachable from Romanism?*

It is sometimes asked whether Jesuitism is of necessity attached to Popery, or whether the Society is detachable from Rome and fit for the service of any other cause to which it might be drawn in the

## THE FUTURE IN

interests of self-aggrandisement. To this question perhaps the truest answer would be that in its organisation Jesuitism is independent of Popery, but not in its spirit. In the perfection of its organisation it is absolutely self-contained ; its flexibility is as wonderful as its power, and it has proved its ability to adapt itself to an indefinite variety of outward conditions. But, on the other hand, what interests have the Jesuits that are separable from the aggrandisement of the Church of Rome? What motive has actuated the Society from the first,—nay, what reason can be conceived for the Society's very existence,—except its zeal for the preservation of Rome's peculiar share in the deposit of mortal error? Its object was Rome's object—that is, to bring mankind under the bondage of an antichristian superstition ; and it showed Rome how the

## THE LIGHT OF THE PAST

object was to be attained. Step by step, as we have seen, the Society has unfolded Rome's true spirit, has removed her anomalies, has pushed her distinctive principles to their logical issue. Ultramontanism is Rome's self-realisation.

### § 3. *Conclusion.*

If the culmination of the mystery of iniquity is still future, as Holy Scripture seems plainly to intimate, there may be a yet wider service awaiting in the future the best-equipped battalions that have ever marched under the banner of Antichrist. If so, the picture that has been drawn of the relentless advance of the followers of Loyola along a path that more than human sagacity has marked out for them,—of the present commanding position they occupy,—of the vast possibilities of future triumph,—

## THE FUTURE IN

of the certainty that they will use their triumphs without scruple and without pity,— is unquestionably appalling. I have no wish to deny it. I pray God that we may have no false comfort founded on ignorance of terrible *truths*; but rather the true comfort that has proved sufficient for all who have yet fought—yea, and for all who have fallen—in the age-long war against the spirit of Antichrist. “They overcame him because of the blood of the Lamb, and because of the word of their testimony.” And I pray likewise that our blessed Lord, for whose rights we stand, through grace, against the most blasphemous invasions of them that Satan may ever inspire, will teach His Church that other great principle of its warfare with which the same passage of the Apocalypse closes—“And they loved not their lives unto the death.” And again:

## THE LIGHT OF THE PAST

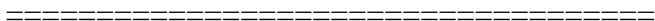
“The Lamb shall overcome them ; for He is Lord of lords, and King of kings ; and they that are with Him are called, and chosen, and faithful.”

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